

28

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote...the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



PARTICIPATING IN THE WATER FESTIVAL ON MYANMAR'S
NEW YEAR DAY, YANGON, APRIL 1955

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Twenty Eight

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

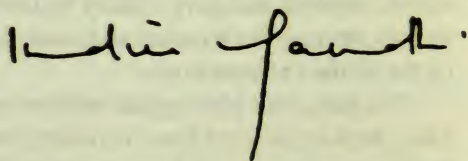
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping line for the 'i' in Gandhi.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

RAVINDER KUMAR (1932-2001)

In the sudden death of Professor Ravinder Kumar on 6 April 2001, we have lost a leading historian of our times.

Ravinder Kumar was born in Lahore in 1932. After securing a degree in chemistry, he moved to the discipline of history and obtained an MA from the University of Delhi in 1956. Subsequently he shifted to Australia where he pursued his academic and teaching career. He was awarded a Ph.D. from the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra in 1964. He was Research Fellow and Fellow in History at ANU, 1965-69, and Professor of History at the University of New South Wales in Sydney till 1975. Returning to India after sixteen years, he taught history at Allahabad University from 1975 to 1980. He was also a UGC National Lecturer in History. He was Visiting Professor at Sussex University and the University of Cambridge in 1971 and 1977 respectively.

Ravinder Kumar's crowning achievement was his work as the Director of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML) from 1980 to 1997. Under his stewardship, a Centre for Contemporary Studies was established to encourage inter-disciplinary research and the Centre is widely recognised as a premier national institution promoting scholarship in the social sciences.

Ravinder Kumar presided over the Modern Indian History section of the Indian History Congress in 1980. He had the distinction of being the General President of the Indian Social Science Congress in 1983-84. He was also Chairman of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies in Delhi, 1988-96, and of the Indian Council for Historical Research, 1993-96.

Ravinder Kumar was known for his work on the social consequences of colonial rule in India. His major works include *India and the Persian Gulf Region 1858-1907* (1965); *Western India in the Nineteenth Century* (1968); *Essays in Gandhian Politics* (ed.), (1971); *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru*, Vols. I to VII (ed.); *Philosophical Theory and Social Reality* (ed.), (1984); and *The Making of a Nation: Essays in Indian History and Politics* (1989).

He edited, jointly with Professor D.P. Chattopadhyaya, *Science, Philosophy and Culture: Multi-Disciplinary Explorations*, Vols. I and II (1997).

During his last years he worked as a Ford Foundation Fellow on the theme 'Social Development of Modern India (1947-1997)'.

After his retirement from NMML in 1997, Ravinder Kumar became co-editor of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*. He had completed work on the present volume just prior to his death. The Editorial Note appearing in this volume is his last contribution to the *Selected Works*.

Ravinder Kumar was fond of calling himself a 'liberal'. He was deeply committed to democratic governance and freedom of speech and opinion in society. He was unapologetic about his secularism. He studiously eschewed dogmatic assertions and grand generalisations.

Paying tribute to Ravinder Kumar, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, has stated: "The sudden and tragic death of Professor Ravinder Kumar has deprived the country of one of the foremost historians who provided valuable insights into the understanding of contemporary events and forces at work. He commanded high respect for his intellectual integrity. His services as the Director of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library will long be remembered. He guided a large number of Indian and foreign students and scholars in their research. As a trustee of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund and the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust, he made valuable contributions to the deliberations of these two institutions."

FROM THE GENERAL EDITOR

The sudden passing away of Professor Ravinder Kumar earlier this month has been to me a staggering blow. Over the last seventeen years he has been not only a cherished colleague but also a close personal friend. Even while he was in Australia I had realised that he was a pioneer social historian of modern India and was delighted that he planned to return to this country. After serving as professor in some universities he took up the directorship of the Nehru Museum and our work brought us close together. We had our offices in neighbouring buildings and, whenever I was in Delhi, we would meet at least once a week for an hour, discussing our work and then other issues, professional and national. I grew to admire him for his tolerance of spirit both in life and in scholarship and to respect him for his values and his loyalties. Life in my office at Teen Murti Bhavan will not be the same for me again.

17 April 2001

S. GOPAL

EDITORIAL NOTE

The current volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* covers the period from 1 February to 31 May 1955. This is a period marked by some seminal developments within India as well as within the world community. It should occasion no surprise, therefore, that these developments find prominent location in the personal letters, official correspondence and the public speeches which have been incorporated in the present volume; reflecting through their presence a new upsurge in social and economic activity within the country, on the one hand, and diplomatic activity aimed at shaping and reshaping relations between sovereign nations in the global community, on the other.

It is necessary, at the outset, to spell out these developments, within and without the Republic of India, if we seek to highlight adequately the importance of the archival documentation which makes up the current volume. By the middle 1950s, the fledgling Republic of India had acquired a certain poised dynamism in its vibrant political life and determined pursuit of national objectives. This poise and vibrancy were partly a tribute to the moral capital and the social aspirations generated during the course of the struggle for liberation. They were partly, also, a consequence of the civilisational heritage of a society endowed with a capacity for reflection that was not necessarily bounded by its visible material achievements. Nothing reflects this capacity better than the manner in which in a brief span of three years, a leadership relatively untried in statecraft, was able to fashion a Constitution that provided the basis of a secular, democratic and equitable political order, at the same time as it generated the momentum for the social and economic transformation of the Republic. There were other achievements, too, worth mentioning here: the nation was able to handle one of the biggest migrations known to human history; at the same time as General Elections, resting upon an electorate numbering 200 million citizens, were successfully staged; moreover, in less than a decade, the acute food shortage that the country had experienced under British rule was substantially remedied through an increase in agricultural production.

As the year 1954 drew to a close, therefore, Jawaharlal Nehru was in a position to take initiatives of the highest significance within and without the country, at one and the same time. At the Avadi session of the Indian National Congress, as we have already highlighted in the preceding volume of this series, Nehru set in motion a novel programme of social and economic reconstruction with the objective of creating within the Republic of India a "socialistic pattern of society". The ambiguity encapsulated in the word "socialistic" rested upon two important considerations: first, that the socialist transformation of the Republic should acquire a character specifically related to the material and cultural characteristics of Indian society; and secondly, that socialist theory and practice, as applied to the Republic of India, would be resilient and open-ended, rather than mechanical and doctrinaire in its discursive content. The

strategic objective behind this initiative lay in transforming an agricultural civilisation of classical antiquity into a liberal industrial polity, drawn into a modern State that was, above all, deeply concerned about the material and cultural welfare of its citizens.

No less significant was the initiative taken by Jawaharlal Nehru, in association with the so-called Colombo Powers, consisting of Burma (Myanmar), India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, in organising an international conference of nations from Asia and Africa, that had largely won for themselves sovereign dignity in the world community in the years after 1945, that is, the end of World War II. The shared experience of most of the leaders invited to the proposed Conference was a searing memory of European domination and exploitation in recent centuries. The more proximate problem to be discussed at the meeting was how such nations could retain their freedom of action in a world divided by the cold war into two warring camps, that threatened humanity with annihilation through an outbreak of nuclear war. As a creative disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, who is widely regarded as the greatest theorist and practitioner of non-violence in the 20th century, Nehru saw in the meeting of Asian and African Nations, hosted by Indonesia at Bandung, a manifestation and possible triumph of the principle of non-violence as applied to relations between sovereign polities in the world community. Such a gathering of nations, with shared values and memories, could possibly create, so Nehru hoped, an 'Area of Peace', that would embrace the recently liberated countries of Asia and Africa. It could also help defuse the climate of tension and fear that was being generated through the pursuit of the cold war and the stockpiling of nuclear weapons by the capitalist and socialist great powers.

The initiatives spelt out by Jawaharlal Nehru were underpinned by a novel radical temper afloat within India, that found clear expression in the proceedings of the Avadi Congress. This Congress session aimed at giving a new turn to the formidable task of national reconstruction. In the articulation of his vision, Nehru had taken the consistent position that the reconstruction of Indian society after 1947 rested on the adoption of a socialist path consistent with the country's historical traditions, her plural social fabric and the material resources which underpinned her productive endeavour. Moreover, the experience flowing from the economic initiatives taken under the first phase of planning—the First Five Year Plan embraced the years 1951-1956—had convinced Nehru that the time was ripe to confer on the State a central responsibility for generating wealth in key sectors of industrial production. The socialism spelt out at the Avadi session, however, was very distinctively Indian: it sought to create complementary and distinctive spheres of public and private entrepreneurship; it simultaneously encouraged artisanal activity, preferably organised on a cooperative model, that would not only provide employment to a substantial number of citizens, but also create an abundance of consumer goods, that combined aesthetic quality with social utility, for the commonfolk. No less crucial to the economic dynamism that Nehru sought to trigger off within Indian society was the reorganisation of agriculture through land reforms. Such reforms sought to place proprietary rights in land with the *actual* cultivator of the soil, rather than with an aristocracy, or a gentry, living on unearned rent.

It is necessary to emphasise that the socialism envisaged at the Avadi session of the Congress did not contemplate the appropriation of rural property by the State, and the subsequent organisation of collective farms as the logical sequel to such a step. Instead, the prospect held out to the Nation—already being implemented through agrarian legislation that had been (or was being) enacted in the States in the Indian Union—was that of a rural society, constituted of a vast body of peasant proprietors, which was engaged in agricultural production, partly for subsistence and partly also for the market. The projected design of a rural social order consisting of peasant proprietors, was buttressed in two specific directions: first, through the initiation of State assisted community projects across the land, that would enable the peasantry to embark upon close-to-the-ground programmes of rural uplift; and secondly, once conditions were ripe for such an initiative, the cultivators, in possession of modest holdings, could reach out to cooperative farming on a scale, where state-of-the-art technology could be applied to agriculture, and provide the basis for a substantial increase in rural production.

We have, in an earlier volume of this series, had occasion to refer to Jawaharlal Nehru's skills as a "great communicator" of new ideas on social equity and national reconstruction to the people of India. In the speeches incorporated in the present volume under the rubric of "General Perspectives", we can discern the manner in which the message of the Avadi Congress was conveyed to the nation as a collective, at the same time as it was conveyed to specific classes and communities within the nation. In all this, of course, the Indian National Congress, as the party which led the struggle for liberation and had governed the country since August 1947, was expected to play a crucial role.

In a communication addressed to the Presidents of the Provincial Congress Committees, for instance, Nehru spelt out the significance of the decisions taken at the Avadi session and the manner in which they could be implemented with the support of popular classes: "The Avadi Congress was undoubtedly, in many ways, a landmark in our (that is, the Congress Party's) history...." he stated. "It was something more than the triumph of some individuals. It was an expression of the nation's will; it exhibited the dynamic character of the Congress which could adapt itself to changing conditions and keep in tune with the people and their urges.... There is no end to the journey of the nation and, in so far as the Congress represents the nation, there can be no end to its journey. More particularly, in present day conditions of India and the world, we have to keep alive, wide awake and moving. We only completed one stage of our journey when we achieved independence. In fact that was a preparation for the real march of the nation. The political stage, though it does not end, takes a secondary place. We have to face a bigger problem of social and economic advance.... In this matter, the Avadi Congress gave us a forthright lead by its resolutions. These resolutions form an integrated whole and should be read as such."

The dialogue that Jawaharlal Nehru set in motion with the people of India, at this juncture, was primarily reflected in the public speeches which he delivered in the opening months of 1955. When he spoke before a gathering of party

workers in the month of May, Nehru was acutely conscious of the fact that he was addressing an audience of the Congress rank and file, committed as much to Gandhian as it was committed to socialist ideals of social transformation and economic reconstruction. While the former were reflected in the concept of *sarvodaya*, the latter were embodied in the notion of public control over the instruments of social production. Literally speaking, both these concepts dwelt crucially upon the uplift of society as a whole, with special reference to those classes and communities which were voiceless, impoverished and exploited, in particular. Yet the notion of *sarvodaya* was located in a moral ambience characteristic of the Gandhian worldview, that was not fully articulated in the secular idiom of socialism. Despite this shortcoming, however, Nehru's exposition of socialism was one which drew the Gandhian no less than the socialist cadres of the Congress into a grand alliance that could be relied upon to work wholeheartedly towards the vision spelt out at Avadi. As he put it to the grass roots workers of the Congress: "As far as a socialistic pattern of society is concerned, there is no difference between that and socialism.... There are certain fundamental principles of socialism which are generally accepted. You will find them mentioned in the Avadi resolution. It does not merely talk of a socialistic pattern of society, but also of the public ownership of means of production (so far as industrial enterprises are concerned) and so on. Therefore, socialism is a way of thinking which envisages the common good of society and the reduction of disparities between the haves and have-nots."

While the Avadi session of the Congress held out a message of hope to the poor and the deprived, Jawaharlal Nehru was equally concerned that the middle and the upper classes—the captains of industry, in particular—were not unduly alarmed at the shift in political discourse within the Congress at this juncture. Here it is pertinent to remember, that in partial modification of the stance he had adopted in his public utterances prior to 1947, Nehru as a Prime Minister no longer voiced the view that the working classes and the entrepreneurial communities constituted social groups that were inevitably set on a collision course within independent India. Indeed, he often voiced a concept of the post-1947 State in India that was virtually Hegelian in character: a State intensely concerned with the moral and material uplift of the people. This concept was, in all probability, triggered off by thinkers like T.H. Green, who shaped labour radicalism in Great Britain in the first half of the 20th century. That such a view of the State was simultaneously influenced by the vision of Nehru's Indian mentor, Mahatma Gandhi, is a fact which also needs to be highlighted at this juncture.

Such an eclectic fusion of ideas, that shaped the Nehruvian view of the State in India after 1947, is admirably reflected in a speech which the Prime Minister made at the annual session of FICCI (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry) in March 1955. Dwelling upon the industrialisation of India as an objective that was central to the welfare of her vast population, Nehru was at considerable pains to assure his audience that the socialist programme adopted at the Avadi Congress did not, by any stretch of imagination, assume, or seek to promote, a sharp conflict of interest between the working classes and the capitalist communities; or between the public sector and the

private sector as instruments for conferring a new economic dynamism upon Indian society. Indeed, to ensure that the capitalists and the working classes functioned in harmony with each other for the welfare of the nation, while their special interests were protected by the State, distinctive spheres of public and private entrepreneurial activity, as well as legislative initiatives to ensure healthy relations between owners and workers, had been devised. As Nehru observed before the FICCI gathering: "...You know, we have a public sector and a private sector. Some people imagine that there is conflict between the two.... Others, of course,... think that the private sector should be given full play and the public sector can go about (creating a requisite infrastructure)... and leave industrial production to the private sector. That idea of unrestricted private enterprise is out of date even in the citadels of private enterprise.... The State has to come in the picture in a big way. We cannot, with our limited resources, allow people just to go in any direction they like. We have to plan and planning has to include both the public and the private sector, leaving a great deal of room to private enterprise. *The Plan is a national plan of all our activities, public or private....* So I should not like you to imagine that those who are in favour of the public sector are in the slightest degree opposed to the advance of the private sector. I want you to appreciate what I have said because in this matter it is not my personal self that speaks but the vast urge of the Indian people." (emphasis added)

To comprehend the significance of the turn taken by the Congress party under Nehru at Avadi, it is necessary to focus upon some concrete initiatives adopted at this juncture. One such measure was the adoption of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, which was taken up in the closing months of 1954. This amendment concerned a matter that was central to the programme of social transformation envisaged by Nehru. It not only revealed the core agenda of his package for reform, but it also highlighted the limits of what he was prepared to do—and also not prepared to do—in pursuit of his design of transforming India from an agricultural into an industrial society.

At various junctures, we have emphasised that the Nehruvian social revolution, which was defined as "socialistic" at the Avadi session of the Congress, did not in any way seek to mechanically emulate the example set out by radical regimes in the Soviet Union, or in China. This was so whether we consider the agrarian issue, or the crucial question of State control over the factors of industrial production. When the Constitution of India was being framed, it was clear to experts versed in juridical questions, that this document setting out the prescriptive design of the democratic polity in India, held in its text an unresolved tension between the Fundamental Rights assured to a citizen, and the so-called Directive Principles of State Policy, which spelt out the broad objectives to be pursued by those entrusted with the governance of the Republic, wherein the distribution of social and economic power was very skewed. The Directive Principles, tersely put, spoke of the need for radical governance and a rapid pace of change. The Fundamental Rights, by contrast, pointed to a more conservative polity, guided by the notion of the "due process of law", particularly where the property rights of the citizen were concerned. All this, as already emphasised, was of the utmost concern to the citizens of a polity

resting upon a very unequal distribution of holdings in land. Here it is important to remember that in the decades prior to 1947, the Congress, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, had drawn millions of poor and marginal *kisans*, plus the landless Dalits, into the nationalist movement, on the assurance that with the dawn of freedom, property rights over land would be transferred into the hands of the *actual* cultivators of the soil.

While the Congress was engaged in an epic struggle against British Imperialism prior to 1947, at the initiative of Jawaharlal Nehru—and with the support of the Mahatma—the party had adopted a statement of Fundamental Rights at the Karachi session of 1931, which promised to the deprived and the poor, in urban and in rural society, equity and fairplay in accordance with the principles of social justice. Nevertheless, during the years the Constitution of India was being drafted, while the question of agrarian reform was very much up in the air, there was a measure of ambiguity about the extent to which the legislature could deprive landlords of their property rights and transfer these rights into the hands of the landless or the poor peasants, without judicial intervention in deciding the quantum of compensation paid to the former owners for the property acquired by the State for redistribution. During these debates, which were resolved in the Constitution through an uneasy compromise, not opposed to land reform as such, but weighted in favour of landlords of the middling variety and the more substantial peasants, Jawaharlal Nehru maintained a stance that was partly shaped by the substantive distribution of power, at this juncture, within the Congress party no less than within the Constituent Assembly. The result of this uneasy compromise was reflected in the consequences flowing from the measures of agrarian reform enacted within the States of the Indian Union, particularly in Uttar Pradesh and in Bihar. The liberal sanctity accorded to the due process of law by the founding fathers of the Constitution enabled the substantial landed interest to draw upon the judiciary, not only to question the legitimacy of zamindari abolition; but also to assert that compensation for property ‘confiscated’ for distribution to marginal and landless peasants could not be resolved arbitrarily through legislative fiat.

Slightly less than a decade after the liberation of India from British rule, however, the balance of social power within the Republic—the resolutions adopted by the Congress at the Avadi session bear witness to this—had swung drastically in favour of a more radical path to the modernisation of Indian society, resting upon a powerful cushion of social equity for the deprived classes and communities within the Republic. It was in this context that Jawaharlal Nehru moved the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, which was designed to ensure that the courts of law could not challenge the rights of legislatures to determine the fair compensation due to the property owning classes, when they were deprived of the territorial rights they had acquired under the British dispensation. That such a measure, revolutionary in its intention to bring about an equitable redistribution of economic power in the Republic, provoked a violent reaction among conservative members of Lok Sabha should occasion no surprise. Indeed, speaking in defence of a rapidly crumbling feudal past, some members of the Lok Sabha termed the Bill as nothing short of a blatant act of “expropriation” of private property, since the quantum of compensation

was to be determined solely (and presumably irresponsibly) by the legislature.

In responding to such charges, Jawaharlal Nehru not only defended the moderation which characterised the Fourth Amendment; but he also highlighted the larger vision that informed the Bill under discussion. He dismissed out of hand the alarmist fears that the adoption of the Fourth Amendment Bill would inhibit the flow of foreign capital into India. But having done so, Nehru then spelt out the moderate path which the country was traversing in the bid to create a prosperous Republic, characterised by small but intensely worked holdings in rural society, that would flourish in coexistence with both privately and publicly owned industrial enterprises. The burden of his argument, no less than the strategic design of his policies, was precisely enunciated in the course of his defence of the Bill under discussion. “(The)... thing that is really necessary is somehow to activate and impart dynamism to the base of the Indian social structure,” Nehru stated. “(The) top has to function.... But you do not solve the problem unless you activate this base of Indian society, which means millions and millions of villagers....”

In highlighting measures like the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, which conferred on the legislatures the right to decide the quantum of “fair compensation” for property that was acquired by the State for redistribution, we are dealing not only with mere legislative and constitutional tinkering. Instead, we stand witness to a measured yet unmistakable shift in the balance of social power within the Republic of India. This shift was directed towards paving the way for a non-violent transformation, wherein the poor and the deprived sections of society would become increasingly articulate in voicing their interests and in moulding the destiny of the nation. It was, indeed, an attempt at staging a social revolution that sought to transfer economic power from the hands of the upper classes into the hands of the more modestly placed social groups, particularly within rural society. Needless to say, this change also aimed at reaching out to comparable classes within the cities and towns, albeit to a lesser extent than was true for the villages. To phrase it more explicitly: the Nehruvian revolution, which was characterised as “socialistic” in its transformative character, was anti-feudal rather than anti-capitalist in its conceptualisation as well as in its execution. Nehru clearly realised that history had placed upon his shoulders the heavy responsibility of dismantling an outdated, oppressive and inefficient feudal order, which had been conjured into existence by the British imperium. With the dawn of independence, this colonial order stood in the way of transforming India into a caring industrial society, that was as much concerned with expanding the base of economic production as it was concerned with ensuring social equity and material dignity for the lowly placed citizens of the Republic.

Such a strategy is also visible in the steps taken in connection with formulating the Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961) after the Avadi session of the Congress. In speaking before the National Development Council in May 1955, for instance, Jawaharlal Nehru did not refrain from confessing that the First Five Year Plan (1951-1956) was, in fact, not a plan in the rigorous sense at all. It was much more of an aggregation of disparate projects in diverse ministerial departments, that were put together into a semblance of order,

conferring on them the sense of purpose and the dignity of a coherent "Plan". There was, nevertheless, a connecting thread that ran through the projects that went into the making of the First Plan. This connecting thread was constituted of the urgent need for stimulating agricultural production and ensuring "food security" for the nation. There was good reason to believe, Nehru stated, that the production of foodgrains was actually declining in the penultimate decades of British rule over India. Since this was simultaneously a period in which the population of India grew by leaps and bounds, the result was the occurrence of chronic food shortages and horrifying famines like the one which devastated Bengal in 1943. For these reasons, therefore, after August 1947 the Government of independent India took upon itself the crucial task of extending the area under cultivation; of activating the rural population to self-help through the community projects; and of providing increased facilities for irrigation through the construction of dams and canals. The monumental Bhakra-Nangal Dam reflected this novel programme at its most ambitious. Small wonder, then, that Nehru described such projects as the "temples of modern India". The results of these endeavours were immediately visible. By the middle of the 1950s, the Republic was able to offer a measure of food security to the people of India.

In spelling out the concepts and objectives which informed the Second Five Year Plan, however, Nehru portrayed an altogether different picture of what the political actors, technical experts and social engineers, who were engaged in the planning exercise, intended to conjure into existence before the end of the sixth decade of the 20th century. The Second Plan, unlike its predecessor, was built around clear-cut objectives and a coherent strategy: namely, the rapid industrialisation of Indian society, partly through State owned and partly also through private enterprises. At the same time, the agricultural activity already in hand was to be pursued to a higher level of achievement. An innovative feature of the Second Plan was the reactivation of artisanal and small-scale manufacture—a Gandhian dream—that would not only produce consumer goods of high utility and aesthetic appeal; but would also absorb, through labour intensive technologies of production, a substantial number of men and women who were unable to find gainful employment in the capital intensive sector.

If we have conveyed the impression that the Spring of 1955, following the Avadi session of the Congress, found Jawaharlal Nehru fully taken up by domestic concerns, then nothing could be further from the truth. Indeed, at the very commencement of this Editorial Note, we have dwelt upon the fact that the decision of the Colombo Powers to hold a Conference of Asian and African nations at Bandung, in April 1955, was an initiative of truly global significance. This was underpinned by the fact that the leaders of twenty-nine nations of Asia and Africa, who had a shared memory of colonial and semi-colonial domination, were invited to this Conference.

When Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the co-sponsors of the Bandung Conference, pondered over the significance of the forthcoming meeting, he had no doubt whatsoever that the deliberations of the assembled leaders would attract "very great attention in the world". This would be so for a variety of reasons. The very fact that the leaders of the former colonies of Europe, now presiding over

sovereign States, were meeting under a single roof for consultations and debate was an important development. The collective deliberations at Bandung, and the personal consultations between the leaders, would generate a new balance of power in world affairs. It was highly likely, so Nehru believed, that this altered power structure would oblige the great powers, drawn into warring camps, to take notice for the first time of peoples who had hitherto lacked a platform from which they could place their views before the world community.

This is not to suggest that Jawaharlal Nehru anticipated the emergence of an easy consensus at Bandung. The gathering would, in the very nature of things, consist of a diverse group of nations. For some of the countries to be represented at the Conference were already drawn into the cold war, through multiple military pacts. Others were inclined to adopt hostile positions vis-a-vis the United States and its European allies. Nevertheless, Bandung could well turn out to be a legitimate platform for creating a heightened sentiment in the nations of Asia and Africa of their distinctive identities; and of the advantages of keeping clear of the two warring blocs engaged in the cold war. Perhaps the assembled leaders could also be persuaded to adopt a single-minded focus on questions of social and economic development, since the productive capacities of the non-aligned nations were still of a relatively modest order. Nehru also attached great significance to the presence of China at the Bandung Conference. The participation of China would draw the country into the world of international discourse; and, in the process, rid the Chinese leaders of misconceptions which often flow from diplomatic isolation. Indeed, Nehru believed that "the success of the revolution in China was not due simply to its communist nature. It was a product of a revolutionary ferment which, fundamentally, was nationalist in character. The Chinese revolution has achieved success with very little help from (anyone)... We should accept the success of the Chinese revolution... (For the) alternative policy (of banning China's entry into the world community) was bound to lead to war in the Far East."

It should occasion no surprise, as anticipated by Nehru, that a gathering of twenty-nine countries, with diverse interests and perceptions of the world, notwithstanding their shared colonial past, found it difficult to hammer out a distinctive and consensual worldview at Bandung. On the one hand, there were nations like Pakistan or the Philippines, already drawn into concrete military arrangements with the United States, which asserted their right to enter into defence pacts with powerful patrons in order to protect their sovereign existence. On the other hand, stood the nations of West Asia and the Mediterranean littoral of Africa, which were drawn into a hostile stance towards the United States, as a result of the desire of the latter to control the oil reserves of the region and support Israel. Such nations wanted to adopt an uncompromisingly critical attitude vis-a-vis the capitalist world, led by the United States. The intervention of Jawaharlal Nehru in the deliberations at the plenary session at Bandung was marked by moderation and subtle suggestion in finely balanced proportions. His unstated objective was to carve out, without the organisation of a distinctive bloc, such liberal space for the non-aligned nations, as would enable them to assert their freedom of action within a vastly extended 'Area of Peace'. This would help the non-aligned leaders to focus their energies on problems of

internal economic development, without subordinating their countries to any one of the two great powers. Through a sensitively nuanced adoption of a low profile, Nehru refrained from floating a separate resolution at the plenary session. Instead, he threw his very substantial weight behind a Burmese resolution closely echoing the sentiments which were embodied in the Panchsheel agreement on Tibet, signed between India and China an year earlier, in April 1954.

That the Bandung Conference, comprising largely of what were thenceforth defined as the non-aligned nations, initiated a new phase in the conurbations of power in the world community, is a fact which is widely acknowledged by scholars no less than by diplomatic actors. It also marked China's entry into the world stage, as a leading power in Asia and Africa, which had consummated a revolution that was radical and nationalist at one and the same time. Indeed, the leader of the Chinese delegation, Chou En-lai, made a distinctive contribution to the Conference through the interventions which he made in the course of the deliberations. Last but not the least, Jawaharlal Nehru, no less than the country which he represented with rare grace and skill, had every reason to be more than satisfied with the results flowing out of the Bandung meet. The Conference had, as already suggested, greatly extended the 'Area of Peace' in the world—a project dear to Nehru as a disciple of Gandhi—by holding out to the nations of Asia and Africa, the signal advantages of opting out of the cold war, and concentrating instead on the development of their economies. Over and above this, tacitly rather than explicitly, by welcoming China in the community of Asian and African nations, the Conference had made a modest contribution towards defusing the continuing tension between the People's Republic of China and the United States.

While the Bandung Conference ended upon a note from which Jawaharlal Nehru could draw a measure of quiet satisfaction, in respect of the principles which he had espoused since India became a sovereign political actor, the same could not be said of India's relations with Pakistan in the period under review, with particular reference to the Kashmir problem. This is not the place to dwell at any length upon this vexed issue, beyond reiterating the incontrovertible fact that the ruler of this princely state, Maharaja Hari Singh, had acceded to the Indian Union in October 1947. Over and above this, the people of Kashmir had through elections to their State legislature consistently reaffirmed this act of accession. The rulers of Pakistan, however, insisted upon treating Jammu and Kashmir as disputed territory. Indeed, as indicated in Volume 23 of this series, Mohammad Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, had called upon Jawaharlal Nehru as recently as August 1953, in a bid to persuade the Government of India to agree to a plebiscite that would enable the Kashmiris to exercise their right to self-determination.

The initiative taken by Mohammad Ali in August 1953 floundered on procedural issues. But in the meanwhile, developments in West Asia and South-East Asia conferred upon the Kashmir problem an altogether novel significance. We refer here to two military pacts—SEATO (South-East Asia Treaty Organisation) and MEDO (Middle East Defence Organisation)—which had been initiated by the United States, and which Pakistan joined as a full-fledged member. Viewed in the context of relations within South Asia, Pakistan's

membership of these military alliances amounted to a bid to resolve the Kashmir issue through military means, even though Washington regarded these alliances as a part of its "defensive" arrangements against the Soviet Union. Be that as it may, Mohammad Ali's attempt at resolving what he regarded as the key dispute between India and Pakistan thus ended abruptly in 1953.

At the commencement of 1955, Ghulam Mohammed, the Governor General of Pakistan, paid a brief visit to Delhi in the course of which he touched once again on the Kashmir issue, as the main cause of attrition between the two largest States of South Asia. This visit was followed, in the month of May 1955, by a second visit by Mohammad Ali, the Prime Minister, and Iskander Mirza, the Home Minister of Pakistan. The team of political heavyweights from Pakistan had four extended discussions with Jawaharlal Nehru, during which Kashmir was the main subject of discussion. That this renewed attempt by Pakistan to reiterate the pressing need for a plebiscite in Kashmir should be rebuffed by Jawaharlal Nehru was only to be expected. As the Prime Minister of India made it clear to his Pakistani guests, he "had come to the conclusion that the only practical and safe way of dealing with... (the issue) was to accept present conditions as they were, i.e. the status quo, and then proceed on that basis. Having accepted that, one could consider what rectifications of the border etc. could be made to suit both the parties. *But the main thing was an acceptance of the principle of the status quo.*" (emphasis added)

While the renewed conversations in May 1955 between the leaders of India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue proved abortive, an interesting clue to what Pakistan sought to secure for itself in Kashmir came to light in the proposals that had apparently been voiced by Ghulam Mohammed through some informal channels. The Pakistani leader had suggested that "a large area of the Jammu province including Poonch, Riyasi, Udhampur etc. should be transferred to Pakistan, that Skardu might be transferred to India, and that the Kargil area should be attached to Kashmir..., and that there should be a joint control by India and Pakistan, both political and military, of the Kashmir area. Some kind of a plebiscite of the Kashmir area, from five to twenty years hence, was envisaged." Needless to say, Jawaharlal Nehru dismissed these proposals offhand, thus bringing the dialogue to an abrupt end.

It is our very pleasant duty, in placing this volume before its readers, to thank various individuals and institutions for their support and help in bringing it out. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi has graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession referred to as the JN Collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as always, assisted in the publication of this volume by granting access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, Planning Commission, National Archives of India, All India Radio and the Press Information Bureau have allowed us to use relevant material in their possession. We wish to acknowledge, in particular, the permission given to us by All India Radio to use the tapes of the speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. Some classified material has necessarily been withheld.

Last but not the least, it gives us pleasure in acknowledging the help and support we received from our colleagues in the creation of this volume. Indeed,

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CONTENTS

1. General Perspectives

1 Towards the Socialist Ideal	5 March	1955	3
2 Hard Work for Building a New India	12 March	1955	14
3 Chandigarh—A Symbol of Planned Development	19 March	1955	25
4 A Nation's True Strength	3 April	1955	38
5 Freedom is a Home-coming	6 April	1955	53
6 Peaceful Transition to Socialism	1 May	1955	60
7 Three Obstacles to Unity	8 May	1955	70
8 Socialist Pattern of Society	21 May	1955	79

2. External Affairs

I. Asian-African Conference

1 To Ali Sastroamidjojo	20 February	1955	97
2 To B.F.H.B. Tyabji	20 February	1955	99
3 Problems of Dependent Peoples	22 April	1955	100
4 World Peace and Cooperation	22 April	1955	106
5 The Policy of Friendly Coexistence	23 April	1955	114
6 Conversation with Chou En-lai and U Nu	23 April	1955	124
7 A Historic Milestone in Cooperation	24 April	1955	125
8 Note to Chief Ministers	28 April	1955	129
9 Message to Anthony Eden	29 April	1955	138
10 To Lady Mountbatten	30 April	1955	141
11 Recollections of the Conference	3 May	1955	144
12 The Spirit of Bandung	23 May	1955	157

II. China and Taiwan

1 Personal Impressions	1 February	1955	158
2 Message to U Nu	2 February	1955	159
3 Cable to N. Raghavan	3 February	1955	160
4 Cable to N. Raghavan	4 February	1955	162
5 Cable to N. Raghavan	5 February	1955	163
6 Long Term Policy in the Far East	8 February	1955	165
7 To Anthony Eden	8 February	1955	166
8 Cable to N. Raghavan	9 February	1955	167

9	Cable to N. Raghavan	10	February	1955	168
10	Cable to P.N. Kaul	12	February	1955	170
11	Message to U Nu	14	February	1955	171
12	Cable to P.N. Kaul	18	February	1955	173
13	To A. Krishnaswami	11	March	1955	175
14	To V.K. Krishna Menon	20	March	1955	175
15	Cable to N. Raghavan	27	March	1955	177
16	Cable to N. Raghavan	29	March	1955	178
17	Talks with Chou En-lai	23	April	1955	179
18	To Ali Sastroamidjojo	15	May	1955	179
19	Message to John Foster Dulles	27	May	1955	181
20	To V.K. Krishna Menon	28	May	1955	183

III. Indo-China

1	Talks with Norodom Sihanouk	17	March	1955	184
2	Non-military Assistance to Cambodia	29	March	1955	188
3	Talks with Pham Van Dong	9	April	1955	188
4	To R.G. Casey	13	April	1955	191
5	Talks with Chou En-lai and U Nu	25	April	1955	192
6	Talks with Chou En-lai and U Nu	26	April	1955	195
7	Message to Anthony Eden	29	April	1955	196
8	Message to U Nu	19	May	1955	197

IV. Nuclear Policy

1	The Need for Non-proliferation	2	February	1955	198
2	Consequences of Nuclear Warfare	2	March	1955	199
3	To Homi J. Bhabha	11	March	1955	202
4	Appointment of an Investigatory Committee	21	March	1955	204
5	International Control of Atomic Energy	18	April	1955	205
6	Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy	18	April	1955	207
7	Banning the Use of Nuclear Weapons	18	April	1955	210
8	To C. Rajagopalachari	9	May	1955	211
9	To Eleanor Roosevelt	13	May	1955	214

V. North Africa and West Asia

1	Syria and the Baghdad Pact	28	March	1955	215
2	Conversation with Gamal Abdel Nasser	14	April	1955	216
3	Conversation with the Prime Minister of Sudan	30	April	1955	217
4	Conversation with Gamal Abdel Nasser	1	May	1955	219
5	Conversation with Amir Faisal	5	May	1955	222
6	Anti-India Propaganda in West Asia	7	May	1955	228
7	Cable to Ali Yavar Jung	12	May	1955	229

VI. Pakistan

1	To C.P.N. Singh	18 February	1955	230
2	To Ghulam Mohammed	27 February	1955	231
3	To C.C. Desai	27 February	1955	234
4	Cable to C.C. Desai	3 March	1955	236
5	Cable to C.C. Desai	8 March	1955	237
6	Cable to C.C. Desai	13 March	1955	238
7	To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad	13 March	1955	239
8	Cable to C.C. Desai	15 March	1955	241
9	To Ghulam Mohammed	17 March	1955	241
10	To C.C. Desai	18 March	1955	245
11	Cable to C.C. Desai	3 May	1955	245
12	Talks with Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza—I	14 May	1955	246
13	Talks with Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza—II	15 May	1955	253
14	Talks with Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza—III	16 May	1955	257
15	Talks with Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza—IV	17 May	1955	260

VII. Nepal

1	To the King of Nepal	11 February	1955	264
2	Telegram to Bhagwan Sahay	1 March	1955	265
3	Death of King Tribhuvan	14 March	1955	267
4	To the King of Nepal	13 April	1955	268
5	To the King of Nepal	1 May	1955	269
6	Return of K.I. Singh	17 May	1955	271

VIII. Sri Lanka

1	To Sri Prakasa	2 April	1955	273
2	To John Kotelawala	10 April	1955	274
3	Relations with Sri Lanka	25 May	1955	275
4	People of Indian Origin	27 May	1955	277

IX. Afghanistan

1	Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations	13 April	1955	278
2	Pakhtoon Autonomy	27 May	1955	280

X. USA

1	Trade in Strategic Materials	11 March	1955	281
---	------------------------------	----------	------	-----

2	Mushrooming of USIS Offices	5 April	1955	282
3	Talks with the American Ambassador	5 May	1955	283
4	To Shriman Narayan	18 May	1955	284

XI. UK

1	An Exemplary Relationship	3 March	1955	286
2	To Winston Churchill	8 April	1955	288
3	Air India International Service for Prague	21 April	1955	289

XII. Other Countries

1	To G.V. Mavalankar	24 February	1955	290
2	Attitude Towards Bhutan	17 March	1955	291
3	To R.R. Saksena	17 March	1955	292
4	To Mahavir Tyagi	31 March	1955	295
5	Japanese Offer of Help	19 April	1955	295
6	Friendship with Indonesia	15 May	1955	297

XIII. Goa

1	To Morarji Desai	8 March	1955	298
2	Diplomatic Relations with Portugal	6 May	1955	299
3	Policy Towards Goa	31 May	1955	300

XIV. Issues in Foreign Policy

1	India and World Affairs	31 March	1955	304
2	Implications of Military Alliances	4 April	1955	321
3	Rising Dynamism of Asia	13 April	1955	322
4	International Relations in the Nuclear Age	31 May	1955	328

XV. Other Matters

(i) Air India Constellation Disaster

1	Cable to N. Raghavan	12 April	1955	333
2	Cable to Anthony Eden	18 April	1955	333
3	Cable to N.R. Pillai	22 April	1955	335
4	Talks with Chou En-lai	26 April	1955	335
5	Message to Anthony Eden	12 May	1955	338
6	To Rajendra Prasad	28 May	1955	338

(ii) Miscellaneous

1	Europe and West Asia	1 February	1955	340
2	Visa Policy	26 March	1955	340
3	To B.V. Keskar	26 March	1955	341
4	Cable to G.L. Mehta	18 May	1955	342
5	Technical Education and Foreign Service	25 May	1955	343

3. Kashmir

1	To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad	18 March	1955	347
2	The Situation in Kashmir	4 April	1955	348
3	To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad	5 April	1955	351
4	To Shaikh Abdullah	8 April	1955	352
5	To Lanka Sundaram	11 April	1955	355

4. National Progress

I. Economic Development

(i) Planning

1	The State of the Economy	3 February	1955	359
2	To Sri Krishna Sinha	27 February	1955	360
3	To V.T. Krishnamachari	6 March	1955	362
4	To Bisnuram Medhi	10 March	1955	364
5	To V.T. Krishnamachari	19 March	1955	365
6	To C.D. Deshmukh	2 May	1955	367
7	The Second Five Year Plan	6 May	1955	368
8	Community Projects	7 May	1955	373
9	Planning for a Socialist Pattern of Society	10 May	1955	375
10	To Mohanlal Saksena	18 May	1955	377
11	The Plan Frame	28 May	1955	378
12	Aiming at a Higher Growth Rate	31 May	1955	380

(ii) Social Welfare Legislation

1	To Meenakshi D.S. Bakhle	5 March	1955	390
2	To P.N. Singh Roy	7 March	1955	391
3	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	3 April	1955	392
4	The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill	11 April	1955	393
5	Justification of the Amendment	12 April	1955	403
6	Public Sector and the Economy of Abundance	29 April	1955	410

(iii) Industry and Labour

1	To T.T. Krishnamachari	21 February	1955	417
2	Sugar and Gur Industry	4 March	1955	418
3	Workers' Tenements at Kandla	29 March	1955	419
4	To K.C. Reddy	1 April	1955	419
5	To T.T. Krishnamachari	12 May	1955	420
6	To Swaran Singh	15 May	1955	421
7	To T.T. Krishnamachari	24 May	1955	422
8	Reorganisation of Ministries	27 May	1955	423
9	To T.T. Krishnamachari	30 May	1955	428
10	Prospecting for Oil and Minerals	30 May	1955	430
11	Rationalisation in the Textile Industry	31 May	1955	431

(iv) Agrarian Reforms

1	To U.N. Dhebar	2 February	1955	432
2	Land for All	3 April	1955	433
3	To Nabakrushna Chaudhuri	5 April	1955	440

II. Culture and Education

(i) Films and Film Industry

1	Influence of the Cinema	27 February	1955	441
2	Comics and Films from the US	19 May	1955	447
3	To S.S. Vasan	24 May	1955	447

(ii) Buddha Jayanti Celebrations

1	Coordination of Celebrations	19 February	1955	449
2	To Chief Ministers	25 March	1955	450
3	Ways to Celebrate	27 March	1955	451
4	Beautifying the Sacred Places	10 April	1955	452
5	To Sri Krishna Sinha	25 May	1955	453

(iii) Education

1	To Sampurnanand	23 March	1955	455
2	Museums as Centres of Learning	12 May	1955	456
3	African Students in India	19 May	1955	458
4	African Studies	25 May	1955	461

(iv) Development and Use of Hindi

1	Use of Hindi in MEA	1 March	1955	463
2	Hindi and All-India Examinations	31 March	1955	464
3	To Govind Ballabh Pant	1 May	1955	464
4	To C. Rajagopalachari	9 May	1955	466
5	To C. Rajagopalachari	16 May	1955	468

III. Hindu Marriage Reforms

1	The Hindu Marriage Bill	5 May	1955	468
---	-------------------------	-------	------	-----

IV. Tribal Affairs

1	To Jairamdas Doulatram	5 March	1955	479
2	To Bisnuram Medhi	9 March	1955	479
3	The Adivasis of Bastar	13 March	1955	483
4	To Govind Ballabh Pant	1 April	1955	486
5	To Jairamdas Doulatram	3 April	1955	487
6	To Bisnuram Medhi	9 April	1955	489
7	To Bisnuram Medhi	21 April	1955	490
8	To A.P. Jain	19 May	1955	491
9	To Jairamdas Doulatram	24 May	1955	492

V. Minorities

1	Missionaries from Commonwealth Countries	5 March	1955	494
2	Christians in North India	14 March	1955	495
3	To Sampurnanand	12 April	1955	497
4	Grievances of the Sikhs	25 May	1955	497
5	To U.N. Dhebar	27 May	1955	500
6	To Ravi Shankar Shukla	27 May	1955	501
7	To Bhimsen Sachar	29 May	1955	502
8	Alleged Discrimination Against Minorities	31 May	1955	503

VI. Ecology

1	Export of Monkeys for Medical Research	28 March	1955	506
2	Yeti—the Snowman	30 May	1955	507

VII. State Matters

(i) Andhra

1	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	5 March	1955	507
2	To B. Gopala Reddi	29 March	1955	510

(ii) Hyderabad

1	To B. Ramakrishna Rao	29 March	1955	511
---	-----------------------	----------	------	-----

(iii) Assam

1	To U.N. Dhebar	7 April	1955	512
2	To J.B. Kripalani	30 April	1955	513

(iv) Delhi

1	To Govind Ballabh Pant	3 April	1955	514
2	To Swaran Singh	24 April	1955	515
3	To Swaran Singh	3 May	1955	516
4	Maintenance of the Jama Masjid	17 May	1955	517
5	To Govind Ballabh Pant	26 May	1955	519

(v) Himachal Pradesh

1	To Y.S. Parmar	3 March	1955	520
---	----------------	---------	------	-----

VIII. Defence

1	To K.N. Katju	1 March	1955	521
2	Frontier Roads and Communications	3 March	1955	522
3	New Designations of the Commanders-in-Chief	25 March	1955	523
4	The Conception of Sea Power	5 April	1955	525
5	Selecting a Fighter for the Air Force	11 April	1955	526
6	Reporting of Serious Border Incidents	14 May	1955	529
7	Replacement of Warships	25 May	1955	530

IX. The Press

1	Entry of Foreign Print Media	25 February	1955	531
2	Keeping Official Secrets	1 April	1955	531
3	Financing of Newspapers by US Agencies	15 May	1955	534

X. Indian National Congress

1	To Pattom A. Thanu Pillai	22 February	1955	537
2	To Presidents of the PCCs	9 March	1955	539
3	To Pattom A. Thanu Pillai	10 March	1955	543
4	Role of the Congress in Sikkim	21 March	1955	544
5	To Munishwar Dutt Upadhyaya	24 March	1955	545
6	To U.N. Dhebar	1 April	1955	546
7	Organisation of Constructive Work	13 April	1955	547

XI. Administrative Matters

1	To Govind Ballabh Pant	27 February	1955	549
2	To B.R. Ambedkar	11 March	1955	550
3	To Rajendra Prasad	17 March	1955	551
4	Import and Sale of Luxury Cars by Diplomats	24 March	1955	551
5	The Desirability of Prohibition	25 March	1955	552
6	To Purushottam Das Tandon	4 April	1955	553
7	To Amrit Kaur	4 April	1955	556
8	Disharmony at Salt Research Institute	15 May	1955	557
9	To Sampurnanand	21 May	1955	559

XII. Refugees and Evacuee Property

1	To Mehr Chand Khanna	24 March	1955	560
2	To Mehr Chand Khanna	25 May	1955	561

5. Letters to Chief Ministers

I		23 February	1955	565
II		4 April	1955	571
III		14-15 April	1955	576
IV		20 May	1955	583

6. Miscellaneous

(i) General

1	To Albert Schweitzer	4	February	1955	593
2	Responsibilities of the Police	4	February	1955	594
3	Sevagram Ashram	7	March	1955	594
4	The Mumbai Residence of M.A. Jinnah	7	March	1955	595
5	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	19	March	1955	596
6	A Tagore Museum at Santiniketan	25	March	1955	597
7	To Tenzing Norgay	31	March	1955	598
8	Security Arrangements for the Prime Minister	11	April	1955	599
9	To Rajendra Prasad	13	April	1955	601
10	To Chester Bowles	12	May	1955	602

(ii) Reflections

1	Communism, India and the World	4	March	1955	603
2	Progress Through Democracy	4	April	1955	607

ILLUSTRATIONS

Participating in the Water Festival on Myanmar's New Year Day, Yangon, April 1955	<i>frontispiece</i>	
With delegates to the Asian-African Conference, Bandung, April 1955	<i>between pp.</i>	124-125
Jottings at the Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 22 April 1955		
With V.K. Krishna Menon and B.F.H.B. Tyabji, Bandung, April 1955		140-141
With U Nu, Bandung, April 1955		
With Pham Van Dong, New Delhi, 8 April 1955		220-221
With Gamal Abdel Nasser, Cairo, 15 February 1955		
Addressing the first National Convention of Farmers, New Delhi, 3 April 1955		236-237
Speaking at a meeting of National Development Council, New Delhi, 6 May 1955		
With participants at a Film Seminar, New Delhi, 27 February 1955		444-445
With the Gadulia Lohars, Chittorgarh, 6 April 1955		
Laying foundation stone of a new building for National Museum, New Delhi, 12 May 1955		460-461
From <i>Shankar's Weekly</i> , 17 April 1955		

ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	aide-de-camp
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
BA	Bachelor of Arts
CPI	Communist Party of India
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
DCC	District Congress Committee
DPIO	Deputy Principal Information Officer
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
HRH	His Royal Highness
I&B	Information and Broadcasting
ICI	Imperial Chemical Industry
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IST	Indian Standard Time
MA	Master of Arts
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NNC	Naga National Council
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Pepsu	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PRO	Public Relations Officer
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PWD	Public Works Department
RAF	Royal Air Force
RN	Royal Navy
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
US/USA	United States of America
USIS	United States Information Service
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

1 GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Towards the Socialist Ideal¹

President² and gentlemen,

You invite me here every year and I accept with alacrity because it is a good opportunity for us to meet and understand one another. I feel that not only functions like these but every meeting contributes to mutual understanding and is to the advantage of all of us and the country. Having mutual understanding does not mean that we should agree about everything—that is not possible in any country—but a consensus is essential on a few important issues. If we pull in different directions, it becomes difficult to march in step. If there is a consensus on the broad policies, then minor differences of opinion can be ironed out.

A number of points were made in your speech. I would be in agreement with ninety per cent of the general line of thought they indicate. But what we have to consider seriously is how to minimise the differences among us, rather than constantly stressing them as if we were two opposing parties. That would be absolutely absurd and wrong. It is possible that sometimes during our mutual talks, views may be expressed with some heat but that does not mean that we are hostile to one another. India cannot move if each individual pulls in a different direction and does not take into consideration the other's point of view. It is obvious that there are tremendous problems before us. Anything which involves 35 or 36 crores of people is bound to be difficult. Apart from that, we are living at a strange time in the history of the country and the world. That creates its own complications. On the other hand it also provides opportunities for progress.

Let me draw your attention to something. In your speech, you have made several comparisons between India and the countries of Europe and the United States, which are very advanced. I grant that comparisons should be made and we must learn from them. But the problems that confront us today had never come up before any country in Europe in this form. I want you to bear this in mind. If any other country had faced similar problems, it is the communist countries to some extent. They adopted totally different methods to solve them which we do not like. But that is a different matter. It is not proper to compare

1. Speech while inaugurating the twenty-eighth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, 5 March 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi and English.
2. B.M. Birla, President of FICCI for the year 1954-55.

countries which have advanced over two centuries with ours which is trying to progress in the last ten or fifteen years. We too could have done what they did if we had a couple of centuries at our disposal. But we do not wish to crawl along for another fifty or hundred years. We have to move fast. So we cannot adopt the methods of Western countries and neither do we have resources. The Industrial Revolution first began in England and then gradually spread to the rest of Europe and the United States of America. Perhaps you will recall that colonies all over the world contributed greatly to their progress. Money and raw materials used to pour in from India and the other colonies. Well, anyhow, the conditions were different. We cannot follow that path because we do not have that much time, nor can we do today what they did in England more than a century ago. The people will no longer tolerate that.

There is a great deal of talk of communism and Marxism. Do you remember what Marx wrote? Marx wrote in great detail about the events which occurred in England more than a hundred years earlier when industrialisation began, the difficulties they faced and the hardships that the people had to bear as well as the benefits that accrued. In short, Marx drew a picture of the progress brought about by the Industrial Revolution and the burdens that it imposed on the common people during the last century. Later on the advantages began to outweigh the hardships. What we must understand is that it cannot be done today for we do not have the time nor is the atmosphere today conducive to such things.

There is one more thing. England and the other Western countries have made great economic progress. They had the opportunity to progress economically instead of being strangled politically. We cannot ignore the political reality. At the same time, we have to take up the economic questions too. The Western countries became economically stable and then went on to other questions. We do not have such an option. Therefore though these comparisons between various countries may be of some value they can be misleading if we do not understand the internal situation in a country well.

We took a bold step in India by adopting a democratic Constitution and adult suffrage giving the right to vote to every adult whether he was literate or illiterate and irrespective of his wealth and status. It was an act of real daring. It demonstrated our faith in our own people. In my opinion it was the right thing to do. There was no question of not putting our faith in the people. We cannot depend on other countries to come and help us. So we put our faith in the people and it is obvious that there were certain dangers in that. The world is full of dangers today. There is no use in running away from them. We have to face them with courage and faith which we have done. You will not find any other example in the world of a country which has been doing all this right from the start on such a large scale.

We have gained some experience in the last seven and a half years. A

picture of the events of this period is before us. It is obvious that many things have happened during this time which could be criticised. We have made mistakes, as every individual or nation is bound to. Yet the story of the last seven and a half years is not such as to make an Indian feel ashamed. On the contrary we can hold our head high in the world. It is easy to make comparisons. But we cannot consider them in the air. It is all very well to compare India with the United States of America but it has to be done in the context of conditions and circumstances of the last hundred or hundred and fifty years in India and in the United States. We had British rule here during most of that time whereas in the United States, the shackles of colonial rule had been thrown off more than a hundred and fifty years ago. They could advance rapidly with all the enormous resources of a huge country at their command. Every country advances in its own way. It has a history of its own dating back into the past, and especially of the last few decades, which has given it its present shape. It is absolutely wrong for anyone here to express an opinion about what they should do or what their policy ought to be. In the same way, I think it is wrong for other countries to interfere in our internal affairs. They are welcome to give their opinion but I am not prepared to accept it if they dare to think that they know better than us as to what is good for our country, no matter how clever they consider themselves. They may argue on matters of principle and economic theories, etc. But ultimately it is the people of India who have to make the effort. Therefore those who are not aware of the emotions and feelings of the Indian people and their capacity to work cannot easily solve this equation because they are the biggest factor in the equation. There are other factors like financial resources too, but the most important factor is the people of India.

You pointed out that we should accelerate our pace in industries and other areas. I agree with you entirely. We also want to do these things more rapidly. We cannot afford any delay. The pressure of circumstances and the world situation are such that if we do not progress, we shall remain backward, which will lead to further problems and difficulties. So we have to progress fast and take 360 million people with us. It is not a question of a few individuals going ahead. The whole country must progress. Those times are long since past when a handful of people could advance and grab the profits for themselves. Now it is imperative for all the 360 million in India to march together.

There is a great deal of talk nowadays of the atom bomb and everyone is well aware of its dangers. But people have not understood that even though atom bombs are dangerous, atomic energy is a great source of power and could be put to excellent use. Another aspect of this problem is that in this nuclear age in which we live, a change in people's thinking is essential. We may not be able to follow the right path if we continue to look at things from an outmoded point of view, when the world is changing rapidly.

Recently our Parliament and later the All-India Congress Committee, at its

session in Avadi, adopted several resolutions.³ One of them specially was related to the adoption of a socialistic pattern of society. Some people said that it was a mere deception being practised to catch votes. Yet others got into a panic, feeling that it was a dangerous idea. Well, I should like to say only one thing—though there is no need for me to say it because you can understand this—that the decision was not taken in a hurry or in a fit of passion or to bribe the people. This is not the way our seventy-year old institution functions. After all, there is some maturity in our organisation and the decision has been taken after careful thought and proper examination of all the aspects. It is true that we have deliberately refrained from drawing up a formal report because we want to keep it alive and growing. But we have accepted the fundamental socialist pattern as our goal. So please understand that we shall try our best to achieve that goal. I want you to understand that this goal is not for any one party. I shall not go so far as to say that it is the goal of every individual in India, but it is certainly a national goal. There may be differences of opinion but the pressures of the modern times demand this and we cannot escape from it. We must understand this. All of us must adopt it at least as a fundamental goal, with a proper understanding of the times we live in. I hope you will do so because it will benefit the country as well as all of you personally, not merely as citizens of this country. There is no sense in getting frightened of a word.

In short, this is a tremendous challenge for India. Whether we shall succeed in this experiment or not, only history will tell. But you can see for yourselves all that has happened in the country in the last seven or eight years, and the enormous difficulties that we have gone through since Independence, like the Partition, food shortages and what not. What is the impact on our people as well as on the world in the last seven years? I do not wish to exaggerate but there is no doubt about it that as far as the world is concerned, the idea has gradually been gaining ground that India is a strong country which is progressing very fast. There is no doubt about it, and the whole world knows it. Some people are happy about it and others feel upset. But whatever it is, everyone accepts the fact that we are progressing under our own steam, without copying anyone, and that we maintain friendly relations with everyone and are gradually exercising more and more influence in world affairs. All this is due to the fact that we are progressing with wisdom and strength. Otherwise we shall remain where we were, just like so many other countries. Please remember that it is only a few countries which are advancing rapidly. Most of the countries in the world are stagnant and waste all their time in military preparations or in making

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 255-261.

mutual pacts for military aid, instead of doing something useful and making themselves strong. So I am happy that our country is paying attention to other things at a time like this and making progress. The real strength of a nation lies in that.

I have talked so far about international affairs. As far as our country is concerned, there is no doubt about it that to a very large extent there is a relaxed atmosphere of self-confidence, though I do not want that we should become too complacent. But there is no doubt about it that the realisation that we are strong and making progress, and that our difficulties will gradually disappear, that, in short, we are a dynamic nation, generates a mood of confidence in the people. You can see this wherever you go, particularly in the rural areas. This is a very good thing which makes our task easier. At the same time it imposes a greater responsibility because if we do not fulfil that hope, there will be an adverse effect on all of us. Nobody will be able to escape from it. I shall speak more about this matter. But I want to say this, that Government is not opposed to your work. Nor do I regard you as being in the opposition. On the contrary, in the context of the entire country, I feel that the group that you represent is essential and has a place of its own. But at the same time, I should like to say that your mental attitude will also have to change somewhat. The tradition here has been that I should speak in English as well. I shall do so now.

Friends, It has become an annual custom for me to appear here at your session and I think it is a pleasing and helpful custom that has grown up—certainly pleasing and helpful to me and, I hope, to you also—because I do feel that we should maintain close contacts. When I say “we”, I mean, well, not only our Government but those who represent our particular viewpoint, if I may say so, and the community in India which represents industry, commerce, etc. It is necessary that we should seek to understand each other and to influence each other. Of course, it is my effort, our effort, to convince everybody in India, to carry everybody in India with us. I do not mean to say that everyone in India thinks alike. It would be a bad thing, I think, if everybody started thinking alike in India. I do not believe in this kind of uniform thinking or regimented thinking. But there is such a thing as what might be called a common ideal, a common objective towards which we go, and for that I should certainly like a great deal of uniform thinking, although we may vary in a hundred ways. For instance, when we were struggling for our independence I certainly desired a uniformity of thinking that there should be independence in India. I had little patience with the man who did not want independence, who was prepared to submit to any foreign domination. Much as I like independence of thought, I do not admire anybody thinking like a slave. In the modern world too, I want independence of thinking and a clash of ideas out of which truth emerges. But I also want a certain uniformity of approach as to where we are

going. I do not want to use technical words except on occasion, because technical words are often wrapped up in a haze of passion, because of old arguments and disputes. If I use the words socialism, capitalism or communism, immediately all kinds of arguments and passions rise up in your minds, for and against, which confuses thinking. It is far better for us to put aside these particular words, except when we want to use them specifically, and define our objectives clearly. Our Constitution has defined them to some extent, by speaking of social justice. What do we want?

The first thing to remember is that whatever we want, we want it for 360 million people. Everything has to be judged from the point of view of 360 million people getting it. I do not mean to say that everybody will get everything. People are not all alike either in ability or physical strength or mental stature. But I do mean to say that absolutely equal opportunity should be given to all those 360 million people to develop. I also know that you cannot bring this about suddenly by magic or by law. It takes time, sometimes considerable time. Nevertheless, we must move in that direction and we must move fast. You may lay down your targets, or what you want the people to have. First of all, the primary necessities of life—food, clothing, housing, education, sanitation, medical help, employment and work. Everyone should have these in the country. Having put that down, let us consider how we can have them, forgetting socialism, capitalism, communism. Think it out and you will find that your approach becomes simpler. Otherwise you will get lost in fierce arguments about other matters, that are not connected directly. If you argue in this way and if you consider these matters in this way, as, I hope, our Planning Commission does, without getting lost in this or that theoretical argument, the area of disagreement is lessened considerably, because you are dealing with objective things and not with notions which raise passions.

Anyone who knows India would say that there is a certain feeling in the country that we are making progress, a certain hope, a certain sense of satisfaction. I do not want that feeling to turn into one of complacency in the slightest degree. That is a most dangerous thing. If you go to other countries, I think they are beginning to realise that something important is happening in India, that the vast people of this country are on the move. Now, that feeling is something bigger, if I may say so, than even our statistics of industrial production and the rest. We must judge our work by statistical standards, of course. But it is something more, as I said, than statistics. It may very well be that you may have statistics showing greater production and yet there may be a feeling of conflict and despair in the country. But if that feeling is there, it will react on your work and there will be trouble. So far as our industrial production is concerned, I should like to congratulate both sides, that is, those who represent capital as well as the organised labour. Both deserve credit. But, as I said, there is something more—the feeling that the country is on the move.

Why did that feeling come? Certainly, that type of feeling is not based on just airy thinking or airy hope and listening to some good speeches.

I have some knowledge of our people and I have great admiration for their judgment and their sound good sense. They might on occasions be swept by religious passion or some other slogan, but basically they right themselves. Since you and I and all of us are in the same boat, we sink and swim together. I am not going to jump out of that boat and seek safety somewhere else. When I look round I feel there is this feeling of progress and hope and expectancy, of something done and something to be done. What is that due to?

First of all, I think, it is due to the improvement on the food front. Secondly, the improvement in industrial output, and the fulfilment of certain important targets in the Five Year Plan. Also, our community schemes, which are not dramatic in their way and which are yet of significance because they help in increasing production of food, and provide roads and houses and so on. I think it is those community schemes, more than anything else, that have made a growing number of people realise that they are building India, that they are partners in this enormous enterprise of building new India. With that has come the feeling of self-fulfilment and hope and self-reliance.

Our foreign policy has also helped in producing this sensation in our people. It is also very widely appreciated. I do not think that there is anything else that we do in India which is quite so widely appreciated as our foreign policy. I suggest to you, just as a test, to go and have a little talk with some tonga-wallah in Delhi and ask him what he thinks of our foreign policy I tell you his reaction represents the reaction of the people more. Or go to anybody, even a peasant roundabout Delhi or anyone else. Of course he will not know the details, but broadly speaking he says he approves of it strongly. These are the main things which have brought this air of hope and self-reliance.

In the last two or three months, I have no doubt that the resolutions of the Avadi session of the Congress have added to that impression all over the country. I am not speaking in any partisan sense as a member of the Congress. It is my pride and privilege to be a member of the Congress. The Congress, after all, has been a big show in India for the last 70 years. Today it is also intimately connected with the various governments of India. Therefore, what this old national institution says has a powerful influence on our people, whether they are in the Congress or outside it. The resolutions of the Congress must be read as an integrated whole because they cover many important aspects of our national life and activity. The culminating point of the resolution is that our objective should be and our planning must aim at a socialist pattern of society. Now, that was nothing new for the Congress to say. Many of us had said that many times, and, broadly speaking, the Congress has represented that idea. Certainly Gandhiji did, in his own way, in his own language. But the Congress formally saying that in this particular language, at this particular moment, had

a powerful effect on our people. It suddenly showed to them what a living, vital, changing institution the Congress was, and not something moving in the old ruts.

I want you to analyse why that impression has been created. The main reason is that the Congress has said something which is very much in tune with the spirit of our country and the spirit of our times. It is when you are in tune with the spirit of the people that you are effective. A Gandhi is terribly effective because he is not only a great leader but he is in tune with the millions of our people. An organisation becomes effective not merely because it says the right thing. A university professor may very well say a very right thing but nobody may listen to him. Many of our reformers often say the right thing about some individual reform and they collect round them a band of ardent people equally enthusiastic about that reform but it has little effect on anybody else because somehow they have not said the right thing at the right time; they have not been in tune with their people. I would say that what the Congress has said is the right thing and also that has been done at the right time, and it put itself immediately in tune with the prevailing sentiment of the Indian people. Whether some of you like it or not, you must appreciate the fact that the Congress undoubtedly represents the vast majority of India. We have not done it, let me tell you, as a vote catching device. For anyone to say so is ridiculous. If that is our only aim, it would rebound on us like a boomerang and crush us if we did not follow it up. It is patent. We have to follow it up. Nor did we do it in any sense in opposition to any group. We did it because it was right for the country, for the community.

If you will permit me to think loudly before you and say something which is nothing new but still warrants being repeated, we live in the nuclear age and it is a dangerous age to live in. Let us always remember that we live on the verge of great danger. That does not mean that we should be afraid. I hope that we gave up the idea of being afraid, at any rate since Gandhiji took the lead in this country. There the matter ends. We are not going to be afraid of anything. But not being afraid is one thing and appreciating the dangers and consequences of something is another. Otherwise it would lead to folly. I am not going into the physical effects of bombing, etc. But I must say that the world really has got to make a big choice between some new thinking, some new and more friendly approach to international problems on the one side and absolute and complete ruin on the other. There is no middle stage left. As you know, we pursue a foreign policy of being friendly with all countries. It does not mean that we agree with everything they say. We follow our own policy, an independent policy. In the pursuit of that policy and in common with some other nations, we have laid down what are called the five principles, the Panchsheel. There is nothing wonderful about them. They are so obvious that nobody can disagree with them. The odd thing about this world is that the

obvious is not understood and not followed. It is a most extraordinary thing, more especially in inter-national affairs, that something that should be obvious is not understood and the most tormented and twisted lines of argument are produced in order to understand a straightforward situation. Very extraordinary. But I am not going to discuss foreign policy except to say that most of our problems are due to the fact of people not understanding the obvious and trying to avoid the obvious.

Among the various obvious things is that Asia—and I would add, at a different plane, Africa—is in a state of tremendous ferment and turmoil and revolution. By revolution I do not mean people breaking each other's heads but something deeper, as ferment and turmoil in men's minds, breaking out in a dozen ways. After 200 years or more of suppression and domination which prevented its normal growth, all kinds of forces have been let loose in Asia, instinctively driving towards some sensation of political and economic liberation. That is the basic thing in Asia. And if one does not understand that these forces are loose, one will not understand the Asian political and economic situation. It is strange that instead of understanding this, all kinds of feudal relics are brought forward and presented for adoration by the multitude, something which is repugnant to Asia today. How can there be an understanding or a solution of Asia's problems by presenting a number of feudal relics whose history is fast dying and present them as upholders of liberty and freedom? That is why it is good sometimes to stress the obvious.

When we talk about the nuclear age and its destructive aspects, we should not overlook the tremendous constructive part of it, because atomic energy is undoubtedly a tremendous force for construction, which can change the face of the world by its power resources. In ten or fifteen years' time, it will be used for that purpose.

There is a third aspect which I want to put to you, and that is, that in this nuclear age the slogans of yesterday have little meaning. Whether they are communist slogans, socialist slogans or capitalist slogans, they have all to be fitted in to the nuclear age. I do not mean to say those slogans are wrong. Everything has an element of truth. But I say they are out of date. They have to be refashioned, rethought out. You must approach this question not in a rigid way but open-mindedly, trying to understand this amazing world that we live in today and the amazing time that we live in. We read about the Industrial Revolution and it is out of the Industrial Revolution, more or less, that capitalism arose, as we know it, socialism arose, Marxism arose and communism arose. They are all children of the Industrial Revolution. Well, we are on the eve of something at least as big as the Industrial Revolution. This nuclear revolution is perhaps much bigger and will apply to everything—production, distribution, thinking, living, transportation and so on. It is bound to affect life in every way. If that is so, then we must think anew and not simply repeat old slogans.

Why then have we used the "socialist pattern of society"? We have definitely said that not in the way of a slogan but as an indication of our objective and our way of approach. In this nuclear age, again, we have to fit into it and we have to move quickly.

We must learn from other countries but we must remember that each country has been conditioned differently by its past. We in India, apart from our five thousand years' past, have been conditioned in the last forty-five or fifty years by Gandhiji. But Gandhiji himself was the culmination of other conditions and factors. Take America. It has been conditioned by 170 years of tremendous effort, pioneering activity, conquering a huge continent, and all that. She has developed great virtues because of that tremendous effort. Take China. Does anyone remember that China passed through over forty years of civil war among warlords, the Japanese war and the world war? For nearly two generations the people of China passed through that terrible experience—and then see what happened later. We in India, all those of us who have lived in the last thirty, forty or fifty years, have been conditioned by our freedom movement.

Coming back to the words "socialist pattern", I said we had used them not in any rigid term but in a very clear and definite way, to point out which way we are going. We are committed to it and we shall go that way. Let there be no mistake about it. I have thought like that for the last forty years. But today I can say that the whole nation thinks that way and will go that way, not just a party or group. My friend the Finance Minister⁴ may in his budget or taxation gradually go that way, as he should. But ultimately it is the question of our activity, of the Planning Commission gradually looking that way and moving that way. It is a question of our Second Five Year Plan.

As you know, we have what we call a public sector and a private sector. Some people imagine that there is a conflict between the two. Some people tell us, "O, put an end to the private sector; why play about with it?" Others, of course, and possibly many amongst you, think that the private sector or private enterprise should be given almost full play and the public sector can go about building water works and some other public amenities like parks and primary schools, and leave what might be called industrial production to the private sector. That idea of unrestricted private enterprise is out of date even in the citadel of private enterprise. Leave out India, but even in the citadel it is out of date. In a country like India as at present situated it is even more unsuitable. The state has to come into the picture in a big way. There has to be planning. We cannot, with our limited resources, allow people just to go in any direction

4. C.D. Deshmukh (1896-1982); Union Minister for Finance, 1950-56.

they like even if they mean well. One has to plan and planning has to include both the public and the private sector, leaving a great deal of room to private enterprise. The Plan is a national plan of all our activities, public or private. Naturally, so far as the public sector is concerned, the planning has to be more precise and definite; for the private sector it may not be quite so precise and definite, but it must come into that picture.

Look at India as she is today. Look at the private sector. Possibly you think only of big industries when you think of the private sector. Take land. That is a major private sector in India. Our intention is—and it is being put into effect but, I am sorry to say, rather more slowly than it ought to be—to have cooperatives, with small holders, peasant proprietors, working together in cooperatives. That is essentially the private sector. Take all manner of small enterprises, small industries, cottage industries; they too are essentially the private sector. Of course, I want to bring in the cooperative method everywhere in so far as it is possible. There is a vast field anyhow for the private sector.

Let us come to big industry. I do not rule out big industry in the private sector, certainly not. But even more than small industries, big industry has to be very definitely a part of the Plan, and must function in close relation with others. As things are, I have little doubt that the public sector will and should grow. But we want to utilise the experience and enterprise of the private sector, apart from that vast field that is anyhow its own. What we should aim at is, whatever label we attach to it, that all our various sectors and various aspects of our national activity should all be considered from the point of view of the people and what is good for the people as a whole, not what is good for a particular individual. If that is the test, then your public and private sectors gradually tend to merge into each other. The test is the public good. The test is not how much money a particular individual or a group will make. That is, in effect, our thinking, always in terms of the masses of our people. Gandhi always laid stress on that and had acted up to it.

So I should like you not to imagine that those who are so much in favour of the public sector growing and advancing are in the slightest degree opposed to the advance of the private sector. I think both have to advance as a national sector. Naturally I want your cooperation, but I want something more. I want you to appreciate what I have said and become in tune with it because in this matter, if you will permit me to say so, it is not my personal self that speaks but the vast urge of the Indian people.

So, I want you, again, in this nuclear age, to lift yourselves out of the old dogmas, think of the enormous opportunities before us, the enormous dangers before us and the enormous promises before us and this magnificent opportunity that we have got of building up the great country, building it up peacefully, democratically, and building it up with as little conflict as possible so as to serve our 360 million people and serve the world too. Thank you.

2. Hard Work for Building a New India¹

I should like to refer to some minor matters before going on to more serious issues. The first is, as you saw, I was garlanded with huge garlands. I love flowers and so it upsets me when I see them being wasted and crushed and not used properly. Recently one gentleman in Delhi made a suggestion that he would purchase a garland given to me for Rs 501 or something like that and that that money should be put in a fund for children and utilised for their welfare. He suggested that a fund like this should be started and people who wished to garland me might be told to donate the equivalent price to that fund. I liked the idea very much because flowers would not be wasted and the money would be utilised in a good cause. So, in future, whoever wishes to garland me should give me one flower instead and donate the price of the garland for children.

Now to the second thing. Perhaps some of you may have heard about the small incident which occurred after I arrived here. It was an extremely minor matter and it is not really necessary to mention it. But I have heard that all sorts of rumours are circulating in Nagpur and are spreading to Bombay and Delhi and telegrams and phone calls have begun coming in. So I thought I should say a word so that your anxiety might be set at rest. We were coming here from the aerodrome by an open car. As we entered the city, there were lots of people on both sides of the road, and I was standing in the car to wave to the people. Suddenly at a road crossing I saw a cycle-rickshaw coming. I could see it more clearly since I was standing. It began to cross our path and I was a little surprised as well as annoyed that the arrangements were so bad. Then I saw that it was being done deliberately. The individual who was pushing the cycle-rickshaw got down and came towards the car. I thought he wanted to give me an application or something, as people often do, and so I put out my hand. Then I saw that he had a knife in his hand. It was only a small little knife and nothing dangerous. The man tried to get into the car but did not succeed, as by then the police officers who were with us caught hold of him and removed him. We went ahead with the rest of our programme. This is all that happened. Anyhow, there will be an enquiry into it. It is obvious that the poor fellow was probably mad or he may have been upset, or whatever it was. It is absurd that anyone should think it is a serious matter or that there is some story behind it. It was a mistake on the part of a foolish man and it will be

1. Speech at the plenary session of the third convention of the All-India Bharat Sevak Samaj, Nagpur, 12 March 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

enquired into. So please remove the incident from your mind. There is no need to worry.

Oh yes, I have heard that people are complaining about the police arrangements. They are excellent and it is the police officers who caught the man. There is a constant tussle between me and the police officers responsible for my security arrangements which I think are excessive. I do not want to set up barriers between myself and the masses. But let me assure you that the police arrangements are always excellent and that I too can look after myself very well.

The present function has been organised by the Bharat Sevak Samaj. You must have heard about the Bharat Sevak Samaj and I shall also say something about it. I have come to this city of yours after an interval of a few months and so I feel like talking about other matters too, such as the internal situation of the country and world affairs, because it is extremely important for us to understand the modern, revolutionary world of today and our own country. As I was saying at another meeting some time ago, we are able to understand our own country better when we go out. We get a clearer picture from a distance. Otherwise we tend to get bogged down in our daily routine. It is not easy for an individual to look at himself objectively and similarly we do not get a complete picture of a nation either. My mind is crowded with thoughts which I want to place before you so that you might also think about the great tasks ahead. So I shall speak about matters which are beyond the purview of the activities of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, though, in a sense, all these things are linked together.

What is the task before us? You can describe it in many ways but as Tukdoji Maharaj² has said, we have the task of making human beings. All the other tasks are covered by that. If everyone in the world is human then there will be no quarrels and tensions. There will be mutual cooperation and the whole world will progress. There is a strange situation in the world today. You read in the newspapers that a warlike situation is developing in China, Formosa, Indo-China and elsewhere. The atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb have been invented and they are extremely dangerous weapons. We are also told that this is just the beginning and new things will be invented which will probably be even more terrible. What does all this mean? We do not have atom bombs or hydrogen bombs. Nor do we have any intention of making them. But we must understand the modern world and the things that are happening today, the enormous sources of energy that are being generated and the uses they are likely to be put to. A great source of power has now come into the hands of man. You read in our old tales and legends that people used to acquire strange powers. I do not know what those powers were but the powers that are being

2. (1909-1968); A saintly person and social activist from Maharashtra.

generated today are extremely dangerous and can destroy entire cities. It is possible that once there is a flare up, the conflagration will devour the whole world. This is just the beginning. Nobody knows what may happen afterwards. If the countries which hold such enormous power in their hands do not behave wisely and with circumspection, nobody knows what it can do. These are the crucial issues before the world today.

What is the most important problem in India today? We went through a political revolution in the country and got freedom. After that, the most important question today is of a social and economic revolution to make the people better off. Three hundred and sixty million people must progress and get rid of their difficulties and problems. Now, how is this to be done? We shall have to work very hard for we cannot progress by the efforts of some other country like the United States or China or Japan or the Soviet Union. That is pretty obvious. We shall certainly take whatever help we can get from other countries. But ultimately we can progress only through our own effort. It is a tremendous task to uplift 36 crore human beings. I would have liked to put an end to the political debates and feuds in the country as well as international problems in order to concentrate all our attention and time and effort on social and economic progress and not fritter away our energy in futile arguments and debates. But these things cannot be avoided and we are bound to get involved. We cannot remain aloof from them, however much we may want to. We cannot isolate India from the rest of the world. International issues and problems are bound to affect us. Meanwhile, debates and arguments within the country will go on and rightly so. But I wish there could be less of it. Please remember that the real task before us is to build a new India by hard work. We must eradicate poverty, ensure employment for everyone and produce new wealth in the country, which will lead to progress.

All this has to be done in a hurry. We do not have a hundred years to do it in. You see, the rich nations of the world have had a couple of centuries to advance and reach where they are today. We do not have that much time. For one thing, we do not wish to take that long. Secondly, the world situation is such that the countries which do not advance rapidly will not only slip back but may perhaps be crushed. So we have to advance rapidly in every possible way. All our five year plans and the work of organisations like the Bharat Sevak Samaj are connected with that because we have to achieve economic and social progress. But even that has to be done in a human way. We have to make human beings. People are the wealth of the country, not gold or silver. It is through the intelligence, hard work and skill of the people that the country can function. Whatever the people produce from land, from factories, from cottage industries, etc., constitutes the wealth of a country. Gold and silver are merely the tools of trade. What is a house? It is something built by the hard work and labour and intelligence of the people. So what we require is skilled

and trained people, people endowed with intelligence and human qualities, especially the capacity to work hard.

There are many excellent qualities among our people. At the same time there are also things which weaken us. We must realise that in the history of India, which dates back thousands of years into the past, a new chapter is beginning. We must learn from the lessons of our ancient history and take advantage of our past experience. We must retain the good things and forget the bad ones. What is the biggest weakness in us which has repeatedly led to our downfall? You must remember that a nation or a race falls by its own weakness and foolishness. It is not the strength of another but one's own internal weakness which leads to a country's downfall. There is no doubt about it that whenever India has fallen, it is because of her disunity and weakness and not because of the invaders' strength. So the first lesson to be learnt is that we should not indulge in such foolishness again but foster unity and harness our energy into useful and productive tasks. We got freedom by becoming united and by hard work and sacrifice. There are innumerable barriers of caste and religion in India. Thousands of castes and sub-castes are listed in the census report and each caste lives in a small little compartment of its own. And there are constant feuds in the name of caste and religion and province. All these things may be good in their own place but each of them carries the seeds of disunity in it.

Nowadays there is a great deal of talk about states' reorganisation. But we must consider the whole thing calmly instead of getting into a passion. We have set up a commission. You should read its report and think about it and then take a decision which could be implemented. After all, a state is not a separate nation but merely an administrative arrangement. Whether the Punjab or Bengal or Uttar Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh, all of them are parts of one country. Looking to the world situation today if we get into this muddle of living in separate compartments and put up barriers, we shall become even weaker.

What shall I say about communalism? Communalism is something which militates against the entire concept of Indian nationalism and her basic unity in spite of the diversities. I have no doubt about it that if communalism prevails in any form in India, it will mean the end of India's freedom. All sorts of petty quarrels will arise and lead to our downfall. It is sheer foolishness in today's world. Leave aside politics and other things. What I wish to stress is something in which all of us are entangled and find it difficult to get out of, namely, casteism—especially among the Hindus. Whatever its advantages might have been in the past, it is extremely harmful in today's world. It comes in the way of our unity and democracy and socialism and equality. There can be no equality or socialism in the country so long as we continue to have casteism, for it means disparity and barriers between the people.

I do not say that all human beings are equal, for there are bound to be differences in their qualities such as intelligence and in their economic circumstances. That is a different matter. But we must make some arrangement by which there are no barriers between the people and everyone gets an equal opportunity to make progress. The fact is that at present everyone does not get an equal opportunity. It is also a fact that nowadays everything is concentrated in the hands of ten or fifteen upper castes in India. The rest of the people are engaged in their daily routine but the real power is concentrated in the hands of the upper castes. We must make arrangements whereby every individual can hold the reins of power if he has the ability. I often have the opportunity of talking to young boys and girls in villages and in distant places like the borders of Tibet and Assam. I always tell them that though there are different religions and customs and traditions, and great differences in climate and temperature, there is a basic unity among the people of India. I tell them that each one of them has the opportunity to become whatever he likes and to aspire to the greatest position in the country if he has the ability. What is the highest position in the country today? It is that of the President and it is held by Dr Rajendra Prasad.³ There is no reason why any of you cannot become the President or the Prime Minister if you have the ability, or hold any other high post. Whether you live in a village or belong to a tribe, it should be no barrier to your progress. But you must have the ability, for we cannot afford to have incompetent people. And everyone of you must be given the opportunity to acquire that ability. I am sure that if we can provide equal opportunity to all the boys and girls in India to be educated properly, we shall produce men and women of very high calibre.

Today's world depends a great deal on science. I am convinced that we can produce great scientists and engineers in the country if our young people are given the opportunity. You must remember that today the value of a government official is much less than what it was during the British rule because the country is now engaged in other kinds of tasks. Today a scientist and an engineer is more valuable. There are great tasks before us which cannot be done without good engineers. It is not a matter of signing papers or giving orders. My dear friends, we need engineers if we wish to build a bridge. We cannot build a bridge by shouting slogans. Have you heard of the great projects and river valley schemes that we are undertaking in various parts of the country? The biggest of these projects is the Bhakra-Nangal dam being built on the Sutlej river which flows across the Himalayas through Tibet into the Punjab. It will supply water for innumerable canals and produce electricity. I think there is no other project in the world which can compare in magnitude to the Bhakra-Nangal and it is an act of great daring on our part to have taken it up. Thousands

3. (1884-1963); President of India, 1950-62.

of our engineers are engaged in this task. We have invited a few foreign engineers also to guide and advise us because we need the best engineers for the job. We shall learn from them so that they do not have to be called again.

So, in today's world, an engineer has more value than an officer sitting in the secretariat. It is difficult to find substitutes for good engineers. Similarly, if you will excuse my saying so, scientists are more valuable than our ministers, for a really good scientist cannot be easily replaced. So the map of the world is gradually changing and so are the skills and qualities which are essential in today's circumstances. We need engineers and scientists to build a new India as well as teachers and doctors in large numbers, in millions. It is obvious that it is difficult to find men of excellence and skill. We have to set about training them. After all, to what do the Western countries owe their rapid progress? They owe it to their skilled workers and scientists and engineers. At present there is a shortage of such trained and skilled people in our country. On the one hand, thousands of our boys and girls pass out of colleges and universities with BA and MA degrees. It is very difficult for them to find jobs and they are forced to join the army of the unemployed. It is obvious that this is not a good thing. But there are shortages of engineers and overseers whom we need in thousands. You will not find unemployed engineers. If all these youngmen would become overseers instead of BAs, they would immediately get jobs. They may have benefited from their education but it does not train them for anything. The old days are gone when everyone used to join the legal profession. I hope that a time will come when fewer people will join that profession though I have no objection to lawyers. We have to lean more towards professions involving technical skill and physical labour instead of wasting all our time and energy on long legal arguments and cases. We have to change the complexion of the country. We have to reform the educational system. As you know, Basic Education is being thought of, though it was conceived of long time ago by Mahatma Gandhi who was extremely far-sighted and believed in training human beings for hard productive labour, because he felt that a man who did manual labour, could think more clearly. I have no doubt about that. Basic Education will train the minds as well bodies of students.

We are moving very slowly at present in the matter of education. We pass resolutions about Basic Education but the decisions are not implemented speedily. We have to move faster in every direction. It is people with some professional skill like doctors, engineers and scientists who are now in demand. Our country is passing through revolutionary times. We are changing and so are our tasks and so the people who are responsible for doing them must also change. Changes are bound to come. The question is how to bring them about faster, for the more rapidly we change, the faster the face of the country will change. The entire social organisation has to be reformed. In the olden days, the Brahmins were at the top rung of the social ladder and then followed the

Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The landed gentry were held in the greatest respect in India. That was so in other countries too. That has now come to an end and the jagirdari and zamindari systems are gradually being abolished. In the olden days, men who lived on the labour of others were held in great respect and those who did manual labour were regarded as lowly beings. This kind of thinking can no longer serve the purpose in today's world. Manual labour should be respected above everything else. Service to the country and the people, and production of wealth through one's own labour, must be valued. Money-lending does not mean production of new wealth. It only transfers wealth from one pocket to another. What a farmer produces from his land or what a factory-worker, a carpenter or a blacksmith produces by his own labour constitutes the wealth of a nation. Gold and silver are mere tools of trade. So in a country where manual labour is regarded as lowly and a life of ease and leisure respected, there can be no progress. Therefore we must root out this idea altogether from this country. It is gradually disappearing but it must go completely.

Please remember when talking about capitalism and communism, that whether you go to a communist country like the Soviet Union or a capitalist country like the United States, you will find that work is held in great respect. I had a surprise when I visited an agricultural university in the United States⁴ where some Indian students were studying. The American professor told me that in the beginning, the Indian students were extremely hesitant to do any manual work. They felt that they could learn by watching others do the work. They did not know how to milk a cow and were unwilling to learn. When our boys went to the United States, they thought they should be provided with servants to do their work for them. The entire thinking is wrong and should be rooted out.

A country progresses by hard work, intellectual and physical. This Bharat Sevak Samaj is an instrument of work. There is no politics in it. Its policy ought to be to serve the country and forget about other arguments and controversies. Its doors are open to everyone who is willing to do some work. Each individual can devote as much time as possible—one day a week or month or even one hour a day. Apart from the fact that we need workers, we want to create an atmosphere in which manual work is respected instead of being looked down upon. Those who do not work should not be highly thought of for they are useless and a burden to the nation. Please remember that there are two kinds of unemployed in the country—one consisting of those unfortunate people who are willing to work but do not get employment and the other of those who do nothing but live off the labour of others. The second kind of people must also be counted among the unemployed for they have no means of livelihood

4. In 1949.

of their own. Both kinds of unemployment are wrong and impose a burden upon the nation.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave⁵ talks about *bhoodan* and *shramdan*. I do not say that these things can happen only in our country and nowhere else. Yet they represent a characteristically Indian way of thinking. Mahatma Gandhi was a great leader whom the whole world respected. But I am very doubtful about his impact if he had been born in some other country. I do not know how far he would have been honoured in most other countries because they do not understand these things which flourish best in the Indian soil. Behind Acharya Vinoba Bhave's idea of *shramdan* is the need to make our country hard working. I was in China a few months ago. There are many things in common between the two countries. But China has two or three tremendous advantages. One is that there is no caste system of any kind among the Chinese. A large population of human beings without any barriers among them and capable of working together in harmony is a tremendous source of power. Secondly, they have a great capacity for hard work. This has nothing to do with communism—they have always had it. The only difference is that they have now got an opportunity to work. In a society that has internal unity and no barriers of any kind, a great deal can be achieved with the proper opportunities. I have no doubt that China will progress very fast, not merely because she has adopted communism but also because they are that kind of people, with a great capacity for work.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj is taking up big tasks and will do them successfully. Just now, Nandaji⁶ mentioned Kosi. These are big projects but the important thing is to create an atmosphere conducive to hard work. When Mahatma Gandhi encouraged people to spin the charkha, the great pundits of economics used to argue that the income from it would be too meagre and the whole thing was unacceptable in modern economics, and so on. When Mahatma Gandhi marched to Dandi to collect salt, people here as well as abroad mocked it as an absurd idea. But you can see the great revolutionary force that it generated. The Dandi March shook the whole country. Leave aside the laws of economics—the charkha was a symbol involving each human being in some manual labour. It required a certain discipline of the mind which was extremely essential for us. Our entire educational system taught us to lean the other way and so Mahatma Gandhi hit upon this way to show the people that ultimately our progress depended on our own effort and labour. There is no room for argument in this. Whether you go to the United States or to the Soviet Union you will find that physical labour is highly respected, though the two countries are wholly different.

5. (1895-1982); founder leader of the Bhoodan Movement.

6. Gulzarilal Nanda (1898-1998); Union Minister for Planning, and Irrigation and Power, 1952-57. Nanda was also Chairman of the Central Board of the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

There are innumerable tasks waiting to be done. Vinobaji talks about *shramdan* and other institutions also emphasise this. But the Bharat Sevak Samaj has been established specially for this. When it was founded,⁷ we used to think that it would spread very fast but it has not done so. The problem is that the members have a hundred other tasks on their hands. I have been roped in as its President but I can only be there for show for I have so much else to do. Even if I have great interest in the Bharat Sevak Samaj, I cannot give much time to it and have not done so. Whatever the Bharat Sevak Samaj has done—and in my opinion it has done a great deal of good work—the credit does not go to me. Others have given their time in various provinces. If the Bharat Sevak Samaj has not spread faster, it is our fault. I thought that it was perhaps better not to make too great a show of it in the beginning, for such efforts often turn out to be mere flashes in the pan and dwindle into mere show-pieces. Therefore we felt that it was better to proceed step by step and stabilise our position. We have been proved right in the last two or three years. Now the institution has taken firm roots in many of the provinces and is beginning to show results. I have no doubt about it that this organisation will spread very far. The work is such that we can do it in every village and every street.

One other way of tackling these tasks is as we have done on the Kosi. The Kosi is a terrible river which brings ruin upon Bihar every year. We drew up big plans and ultimately it was decided to build a dam to bring it under control and to extend it towards the Nepal border too. Our engineers have been drawing up plans and making calculations about the time that would be required and the investment that will have to be made, etc. That was all right because contractors take longer to do these things. The engineers had no experience of inviting the participation of the masses in these tasks. In fact, they felt a little panicky that the people might ruin the job by going wrong in the measurements, etc., because of lack of experience. But we have seen and heard of such examples in China where work has been done on a very large scale. Millions of people including farmers in their spare time were roped into the task of building a huge dam over an area of nearly fifty to sixty square miles. And the task was finished in three months whereas the engineers would have asked for two or three years for the same thing because they would not have had millions of people at their command. We felt that we should also try this novel way of doing things. We had no experience but it was taken up in the Kosi project. Our experience is very good and the work is going on smoothly. Moreover, all the people in that region are engaged in that task including students and it has created a new wave of enthusiasm among the people. They have begun to feel

7. In 1952.

a sense of identity with the project and realise that it is not an official job but something that is being done for their own benefit.

All of us must realise that we have an equal share in the task of building a new India. All of us must participate in that task and we shall get a share of the benefits too. We have an equal share in anything that is being done anywhere in the country, whether it is in our own province or district or village or elsewhere. This is how we must look at it. Only then can we move fast and render long-winded calculations irrelevant. Any task can be accomplished very fast if there is people's participation in it. Just imagine, if the Bharat Sevak Samaj or any other institution takes it up seriously and involves the people in every village, the face of all the six lakh Indian villages will be transformed. We cannot be satisfied with taking up a mere ten or fifteen villages a year.

You must have heard about the Community Projects and the National Extension Service Scheme which have already spread to nearly ninety thousand villages with a huge population. They are spreading rapidly. Village workers are being trained in millions. So it is a great job that is being done in India just now. The big buildings and industries that are coming up are all very well and are essential. But the Community Projects are of greater importance for rural India and we want that they should spread to every village in our land. Though there are seven or eight lakh villages, it will be done.

So these are the various plans that we have taken up. Already a great deal has been achieved in the last three or four years, which has increased our self-confidence. We are now more confident of our own strength and this is bound to have an impact on foreign countries. There is no doubt about it. In the West, in the United States, England and the Soviet Union, there is great appreciation for what we are trying to do in India. It is not only our friends who praise us. Even our opponents have been forced to appreciate our efforts. All this increases our confidence in ourselves and the people. I do not say that everyone in India is happy today. It is obvious that they have to bear great hardships. Millions of people are unemployed. But there is a new wave of enthusiasm and pride among the people in building a new India which is a very welcome thing. But if we labour under any illusions or become complacent, we are bound to be ruined. People are buoyed up with the hope that the progress will continue at the same pace and if we slacken our efforts even a little, we shall belie those hopes. That would be extremely wrong....

I would like to tell you that there are several parties in India, like the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party and other parties. There are also parties which are intensely communal in their outlook. There can be no alliance between the Congress and such parties because I feel that they are fundamentally on the wrong path. Nor am I prepared to come to any agreement with parties which advocate violence. I am not worried that there are different shades of opinion in the country. In fact I like the idea of a conflict of ideas which will lead to

the truth being sifted. If everyone in the country blindly agrees with us, we shall not be able to think clearly. I have been working for the Congress for the last forty years and I am proud of it, because the Congress has many great achievements to its credit. But I do not by any means want that everyone in India should join the Congress. There must also be other parties so that the Congress can remain alert and be kept on its toes. I am not at all in favour of weaning away people from other parties, as Acharya Narendra Deva⁸ has accused the Congress of doing. I want to make it quite clear to him that this is not what I or my colleagues want. If anyone wishes to come into the Congress, he is welcome to do so. But I am not in favour of breaking up the other parties. However, I wish to point out one thing and that is that there can be any amount of debate in public but there should be less of mud-slinging and abuse. These are not becoming to anyone, whether he is in the Congress or the Praja Socialist Party or any other party. Let us keep the debate at a civilised level. Opinions may differ about the best way to serve the country. All of us are also entitled to change our opinion. There is no rigid, hard and fast rule about this and to set our face against change is foolish. In this revolutionary world, we have to change our views sometimes.

We have embarked upon the Five Year Plan. We are now reaching the conclusion that perhaps it is not proper to draw up a plan for five years at a time. We can have a broad outline for five years, but it has to be reconsidered every year to take stock of the changing situation and make whatever changes that are necessary. So there is no harm in different opinions being expressed. But I want to mention two or three things which create disunity among us and are consequently wrong. One is communalism which creates barriers among the people. Secondly, if our country follows the path of violence, it will become weak and stop progressing. Thirdly, we should give up the habit of abusing others, whether it is in politics or anything else. If we want to argue about something, let us do it in a civilised way and choose whatever the public is in favour of. Our energies should be devoted more towards doing something constructive than indulging in constant arguments. We must work hard and work together because that is the only way to solve our problems and not by debate. Work throws new light on various angles and we can learn as we go on.

Well, the Bharat Sevak Samaj is an example of how we should work. It lays great stress on work and does not believe in debates and arguments. Also, it is obvious that it is opposed to violence. The Bharat Sevak Samaj does not indulge in communalism and its doors are open to everyone. We are living in

8. (1889-1956); an eminent leader of the Socialist Party of India, and later of the Praja Socialist Party.

strange times today. It is a testing time for India. People all over the world have their eyes upon us to see what we are doing. They have hopes that we shall do something and there are others who are afraid of India becoming strong—wrongly so, in my opinion, because there is no cause for fear. But the majority of the people are pinning their hopes upon us. It is a tremendous responsibility. In a few days' time I shall be going to Indonesia where a conference of Asian and African countries is to take place. I do not know what the agenda is going to be but the mere fact of the conference being held is unusual. For the first time in the history of the world a conference of Asian and African countries is going to take place, which is a great thing. There is bound to be a conflict of ideas but it is a good thing that we are going to meet and some way is sure to be found. Thus Asia is on the move and so is India. All of us are progressing but the result of all this is that we shall have to tighten our belts and redouble our efforts in order to move fast. *Jai Hind*. Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

3. Chandigarh—A Symbol of Planned Development¹

I have had the opportunity of visiting Chandigarh many times in the last few years. When I first came here, all this was barren land. Then gradually, the foundations of buildings began to come up and now the town is visible. To see a thing grow has a tremendous impact on the mind and heart, more so to see a human being grow. To see a big city like this growing takes one's thoughts into the future. There are many great cities in India and the world. About some it can be said that they have a soul of a sort. That is, in thought and emotion, they have become so closely linked to history and circumstances that they are no longer a mere conglomeration of buildings but acquire a character of their own. For instance Delhi or Lahore, which is in Pakistan now. There are thousands of tales and legends around Delhi. Though Calcutta is the biggest city in India, it is not so rooted in the heart and mind of our people. It is a great city, no doubt, with many excellent points. I do not deny that. Whenever I go to any city, in Europe or elsewhere, I always search for something special

1. Speech while inaugurating the new building of the Punjab High Court, Chandigarh, 19 March 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi and English.

in it. Take any city in Europe, like Paris or Rome. They are all full of history and legend, and thousands of events have occurred in every one of them. There are cities like that in India also, especially Banares.

So when you see a new city coming up, you wonder what shape it will take, for no city can be a mere collection of buildings made of brick and mortar. There has to be something more. It gives a hint of the shape a society is likely to take in the future. So I was especially interested in Chandigarh. I am very happy that the people of Punjab did not make the mistake of putting some old city as their new capital. It would have been a great mistake and foolishness. It is not merely a question of buildings. If you had chosen an old city as the capital, Punjab would have become a mentally stagnant, backward state. It may have made some progress, with great effort, but it could not have taken a grand step forward. So the decision to build the new city of Chandigarh was a sign of new life and new thinking and augured well for the future. I used to be amazed when some people objected to it and it upset me that in their narrow-mindedness, they could not see the future that lay before India and the Punjab. They were completely bogged down in their narrow-mindedness. Even now I hear murmurs that these houses are small and that the air is polluted and so on. One day perhaps even these critics will wake up and realise that something new has happened in the Punjab which enhances the status of the Punjab and of India as a whole.

Many things are happening all over India today. History is being made and a nation is changing and advancing. But there are two things in particular which are drawing the attention of the world to India—there may be others. One is Chandigarh and the other Bhakra-Nangal. Chandigarh, because it shows the daring of the people of the Punjab in building a modern city. They chose a beautiful site, with a good climate and with mountains in the background. Then they brought in the best engineers and builders from all over the world and took advantage of their expertise to build something unique, something which will last for hundreds of years. It was an act of daring. The other thing is, as I mentioned, Bhakra-Nangal about which I can say quite confidently that for that project also great courage was necessary. We took it up and have succeeded to a large extent. We have crossed many hurdles and are now at a crucial stage. We have to be extremely careful not to let anything interfere. We must not be led astray because the whole thing is at a crucial stage. But it is a grand undertaking. So these two things of the Punjab have become famous not only in India but all over the world. I think except for a few cities of India like Delhi, Banares, Bombay and Calcutta, which are among the famous cities of

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happy is the fact that we have come out of a rut of old habits and are doing something new. It is possible that there may be some defects in construction, etc., which may come to light as we go on and will be rectified. But there are thousands of things in Chandigarh which will be copied in other cities of India. People will come from all over the world to see this new city of yours and learn.

In short, this is a new and wonderful thing that has been built. The city looks alive. Its buildings seem to convey a message and are not a mere mass of brick and mortar. Moreover, a city or a building is a symbol of a society and the life of a community. Suppose you were to see a huge castle of feudal lords surrounded by hovels in which their vassals live; immediately you can conjure up in your mind's eye a picture of a feudal community. Similarly you can tell from a city the habits of the people who live there and their social and economic organisations. The tradition of house-building in this country has been rather peculiar since the days of the British. They put their stamp on architecture in India and evolved a style which was a mixture of Western and Indian forms. It was neither purely Indian nor Western but something in between and terribly ugly. I do not say that that is true of all of them, but this is the style which has come down to us from the British days and people accustomed to those monstrosities refuse to recognise something beautiful even when they see it. That is the problem. But gradually they will begin to recognise it. Apart from beauty, a building should be a reflection of the society of our times. People must be able to gauge the type of society we are trying to build not only in one city, but in all the provinces of India, for it is obvious that changes are taking place very rapidly in our society. Where are we going? Our Parliament and other democratic institutions have declared that we are going towards a socialistic pattern of society. If that is so, it is bound to have an impact on our cities and our way of life. If we are striving to reduce the disparity between the rich and the poor, it must show in the buildings that we build. I think this has been kept in mind when Chandigarh was being built.

Well, I have spoken mostly about Chandigarh and nothing about this impressive building before us which I have come to inaugurate. I have not said anything about the work that will be done within its walls either. I shall speak about it in English if you will allow me.

I am happy to come here and see how this new city is growing up. I have come here several times during the last few years and noticed these changes. Between last year and now, I find a large number of other houses. The place is beginning to look like a city. Above all, this tremendous structure in front of me is going to be one of the dominating features of this new city. All of us who are sitting here are no doubt rather overwhelmed by it. Certainly I am, although I cannot say that I can understand the true significance of every part which I see. About that, a little while later I shall request Monsieur

Corbusier² to explain it all to me. But certainly the overall impression is strong and favourable. Justice, it is said, should be open, not closed. Well, this grand building has almost the appearance of being entirely open from here. So I am happy and I wish to congratulate you people of Chandigarh and people of East Punjab specially on the growth of this city and this new and impressive building.

Before I began speaking, the Chief Justice, the Advocate General and the President of the Bar Association³ addressed you. And they referred to some extent to the problems of justice, and of the court. It was pointed out that the state of affairs in regard to arrears of work was deplorable. Appeals filed in 1947 or 1948 or 1949, I forget, are still pending, and therefore it is suggested that more judges should be brought in to clear these arrears of work. Obviously I can say nothing about that. No doubt if such a proposal has been made, it will be considered by the proper authorities. Quite apart from the case of Punjab, in the abstract it seems to me that litigation keeps increasing. This evil has to be met not by increasing judges and lawyers but in trying to find out why this disease is growing. If unfortunately a person falls ill, he has to be treated, you provide for it, but the better way is to prevent him from falling ill. Today, all over the world, people are attaching less weight to the idea of curative medicine, although obviously it is necessary. A modern state is much more interested in preventive medicine, in preventing disease. That is the right approach. We really must look into this matter of avoiding delay in justice. The main things about justice are that it should be cheap, it should be speedy, and it should be simple. The procedures should be simple. That way you will be doing more good than by having terribly complicated procedures which may perhaps insure the fullest consideration of every aspect. But you miss the real point, when you delay it so much. I am not speaking only of Punjab; it should be applied to all India. It is important that we should simplify and speed up the administration of justice. It will make a great difference, and I hope that Punjab which is, if I may say so, a more wideawake and enterprising state than others will take a lead in this matter.

I am happy to come here and to be associated with this ceremony. I hope that all of us will be worthy of this new building and the spirit of this city. Thank you.⁴

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2. Le Corbusier (Charles Edourd Jeanneret) (1887-1965); French architect and town planner who had planned several cities including Chandigarh, Buenos Aires and Stockholm.
3. A.N. Bhandari, S.M. Sikri and Hari Prasad respectively.
4. The following is a speech at a public meeting in Chandigarh, 19 March 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

I have come to Chandigarh after a year and this new city has developed a little more during this time. In the beginning, while a new city develops gradually, it is a little difficult to imagine how it will look. But now Chandigarh has taken some shape. Though it is still in the process of being built, its name and fame have spread a great deal in the world. Because it was an undertaking of a new kind, many people who were not willing to abandon their old ways, whether they were good or bad, did not like the idea of a new city. Especially in India, people are so steeped in old customs and habits that often they cannot understand new ideas. It was not surprising that some people were a little agitated about the designs of the houses that are being built in Chandigarh, although, as I was saying elsewhere today, there is no city in the Punjab which is so well known to the world as Chandigarh is. Its fame has already spread. There are many things which attract the attention of the people, like the new type of designs for houses being tested here. It is possible that later on some changes may have to be made. But it will be a new experience and a new thing will take shape and people will come from all over the world to see it. This new design for buildings and houses will become popular in course of time.

What I like specially about Chandigarh ever since its inception is that it has become a symbol for me of the new Punjab and India that we are trying to build, a symbol of courage and daring, a new step forward. The Punjab went through a traumatic experience after freedom and partition. So it was even more essential for the state to look at the future with a new vision. Chandigarh has become a symbol of all that. The more successful you are in this venture, the more will your self-confidence grow. So I want to congratulate you on building Chandigarh. It is now the capital of the Punjab but it is among the special attractions of India and will remain so. The people who will live here are fortunate.

The other big thing in the Punjab which is also becoming famous is the Bhakra-Nangal project. All of you are familiar with it. The work has been going on for many years and there has been great progress. It will take a few more years for it to be completed. I do not think there is any project on such a grand scale being undertaken anywhere else in the world. The leading countries of the world have many huge schemes, but a project as gigantic and difficult as Bhakra-Nangal is not being undertaken anywhere else. So people come to see it and are amazed that we should have dared to take up a project of this dimension and complexity. It is a symbol of a nation which is alive and on the move. Apart from the fact that these tasks are essential and will benefit us greatly, the biggest advantage is that in the process of accomplishing them, the nation gains vastly in strength.

The world finds itself today at a difficult point. There are rapid changes everywhere which will revolutionise human life. People think that a revolution means violence and bloodshed. A revolution really is something which changes the world or a society. Perhaps the biggest revolution that has taken place in

the world is what is known as the Industrial Revolution. A couple of hundred years ago, man discovered the power which steam can generate. Steam was not something new, for it had always been there. But when man began to use it as a great source of power, the entire nature of production changed. Later electricity came and steel and electricity together changed the whole world even more. Steel and electricity are used for innumerable things in our daily lives today. More recently an even greater and more dangerous form of power has come into our hands, namely, atomic energy. Nobody knows where it will take us. It will either destroy the world and raze it to the ground or there will be tremendous progress.

You know very well what our stand has been on the changes taking place in the world. We have kept ourselves aloof from the quarrels and tensions among the countries and have not joined either of the groups of nations arrayed against one another. We have always tried to have friendly relations with all countries and have succeeded in that effort to a large extent. Other nations respect us for it. Sometimes we have been able to use our influence to solve some complicated problems.

We have arrived at a point of time when big wars have become totally meaningless, for the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb can destroy the whole world. Nations will now hesitate to rush to war. The picture is changing in the whole world though many people may not realise it yet. But old habits persist. You must have read in the newspapers about the island of Formosa near China which is a centre of constant tension and threats of war. It is strange that countries should be so ready to threaten one another. There is great fear among the nations. The result of all this is that bitterness and the possibility of war increase. I do not know what will happen. The matter is extremely complicated. Please do not think that they are empty threats. If they are acted upon, the whole world will be affected. We shall neither take part in it if there is a war, nor shall we let it come near us. But it will certainly affect us.

So what should our role be in this dangerous and fast changing world? It is obvious that the first thing is to make ourselves strong and better off to face any danger. We must not do anything within the country which creates disunity or weakens us and wastes our energy. We must increase the real strength of the nation. There are many things which contribute to a nation's strength but economic strength is the most important. It is very essential that the people must become better off. It is through increased production that the countries of Europe and the United States have advanced and become powerful. We must also do this very fast. What Europe did in a hundred or a hundred and fifty years, we must do in ten or fifteen years. The biggest challenge before the country is to reduce poverty and unemployment among the people and take them along the path of prosperity. When I say that, I mean all the 36 crores of Indians and not a handful.

You must be aware that we have declared in quite unmistakable terms what we used to talk about rather vaguely earlier—that our goal is a socialist pattern of society in which there will be no great disparity between the rich and the poor and everyone will get an equal opportunity to advance. But we can rebuild our society on the socialist pattern only when there is enough wealth which can be distributed among the people. How can there be socialism in a poor country? Distribution of poverty is not socialism. It is only when there is an increase in the national wealth that the country can advance and become prosperous. So we drew up a Five Year Plan in which we have succeeded to a large extent. Now we have the task of drawing up the Second Plan by which we hope to take greater strides. We had laid stress on some things in the First Plan. One was increased food production. The second was the big river valley schemes like the Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley and Hirakud. We took them up because the canals will provide water for irrigation, which is extremely important for agriculture and for hydro-electric power, for industries depend upon energy. The result of Bhakra-Nangal will be that this entire region will in course of time be covered with industries. There will be greater electric supply to the villages, which will help cottage industries. All this will increase the country's wealth. Perhaps in ten or fifteen years, we shall have atomic energy also.

We have laid the foundation of our future progress with the help of the Five Year Plan. We have tackled the problem of food shortages. Our big projects and schemes are gradually being completed and we are beginning to benefit from them. The other far-reaching thing we have done is to open big science laboratories all over the country because the modern world belongs to science. Often our people fail to realise what the modern world is all about. How did Europe and the United States of America advance? Why were they able to conquer us? It is because they had science through which their wealth and economic and military strength grew. Now they have even produced the atom bomb. All these things stem from science and if India is to progress and become a strong nation, second to none, we must build up our science. So we concentrated our attention on that and established ten or fifteen national science laboratories all over the country apart from the smaller ones in our universities and other places.

What is the ultimate yardstick of progress in India? After all it cannot be Chandigarh or Delhi or any other big city. Ultimately it is the condition of the rural areas which will reflect the true rate of progress, for 70 to 80 per cent of Indians live in villages. For them we took up schemes like Community Projects and the National Extension Service more than two and a half years ago and these have made great progress in this short while. I think they now cover nearly 90,000 villages. There are 5 to 6 lakh villages in India. Of those, 90,000 villages have these schemes. So rural India is also being transformed. The villages are being strengthened and the people are moving towards prosperity. These schemes teach the people self-reliance and self-help. .

I have put these four or five things before you on which we have concentrated our attention in the last five years. It is obvious that we shall have to continue doing so. We are now drawing up the Second Plan. It has become imperative for us to progress more rapidly, and to fight against unemployment particularly. This is a big problem all over the country, though it is somewhat less acute in this region. If you go to Bengal or Madras, you will find the problem very acute. Unemployment, apart from being bad for individuals, is a serious malaise for a nation. We should open up new sources of employment for the people. These programmes involve millions of people and are of great complexity. We are giving them a great deal of thought.

When I go back to Delhi from here, I shall be involved immediately in deliberations on the Second Five Year Plan. You must remember that what India is attempting at present has no parallel anywhere in the world. England and the United States and the other countries which are advanced took a hundred or hundred and fifty years to achieve this level of progress. Conditions were propitious and they had enough time at their disposal. The British took advantage of their colonies that were spread all over the world. Raw material and money poured from these colonies, including India, into their country and fed their industries. The finished products were sold to the colonies at enhanced rates. It is by doing this over a period of 100 or 150 years that they achieved their progress.

Then there were other countries which followed a different pattern. One notable example before us is the Soviet Union. But there is no doubt about it that even they took nearly 25 years to advance and become a great power. Their method is not the same as ours and I do not think it will be ever possible for them to have the same democratic system of government that we have. Also, they paid a great price in human life and misery and hardship. Ultimately, they achieved their goal but they went about it in a manner which did not allow for the kind of freedom we are used to in our country. We are trying to catch up with the Western countries within the next ten or fifteen years and within a democratic framework, maintaining individual liberty. As I said, this has not been attempted in any other country on such a large scale. Therefore the experiment that India is making is arousing great interest in the world which is waiting to see whether we shall succeed or not. Well, that will be left for historians to write about in the years to come. I have full faith that we shall succeed.

I wander all over the country and when I see the various things which are happening, I feel excited and a picture of the new India emerges in my mind's eye. I see the people of India in their millions and try to understand them and draw strength and inspiration from them. I try to understand the atmosphere which prevails in India today and what I see strengthens my faith and belief in

the people of this country. Please do not think that I regard the people of this country as superior to others or that they never behave foolishly. They often behave extremely foolishly. If they had not done so, we would have gone very far by now. After all, how did we lose our freedom to the British in the past if we had not been foolish? It was after all our fault that we became backward. Our biggest faults were internal disunity, lack of foresight and our habit of getting involved in petty quarrels and feuds. Now there is a grand opportunity before the people of India to progress. We could move much faster but for several drawbacks. Within the next six months or a year, we shall have to increase our speed. We are making preparations to start the Second Five Year Plan. I hope that there will be no opportunity for people to fight with one another because such things will retard progress while the world goes on. There are many good qualities in us but our greatest defect is the habit of internal feuds. The Punjab is also not exempt from this habit.

I am fed up of politics. My entire life has been spent in politics and even now I have to give most of my time to it. But I do not want to waste my time in either politics or international affairs. My mind is full of our economic problems and the need to make economic progress, to make the people better off, and so on. The more time I devote to politics or international affairs, the less there will be for other things. Unfortunately, I have to devote some time to politics and in the modern times every country has to take interest in international affairs because they have repercussions in their own country. Ultimately, however, the real problem before us is the economic progress of India. There is bound to be some progress anyway but that is not enough. We have to progress very fast because then the obstacles in our path become irrelevant. Things which cloud our minds and capacity to work, like disunity, will vanish.

The basic thing in India, which has led to very undesirable results, and in my opinion led to our downfall in the last few centuries and weakened us, is our caste system. That is the basic thing, especially as far as the Hindus are concerned. I am daily becoming more and more convinced that this was the fundamental reason for India's weakness. Our enemies came and fostered disunity and weakened us by keeping us in separate compartments which prevented the growth of a strong nationalism. Instead of presenting a united front to the enemy, we either fought in separate groups or, bogged down by internal feuds, we joined him. This is something which cannot be found anywhere else in the world in this form. It may be there to some extent in some countries but not like this, with all our taboos against eating and drinking, untouchability, etc. They are less in the Punjab than elsewhere. Your attention is often engaged in a different kind of fight. Let me tell you that so long as the caste system continues to exist in this country, democracy and people's rule have absolutely no meaning. This is the simple fact and if we do not uproot it,

our democracy and socialism will fall far short of our ideal. How can the concept of equality and of equal opportunities for all exist side by side with the caste system which divides people into compartments and leads to suppression of one section of society by others? Therefore we must fight against it without bothering about the fact that it may cause some loss in the beginning. By loss I mean in elections, etc. I am amazed at the role caste and religion play during elections and the candidates are selected on these grounds, which is not right. I do not know how long it will take to uproot it. The caste system is bound to go, and it is gradually weakening, but even now its sting is there. So we must understand it for what it is and fight it.

Wherever I go in India, I warn the people against casteism and communalism. Communalism is an offshoot of the caste system. Though the caste system has weakened in the Punjab, communalism is rampant among the Sikhs and the Hindus. Each group accuses the other but it is present in both the communities. They must realise that it is utterly pointless. There are great tasks before us in the Punjab and the whole country. We have been able to make our mark in the world in the last seven and a half years of freedom, not by our military strength, but through hard work and effort and understanding, and our achievements have impressed even our enemies. They are even ready to praise us. This is the situation in the world today and I cannot understand why we should suddenly forget the complexities of the twentieth century and go back a couple of centuries. I am mentioning this specifically because there is a great tendency among the Hindus and the Sikhs to cause one another harm and cut one another's throat and to try to suppress one another. That is absurd because it is not possible for one community to suppress another. But they can cause great harm to one another. So should we waste our time and energy in such things or should we pay attention to increasing our wealth from land and factories and in a thousand other ways? It is for you to decide because everybody must participate in this task. This is a straightforward fact which is applicable to everyone in India. The field is wide open to all of us for progress. The people of the Punjab are to be found all over the country because they work hard and are enterprising. So they go everywhere. I shall not go into your internal squabbles and disputes, but I am talking of basic things. The times have changed. We are no longer under British rule and we cannot afford to keep squabbling among ourselves any more. The British followed a policy of divide and rule and we used to denounce it vociferously. They took full advantage of our foolishness and played all kinds of games with us. They deliberately encouraged differences between Hindus and Muslims, and between Sikhs and Muslims. Ultimately this led to the partition of the country. Now the picture has changed in many ways. British rule has gone and Pakistan has come into being. There can be nothing more foolish than to continue to behave towards one another as we did in the past. Even earlier, it was foolish but now

more so. From whichever angle you may think about it, it can do no good whatsoever. There is great respect for us in the world. We cannot afford to indulge in this kind of behaviour. You must remember that it is only by mutual consultations and discussions that a consensus can evolve. We must not indulge in petty feuds. Both Hindus and Sikhs are guilty of this. In the Punjab communalism had roots both among the Hindus and Muslims. Most of the communal-minded Muslims have gone to Pakistan. We must learn a lesson from our experience and not persist in this foolishness.

For some time there has been a discussion about Hindi and Punjabi. There is hardly any province in India from where I do not get letters about all sorts of things. I get at least a thousand or fifteen hundred letters a day, mostly complaints. Perhaps the number of complaints from the Punjab are the least. They are all looked into and the important ones are sifted from the others. Many of them are absurd and useless. How do I know which of them are valid? Sometimes they are, sometimes they are not. Many letters are about the language issue just now, and about employment. First of all, it is wrong to think that a few jobs here and there will make a great deal of difference. It is obvious that there should be justice in the matter of employment. But a nation cannot make much progress by giving a few jobs to people. We need a thousand new avenues of work to make progress. It is happening in the Punjab. Wherever there are disparities, they should be removed but not by making a noise about it.

In the matter of language, quite some time ago a clear-cut decision had been reached and the Sachar formula was duly signed by various responsible people. I made a few enquiries and was told that it was being implemented. Still some people feel that it is not being implemented properly. When more enquiries were made, we were told that it is being implemented in the government schools but not in the private schools. Well, whatever it is, if we have taken a decision and if it is not being properly implemented, we must see to it that it is done. That is quite straightforward, isn't it? Instead of talking in the air and making a noise, we must look for ways of implementing the decision. If there is any doubt about its implementation it can be examined. It is obvious that in the Punjab, as well as elsewhere a great deal of passion is generated by the language issue. Though it may be at other places, at least in the Punjab, there should be no argument on this count. There is no room for it. If there are any differences of opinion, they can be ironed out. As a matter of fact, as far as the spoken language is concerned, it is Punjabi. As far as the script is concerned, it is a fact that you use neither the Hindi nor the Gurmukhi script but the Urdu script. Now, is that not strange? The argument between Hindi and Gurmukhi rages in Urdu. From this it is apparent how artificial the whole quarrel is. Who is stopping anyone from teaching both Hindi and Gurmukhi? Both the languages should have an equal opportunity to grow. It is

obvious that it would be harmful for you not to learn Hindi. When I say Hindi, I do not mean the language which neither you nor I can understand but which, unfortunately, many people in my province have adopted. I am tired of such Hindi. But it is obvious that it is essential for us to learn Hindi along with the other Indian languages.

Think of the people in the South who speak Tamil or Telugu. For them it is a real burden to learn Hindi. But they are learning Hindi and will continue to do so, in addition to their own language. If we do not learn Hindi, how can we function all over the country? You will naturally learn Punjabi. There is no question or argument about it. If you isolate yourselves in the matter of language, how can the people of the Punjab participate in the thousand and one national tasks in which India is engaged today? If not today, within the next five or ten years English will no longer be the official language in Delhi or anywhere else. I do not mean to say that we shall remove English altogether. But in general our official work will not be done in English after the next ten years or so. There is no doubt about it. It will have to be done in Hindi. If people wish to participate in the tasks of the nation, it becomes essential to learn Hindi. Therefore for your own personal progress or the progress of your state, learning Hindi is essential. Punjabi is your tongue and you must certainly learn it. But I cannot understand why people should create unnecessary quarrels and fight about them. It is important for you to overcome all these passions and forget the tensions and look at the various problems of India calmly. By problems I mean things which weaken us or create bitterness among us. You will find that they are fewer in the Punjab. A great deal of noise is made, but the basic problems are very few. Are you going to waste your time and energy, or let others do so, in these quarrels when there are big tasks ahead? Please remember that a new era is beginning. I mentioned the atom bomb just now not to frighten you but because it is a symbol of the new era. Where will we be in this new age? The choice before us is either to make progress or fall behind and follow others' lead. So far we have carried our burdens rather well. We have fought our own battles and shall continue to do so. We do not need anyone to fight for us, nor shall we search for somebody to do so.

So we must try to understand this new world with a new perception. The old ways of thinking and slogan-mongering are absurd and should be given up. I am sometimes amazed at the things people keep repeating. Recently there was a meeting in Delhi of the presidents and secretaries of the various Pradesh Congress Committees. It was convened by the Congress President. For three or four days there were deliberations about the course of action we must adopt in this changing world of today. The Congress is seventy years old and has seen many ups and downs in that period. The history of the Congress in the last seventy years is the history of India in that period. It is through the Congress

that India achieved freedom. But I told the assembled Congressmen,⁵ and repeat it to you, that an organisation or party which keeps repeating the earlier lessons by rote will not be able to achieve anything great in the future. Some of the old lessons are no doubt very good and must not be forgotten. But ultimately we have to move forward, not keep looking back all the time. I have great affection for the Congress and I want that it should serve the nation. So I want the Congress to learn new lessons and understand the new world and progress. I would like to tell the Congress as well as all of you that old feuds, the old ways, the old slogans, etc., have no meaning in today's world. We must try to understand it and devise new ways of meeting its challenges. I cannot say that I have a clear-cut idea of the line we should adopt, except in a very broad sense. But I do not know which way we should lean or what we should or should not do in the process. I am not prepared to admit that we should draw a rigid line for us to follow. I do not wish to be rigid, whether it is in religion or anything else. I am prepared to accept the high principles of religion but I shall not accept the petty taboos about eating and drinking and what not. All that is not religion but superficial rigmarole. Religion should teach high ideals and a way of life. You will find that the principles of all religions are generally the same. The quarrels come from below.

Now we have another 'ism', which has come in, which has all the rigidity of religion, and that is communism. Its approach is undergoing a change somewhat but the passion remains. There is no doubt that communism has some good points. If there had been none, how would it have attracted people in such large numbers? But the communists' methods of working are such that I for one dislike them. I have no quarrel with their goals. But their methods and approach to their goals are totally alien to our ways. I shall not go into this question further. What I was saying was that communism and socialism tend to become as rigid as religion. They tell me that since the Congress claims to have adopted a socialist pattern of society, we must show in writing how we have fulfilled the tenets of socialism. What are the fundamental goals before us? It is to improve the economic condition in India, to remove the disparity between the haves and the have-nots, to produce more wealth and ensure its equitable distribution and to usher in state ownership of the big industries instead of their being in private hands. These are the broad socialist principles that we ought to follow. That is the social organisation that we must strive for. But in doing so, if we draw a rigid line around ourselves, we shall limit our progress. The rules and traditions which governed the world a hundred years ago may

5. Nehru inaugurated the conference of PCC presidents in New Delhi on 14 March 1955. Nehru's speech is not printed.

not be relevant today and will be less so in future in the atomic age. Therefore I am not prepared to tie ourselves down rigidly.

While following some broad, fundamental principles, we must have a clear perception in this changing world and open our minds to new ideas. We must learn from our experience and make progress. The First Five Year Plan will come to an end in the next year or so. Then the Second Five Year Plan will start. But you must remember that even that will not be a rigid document. We shall review it every six months or a year to find out its weaknesses and shortcomings and make alterations accordingly. This is how our country can progress—by the skill and intelligence and experience of the people. But whatever we do, it can be done only by hard work and daring. There is no other way. There is no magic formula which can help us. It is by hard work that a nation progresses.

Now I shall go to Bhakra-Nangal. Thank you. Please repeat *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind. Jai Hind. Jai Hind.*

4. A Nation's True Strength¹

As you see, I am speaking sitting down. I can speak more leisurely this way. I am addressing a public meeting in Delhi after a long interval. I wanted to speak to you immediately after I returned from Europe, because I want to keep our mutual contact of minds intact. I want that we should understand each other and be able to explain to others what is happening.

It is a special day which has been chosen for the meeting. As you heard just now, two years ago on this day, Asaf Ali saheb² and Shafiq-ur-Rahman Kidwai saheb³ died within a day of each other. Frankly I do not like to have memorial meetings in the name of our dead colleagues and friends and to make a show of remembering them. We must certainly remember our co-workers. But it is wrong to make it a mere routine. If we remember an older

1. Speech at a public meeting, New Delhi, 3 April 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.
2. (1888-1953); an eminent Congressman of Delhi; served as the Governor of Orissa; and as Ambassador to Switzerland.
3. (1900-1953); professor of Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; a close associate of Zakir Hussain, and a minister of Delhi state.

leader or colleague of ours, it should be with some purpose. It must be to take advantage and learn a lesson from their lives. But to do it as a matter of formal duty is not right. Asaf Ali was a very old and a special friend of mine. I remember meeting him in this very city nearly thirty years ago and thereafter I met him regularly and spent almost three years in the Ahmednagar Fort with him where we had the opportunity of coming close to each other. The close proximity in which people live in a jail or fortress throws into relief everyone's good points and bad. That is how eleven or twelve of us who were together in Ahmednagar Fort came to know one another very well. His passing away was a shock and the thought comes to my mind that in that generation of people, I am left alone and I do not like it. Well, lonely or otherwise, the work has to be done so long as there is a call to work and since I have adopted this as my profession, I shall have to bear with its ups and downs.

As for Shafiq bhai, I have seldom met a more sincere and pleasant personality. It is difficult even to think that he could ever harbour a wrong thought. He was always busy with his own work which he did sincerely and with integrity, and had nothing to do with any political manoeuvring. So it was a tremendous shock to us and especially to the people of Delhi when two such prominent persons, Shafiq bhai and Asaf Ali saheb, passed away. Asaf Ali had worked very hard for the growth of the Congress in Delhi and for the development of public life. He changed the face of Delhi and so it is necessary for us to refresh our memories about the principles on which the Congress grew. Do you remember the great leaders from Delhi? Public memory is notoriously short. The great Congress leaders were Hakim Ajmal Khan,⁴ Dr Ansari⁵ and others in whose shadow the Congress grew and different kinds of public works were undertaken. Times have changed as is inevitable but we must remember those principles in order to maintain a proper mental balance and perspective. We can take the country towards progress only if we keep in mind constantly the different aspects of this country's progress. If we lean too heavily on one side, whether in the name of religion or anything else, then we can no longer remain a nation. Breakaway tendencies will grow and the country will be divided.

When India became free, there was partition and another country was carved out. Millions of refugees crossed over on both sides and there was a tremendous upheaval. Millions of people were involved and the shock of it wounded the nation badly. In the last few years, the wound has been healing gradually. It

4. (1865-1927); a leading Unani physician of Delhi and nationalist leader; President, Indian National Congress, 1921.

5. M.A. Ansari (1880-1936); a leading Congressman of Delhi; and a close friend of the Nehru family.

was not merely the people who went through the traumatic experience who were wounded but the nation as a whole was hurt. You must not forget that the wound was inflicted on Pakistan also. It is obvious that both sides went through a gruesome experience due to the foolishness on both sides. Anger and passion had drawn a curtain over our eyes which affected our old concept of India. I hope we are regaining our perspective little by little and will not fall into the errors of narrow-mindedness again. The task before us is to make our country a strong and powerful nation in the world—strong not in the sense of flaunting our armed might or producing atom and hydrogen bombs. It is neither possible for us nor do we wish to produce them. We do not wish to use threats or commit aggression against other nations for that runs counter to our principles. I am willing to make a firm pledge before all of you and the world that India does not wish to commit aggression against any country, nor will it do so. We will defend ourselves if anyone attacks us. So then how do we wish to be a mighty nation? We wish to be counted among the civilised, humane nations of the world and be proud of our culture and traditions which are striving for progress intellectually and in every other way. We want to build a prosperous nation where the people are well off and making progress. As you know, all sorts of theories and philosophies are advanced and people talk about socialism, capitalism, Gandhism, communism, etc. It is a good thing to debate about these ideas for it clears the air. But do keep in mind that these terms are misleading. You may feel that you have understood them, but there is no real attempt at thinking deeply about them. You can shout slogans demanding socialism. I have no objection, for I too want socialism. But if I were to ask you to write a page about socialism, you will be in a panic. It is a bad thing to give up constructive thinking. Therefore I would suggest that instead of getting bogged down by words, we must try to understand what we really want.

We need many things. But whatever we want is for 36 crore men and women. Please remember that. Your yardstick has always to be a family of 36 crores. We have to look after such a huge family and make it progress. Only then will our calculations be right. The moment we start thinking about a handful of us, of Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs or any one community only, we shall go wrong. So we must think of 36 crores of people. Only then can we progress at all. We have to ensure that they are prosperous, get enough to eat, have enough clothes to wear and houses to live in, and have facilities for medical aid and education. These are very ordinary things. Then everyone must have employment according to his ability, for that is important for the people as well as the country. All these things have to be ensured for everyone for they are basic things. Then other things will follow. We do not want that personal liberty should be curtailed in any way in the country. It is possible that the people may be well off in a sense but there may be no personal freedom. I do not want that because ultimately such prosperity does not take a human being very

far. We do not want merely food to eat and clothes to wear and jobs to do. We want high quality individuals who can progress by their own skill and intelligence.

After all, what is the world today all about? Human beings have made this world by their hard work and intelligence and ideas over thousands of years. What is India? She has been built over thousands of years, piece by piece, by the ideas and thoughts of our ancestors. So now it is our task to take her forward and make her strong. Therefore food and clothes are not enough though they are essential. Freedom should not be curtailed in any way. We should have democracy along with rapid progress. So it is rather complex. There are many countries in the world which are better off than us in certain respects. But so far none of them had to face the challenge of uplifting thirty-six crores of people by peaceful and democratic methods. The countries which are regarded as wealthy, like the United States, England, Germany, etc., have taken more than 100 or 150 years to reach where they are today. They took a long time and conquered many parts of the world and ruled over them. The other kind of progress has been in countries like the Soviet Union where they abandoned democratic principles and the results were quite different. Now it is a tremendous task if we try to do in ten or twenty years what the European countries took 200 years to do. Moreover, we are trying to do it peacefully and democratically. There is no other parallel to this in the world so far. History will record how far India has succeeded. But I can tell you that the experience of the last seven and a half years has convinced all of us, and I think the world too, that India will definitely succeed in her effort. I am fully convinced—and I hope you will agree with me—that we will succeed. But it is interesting to note that it is having an impact on the world too. It is something to be happy about, but at the same time, it is a burden on us in the sense that respect for India is going up tremendously in the world. So it becomes difficult to take on the responsibility that it imposes. People come from other countries to see our progress, especially our neighbours in Asia who have a special interest because they are also facing similar problems. They are also poor and have to make progress. Practically all the countries of Asia are in the same boat. In fact, some countries are even more backward. So they come to see what is happening in our country, especially in our rural areas where we have started community projects and other schemes. You will be amazed to hear how many people come from various countries to see our Community Projects because they are specially meant for our backward rural areas. Only yesterday we had visitors from a very distant country who saw our Community Projects and some other villages. They came and told me that they were amazed to see the difference that these schemes had made to the villages. Please remember that it is not a question of doing it in a few selected villages. At the moment, Community Projects and National Extension Service are being implemented in more than

90,000 villages in India and they are gradually being spread to more villages. The idea is to take up 40,000 or 50,000 villages every year under these schemes because we want that within the next seven years at the most, they should have spread to every village in India. It is a tremendous task. It is not enough merely to draw up a map. The people have to be trained and a special organisation built up to implement the schemes. Arrangements have to be made to build schools, roads and hospitals, and also for propagating new techniques of agriculture. The main thing in all this is that the people should make the arrangements themselves. This is going to be a revolution in our rural life. All this is happening silently and without much fanfare. This is on one side. On the other, we have taken up huge river valley schemes as in Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, etc. You cannot get a true picture of the magnitude of those schemes by reading about them. They are on a very large scale. It is the people of India who are doing them, and not me personally, and so they can justly be proud of them. The very idea of taking up such large schemes is a sign of courage and the successful completion will be a symbol of our ability. People are amazed when they see them. Bhakra-Nangal is undoubtedly the largest and most difficult scheme in the world today. There is nothing comparable in the world. We have taken it up and will certainly succeed in it.

I have given you just two examples though many more can be given. All these things have an impact on the world, especially the fact that in spite of a large population of thirty-six crores of Indians with different parties and opinions, India is a nation throbbing with life and is unitedly marching ahead. It has a great impact, and when they see millions on the march, they feel that we are bound to go far. And so respect for us goes up, though we do not have a large army, or an atom bomb, or big weapons or wealth. We have only a large number of intelligent human beings willing to work in mutual harmony and cooperation, who show courage and determination.

Nowadays there is a great deal of talk of war. Ever since the atom bomb was invented, it has increased even more. The result is that there are very few nations in the world which do not live in constant fear and tension. The strange thing is that the bigger the power, the more scared it is. Nations use dire threats in their fear and constantly sharpen their weapons, which in turn scares the others into doing the same. So all their time is spent in this arms race and in mutual fear. I think there is hardly any other country in the world today which harbours so little fear as India. There is no doubt that we are not afraid of any power. I am not saying this as an empty boast. For one thing, why should we be afraid? Our policy has been such that we have no enmity or feud with any country and there is no reason for anyone to attack us. Secondly, if by chance there is aggression, everyone knows that we are not weak and that we shall defend ourselves to the best of our ability. What is the sign of strength or weakness in a nation? It is obvious that in case of war, we have an army to

fight with. But ultimately it is the inner strength that counts. We must have the mental strength to be able to combat an atom bomb with sticks or even with our bare hands. What I mean to say is that we shall not bow down to aggression. When I say we should combat atom bomb with our bare hands, I mean it figuratively. What I mean is that it is a question of the indomitable spirit of a nation which does not fear even death. After all, a man can die only once. Then what is the sense in getting into a panic about it? When a nation feels like this, its strength increases greatly. There must be people of all ages present here today, some my age, some even older. What is the lesson that we learnt under Mahatma Gandhi after 1919? We learnt a great deal from him in twenty or thirty years but the most important one of fearlessness. After all a man fears the consequences of some act. There was a time when even our biggest leaders used to go into the English courts to put in a plea of 'not guilty' whenever there was a case of sedition against them. This was the usual practice till then. There was an immediate difference in our attitude under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance and if there was a case against us, we would go and admit it readily in the courts and declare boldly that we would continue to do so because that was our job. As you can see, a slight change in our attitude made a world of difference. Earlier we used to plead very humbly to be let off or go in search of lawyers to free us. The other alternative, which we soon began to follow, was to accept the charge boldly and welcome any punishment that the court wished to impose upon us. The government had no answer to this for they could not retaliate with arms or weapons. So, in 1920-21, there was a lightning change in the atmosphere and we became bold and daring. Mahatma Gandhi was a great soul and he could do this. Not everyone would have been able to do it. There was a firmness and a strength in his eyes and voice and personality which could transform an entire nation. What I mean is that our strength was an inner strength which came to us from the moral strength of our great leader. It was not armed strength. Those lessons are still fresh in our minds. It may be foolish for us to think that no one will dare to attack us because we are such a huge country. It would be absurd to boast about our strength because there are any number of big powers in the world who could attack us. We must try to understand the realities of the situation. But if we are firm in our determination not to go to war with anyone but not to tolerate any interference in our affairs either, it creates an atmosphere in which our country will become unconquerable. We must not tolerate any aggression even if we have to defend ourselves with our bare hands.

There is a pall of fear over most countries of Asia, Europe and the United States about the possibility of a nuclear war. Strangely enough, their method of trying to ward off such a disaster only increase fear and tension in the world. Their treatment is aggravating the malady. This is the situation in the world today. Security pacts and alliances are made. Recently there was a conference

of the great powers in Manila, in the Philippines, where a security pact was signed, assuring mutual help in case of war. The strange thing is that they are willing to help even those who are not asking for it. This is a new thing that they have started of forcing treaties down the throats of unwilling countries. Again in West Asia, you find a number of military alliances and pacts between the big and the small powers. It is a peculiar situation, full of fear of the future, and hence the attempt to hold on to one another for reassurance. But in today's nuclear age, these minor military pacts do not add to anyone's military strength. The net result is that they breed fear and a sense of insecurity in those powers against whom the pacts are directed. They too start arming themselves and the whole atmosphere gets vitiated by such pacts instead of leading the world towards peace. Fear and tensions increase and no one knows where it will all lead. Let me tell you that in today's world, the atom bomb has already become a very common weapon, one might even say an outmoded weapon. Many others have been invented thereafter which are more terrible and lethal. You may not have heard of them yet. But it will have to be accepted that if these terrible weapons are unleashed upon the world, it will be destroyed entirely. There will be no stopping it. Undoubtedly it is not our intention to go to war and we will not do so, whatever happens, unless we are attacked. But if there is a war, it is bound to affect us. The effects of a nuclear fallout would be felt thousands of miles away.

I told you just now that the respect in which we are held imposes a burden upon us. People come from all over to see what is happening here and our policies find approval in most countries because it is felt that they will help the world towards peace. The fact is that all this bothers me because I do not have the strength to take on such great responsibilities. How can anyone fulfil the hopes of these countries? It is obvious that neither I nor anyone else can do it singly unless the people realise their responsibilities. The responsibility is not ours alone but of all people. If we understand it well, then undoubtedly we can take on the responsibility. It cannot be done by the 'government or myself alone. We must understand the revolutionary ferment in the world of today and face it with our high ideals, integrity, and hard work and by breaking down the internal barriers among us.

There are many communalist organisations in the country who ruin our politics in the name of religion. They include Hindu, Muslim or Sikh organisations. Please remember, however, that so long as communalism holds sway in the country it is a sign of our backwardness, weakness and foolishness. It has no relevance to the modern world and it weakens the spirit of nationalism by diverting our attention elsewhere. You can judge a man or a nation by their ideas and desires and by where they wish to go. Let me give you an example. Suppose I visit a school and ask a student what he wants to be when he grows up and he says very emphatically that he wishes to become a deputy collector.

Well, deputy collectors are very good, no doubt, and I have no objection to them. But if there is another student who says he wishes to become the President or Prime Minister of India, I would feel that the second boy had set his sights high. It is a different matter as to what he becomes ultimately. The first one stops at the idea of being a deputy collector. It is obvious that every individual cannot become the President or Prime Minister but it is a question of the attitude of an individual or a nation. The nation which gets bogged down by narrow communalism cannot go very far, especially in the revolutionary times we live in today. It will stay where it is.

So we have to look ahead as a nation. I am fully convinced that so long as there is casteism among the Hindus, Indians will remain useless. There may be some superficial progress here and there but there can be no real progress because casteism weakens the nation. The fact of the matter is that democracy cannot flourish where there is a caste system. Democracy means equal opportunities for all, equality, etc. How is all that possible if you live in compartments, with some living at the top and the others permanently at the bottom? So we must get rid of such a system, though it cannot be done immediately. I agree that you cannot change the views of millions of people by magic. But all of us must realise that this thing weakens the nation. It is possible that the caste system may have been useful a thousand years or five hundred years ago when it was first started. But we have to change with the changing times and don a new garb in the place of the old.

There is no doubt that our country is held in great respect outside, but we do not deserve that much respect. We have not done anything spectacular. Ultimately respect for a nation is based on its internal strength, which we have to add to. The country must become prosperous in every way so that we can achieve big things. The most important thing is to make our economic condition better by producing more and increasing the national wealth. There should be employment for everyone. How is all this to be done? It is obvious that it cannot be done by consulting an astrologer or by chanting mantras. It can only be done by hard work and careful planning. Unplanned effort will not help. We have to draw up a plan by which the nation can benefit fully and there is no waste of resources or energy. The First Five Year Plan was fairly successful. Though it was not very ambitious, it has enhanced our self-confidence and courage. There is still a year and a half to go for the completion of the First Plan. But we must draw up the Second Five Year Plan within that time. I hope that it will be more ambitious and generate more employment, which will mean more money in the pockets of the people. Suppose we begin new tasks on behalf of the government and invest three hundred crores in them. It will mean that that amount will go as wages to workers and will in turn be spent on goods which they want to buy. This cycle of buying and selling will go on. We have to plan in order to put up heavy industries as well as small-scale and

cottage industries, which will reduce unemployment and increase the rate of production.

Shri Radha Ramanji⁶ said just now that I should give you a new message. What should the new message be? I would like you to understand the old messages first and the new ones can come later. The message of socialism is nothing new. The fact is that the Congress has explained it clearly. But I want you to understand that however beautiful these words may sound, we must not close our minds. It is wrong to do so at any time but especially so in the present times when the world is changing rapidly. If somebody were to come and tell me that we should copy the United States of America, my reply would be that we are two different worlds and though there is a great deal that we can learn from them, there is no question of copying them. If I were to turn India into another America, we shall become out of place in our own world. We must certainly learn many things from the United States but we must use them in our own way.

Then our communist and socialist colleagues come and talk to me about Marx and Marxism. I tell them that Marx was a very great man and I hold him in great respect, but he wrote about conditions that prevailed a hundred years ago. What he has written is extremely sound and I have read it. You should also read what he has written and benefit by it. But if somebody tells me that I must blindly accept whatever Marx wrote about Europe of more than a century ago and apply it to India, it will be foolish. The world has changed and a thousand things have happened. Apart from everything else, the invention of the atom bomb is the symbol of a revolutionary world and atomic energy is a great power in the hands of man today. There is no doubt about it that the picture that Marx has drawn is very different from the picture that obtains today in the United States or anywhere else. So it is unfair to Marx to say that what he wrote 90 or 100 years ago portrays a picture of the present. The communists repeat it almost like gospel and keep referring to it constantly for guidance. Why can't they open their eyes a little and use their head? They could certainly read and understand the principles of Marxism. It has become a habit with all of us, including Congressmen, to repeat lessons learnt by rote without trying to understand the changes that are taking place. I do not mean to say that our old principles and traditions are wrong—they are often very useful—but to accept anything blindly merely because it is old is to show disrespect to it. No seer or great leader has ever said that we must accept something blindly. We have eyes and brains which we should use. Why should we close them and learn lessons by rote?

The Congress has adopted a resolution to build our society on the socialist pattern. We have deliberately made it clear that nobody can foist their own

6. (1904-1982); an eminent Congressman of Delhi; Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-62.

rigid theory of socialism on us. We have to learn by experience what is proper for India. Mistakes can be rectified and if we fail in one direction, we can always change our course. A nation grows through consultations and discussions.

What do I mean by socialism? There can be many definitions of socialism. One is the concept of equality, of reduction of the disparities between the haves and the have-nots. The second is not to allow a few individuals to have a monopoly in production, whether it is from land or from industries. They should be in the public sector. It is proper that we should move in that direction though it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty at present as to the ultimate picture that will emerge. It will be easy to declare that there should be equality in society and perhaps we can even achieve it through violent methods. But we shall end up being equal only in our poverty. That will not take us very far.

We have to strive for prosperity and therefore it is essential to channel all our resources into the task of increasing production and our national wealth. At the same time, we must move towards equality also. But the most important task is to increase production. If we do not do so, there can be neither communism nor socialism nor any other ism. There will only be continuing poverty. I am telling you this because some people feel that we should pass a law taking away the wealth from the handful of rich men in the country and thus bring about socialism. It is absurd. We shall pass laws to bring about equality, but we must not take any step which brings the machinery of production in the country to a halt or slows it down because the most important thing is to produce as much as we can from land and industries and in every other sector. Then comes the question of proper distribution. Now there are various problems in this. On the one hand, there is a loud clamour to nationalise all the industries, big and small, that is, to take them away from private hands and put them under state ownership because that has been a tenet of socialism from the olden days. I agree that this is one line of thinking. It can be done in either of two ways—one, by snatching them away without giving any compensation or two, by giving compensation. These are the only two methods. The first method is against our principles and so we cannot do it. It has never been the principle of the Congress and I do not think it is proper either for many reasons. It is not a question of any great principle. I agree that in many cases, they do not have the right to any compensation. I do not accept that the old princely states had any claim to large sums as pensions and privy purses. Yet, having considered everything, we decided to give them privy purses because we wanted to build a new India by peaceful methods and to avoid tensions. We have paid crores of rupees to buy peace and bring those people over to our side. Though we spent such enormous sums, I think we settled the matter very inexpensively, in the sense that it was done peacefully. Feuds and tensions bring ruin. We have presented a great example to the world by solving a very complex problem involving nearly 600 states in India peacefully and silently. I

agree that we are spending a few crores every year but it will progressively become less. We do whatever we wish to by mutual agreement because it is wiser in the long run and the atmosphere does not get vitiated. That is important. If our attention is diverted by constant feuds, how can we build India?

Now the basis of Marxism, communism or socialism is class struggle, that is, continuous war between the various classes of society. It is pretty obvious that there is a conflict of interests between the workers in a factory and its owner. So it is true that there can be struggle between the two classes. Similarly there is bound to be tension between the zamindars and the labourers who work on land. To deny that there is any tension or conflict at all between the classes is wrong. They are there but the question is how do we solve the problem by aggravating it or trying to find a peaceful remedy? The communists follow the former. They believe in creating so much conflict and tension until ultimately the system itself is destroyed completely. I cannot understand whether this is necessary or even proper. The history of Europe during the last forty or fifty years has been full of tension. Why should we duplicate that here? Why should we not learn from the history of Europe or our own history? Why should we have violence and bloodshed here also? I have absolutely no objection to class struggles. What I object to is to following a policy of fomenting trouble or encouraging feuds in order to suppress any one class. We do not wish to harm anyone whether they are the old rajas and maharajas or zamindars and jagirdars. But neither do we wish to let them remain in a position where they can stand in the way of the nation's progress. So we gave them time, came to an agreement and gave enormous sums as compensation, thus paving the way for peaceful progress. It was cheap when you see the history of other countries where there has been tremendous bloodshed, waste of enormous sums of money, frittering away of energy, and where bitterness has lingered for years without the problem being solved to this day. We have solved the problem though people will complain that we have wasted too much money.

You may have heard that I have presented a Bill in Parliament to amend our Constitution slightly.⁷ It is related in a way to this compensation issue. It will accept in principle that compensation may be given and also decide the sum to be paid, so that later on there are no court cases about whether the compensation is adequate or not. When we were framing the Constitution, this question had come up and I had expressed the views that I have told you about just now. But later on when the matter went before courts, their decisions were entirely different. We had a number of laws relating to zamindari and the matter got stuck for nearly four years in the law courts. It upset things tremendously. Millions of peasants and innumerable zamindars have waited for years for the

7. For Nehru's speech while moving the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill in the Lok Sabha on 11 April 1955, see *post*, pp. 393-403, and reply to the debate on 12 April, pp. 403-409.

matter to be settled. Ultimately it was settled and the court decision caused great losses and we were in a fix. We had interpreted the Constitution wrongly and the courts decided against us. So we want to make this matter quite clear. That is why I have presented this Bill. It is not our intention not to give compensation. After all, it is to our own people that we are giving compensation and we do not wish to deprive them. We shall not give them absurd sums but neither shall we let this matter stand in the way of our planning for the future.

I was telling you about the question of nationalisation. It is our policy to provide compensation when we nationalise something. The proper amount will be decided after due consideration. Let us assume that there is a big industrial unit somewhere and the question arises whether we should nationalise it, as our communist and socialist colleagues demand. Suppose we have to pay them ten crore rupees as compensation. By nationalising it, we would not have set up something new in the country, for the production will remain the same as before. We would not be increasing the national wealth in any way. On the contrary, we would have to give crores of rupees as compensation. Instead of this, it is perhaps much better to let the industry be in private hands, but we might pass laws regulating it. We can utilise the ten crores to start new industries. The result will be, apart from increasing employment, that the new industries will belong to the people and be in the public sector. Why then should we invest our money in buying up old units? They can exist side by side the new ones that we shall set up. After all, whatever is produced in the private sector is also part of national wealth. We are not in favour of a general policy of nationalisation. We shall nationalise only in cases where they act as obstruction to our policy. For instance, we decided to nationalise the Imperial Bank totally—because we wanted the Bank to function in such a way that our work progressed more efficiently.⁸ We had controlled half of it from before. We went ahead and acquired full control.

We shall nationalise whatever we consider proper. But it is not our intention to spread a general scare of nationalisation because we want to invest the resources at our command in new tasks and in building new industries, so that new wealth may be produced and more jobs created.

I have given you an example. The socialists repeat the demand for nationalisation without understanding what we have to do in order to reach our goal. It is very frequently said in India, especially in Bengal and in Calcutta, that there is a great deal of foreign capital in India. The communists want us to grab hold of it and throw foreign owners and managers out. Now there is no special difficulty about doing so. But the communists do not know that the world is slightly more complicated than they realise and the result might prove costly. Apart from anything else, they forget that it will cost us a great deal of

8. See *post*, pp. 410-416.

money too. They ask that since that had been done in the Soviet Union, should it not be done here too? But you must consider the circumstances that obtained when that happened. A great world war was raging, and there was total upheaval and revolution and civil war. It was an extraordinary situation in which the new government took certain steps and impounded foreign capital. Now if we want to copy them, we must recreate all those conditions. Should we also have a civil war here? It is absurd. How can we imitate blindly without understanding the situation in the country? Secondly, it was only a long time after the revolution that the Soviet Union had agreed to pay compensation. In most cases they had seized the foreign capital. But they paid up because being a big country, the Soviet Union did not wish to earn a bad reputation for the sake of ten or twenty crores of rupees. As far as I can remember, they paid compensation to some people years later because when you are dealing with foreign powers, you have to behave in a manner befitting your status. After all the world is a large family of nations and picking one another's pocket does not enhance in any way the reputation or status of a country. We may save a few crores but if it is at the cost of our credit and respectability, there is no point in it. Therefore it is absurd. People often say that we should seize the foreign capital and also that the Indian government and economy are being held captive by foreign capital. That is also absurd and wrong. All this is learnt by rote from old books. I cannot understand why they do not read new books. I grant, and I can give you a number of examples, that it is possible for foreign capital to capture a country's markets and ultimately conquer it politically too. I know that there are such countries in Asia and America and Africa. But the question is, in the present economic and political situation in our country, how does foreign capital affect us? Does it in any way exert pressure on our political life, and do we stand to gain by it? This is what we have to consider. Is there an element of fear or pressure of foreign capital in our law-making or any other field of politics? It is obvious that there is no such thing. These are all absurd charges. We are not afraid of foreign capital for we have no fear that it will interfere with our growth. We have in fact gone so far as to say that if they need some extra capital to open factories here, they can bring it in. We have assured them that their capital will remain safe. We want to build a new India rapidly, according to our own plans, which accords a place for foreign capital. To say that we should seize foreign capital, has no relevance in the present set-up in India....

I just attended a conference of peasants and farmers. The first question that we took up was the land problem in India after Independence. It is a fundamental issue. It is my regret that the matter has not been solved fully, although zamindari, jagirdari and talukdari have been largely abolished. I feel rather upset by this business of encroachment which is taking place everywhere. It is an offence wherever it happens. I want my voice of disapproval to reach every corner of India.

The other important thing is to increase trade, to take the country towards socialism by producing more wealth and expanding the public sector. We want to encourage the private sector also, because we want India to advance in every direction. The country's resources are large enough to accommodate both, and the public sector is bound to expand very fast. All these big river valley schemes like the Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, etc., are in the public sector. The railways, postal services, as well as the factories in Sindri, Chittaranjan and Bangalore are all in the public sector. It is a long list and each one of them is a huge project. We are going to put up two big steel plants in the public sector. But we want that the private sector should also grow and are willing to help them financially. We want the small-scale industries also to grow and are going to lay special emphasis on cottage and village industries. In this manner we want every sector of industry to grow.

I have tried to give you a picture of our growth. You must remember that apart from the fact that it is essential for us to advance—and we can do so by intelligent planning and hard work—old ideas, in whichever garb they appear and are used by any party, do not take us very far. I do not want that all the parties in India must die out except the Congress. I do not want that. Let me tell that to you quite clearly, because it is often talked about. I do not wish to drag anyone's name into it. All parties are welcome in India. I like opposition and debate, for they are the life of politics. But I want that all parties must change their way of thinking a little. Instead of repeating the old, worn out slogans which have no relevance to the modern world, they must think of new ideas and make fresh plans.

I keep talking about the atom bomb repeatedly because it is a symbol of the revolutionary times we live in. It is not merely a bomb but a new source of energy. We must also change our way of thinking a little. The ultimate answer to the atom bomb, as I said earlier and greater people than me like Vinoba Bhave have said, lies in high principles and ideals. The atom bomb cannot be challenged by another atom bomb. We neither have it, nor can we hope to produce it. But we can combat it with high principles and humanism and wisdom.

Let me tell you one thing more before I stop. An extraordinary thing is happening in South Africa to Indian settlers and Africans. I am amazed that any government can do such things openly in the world today. Millions of people in Africa, Indians as well as Africans, are being uprooted and thrown out of their houses. Please remember that the government there is not communist or socialist. It is a full-fledged capitalist government. But it is throwing out people without giving compensation and grabs hold of the land. It is prepared to go to any length to do so. It is a strange situation and apart from the fact that it is an atrocity on the people, it is very sad too because it is prompted by racialism. This is a dangerous thing in these times. Every now and then there is a resolution in the United Nations, and a soft speech of sympathy, but otherwise nothing is

done. The big powers in Europe and the United States, whose anger is quickly aroused by other things, are absolutely silent about what is happening in South Africa. They refuse to accept the fact that what is happening there is, on principle, the biggest crime in the world today. It is something which cannot be tolerated by millions of people and we shall never forget it. They fail to realise that whether there is communism or anti-communism or whatever it is, we shall never tolerate this racial discrimination in South Africa. That is the simple fact. Let them forget communism and anti-communism, and learn to be human first. If there is no humanism, what is left in the world? We are neither on the side of America nor on the side of the Soviet Union; we are on the side of humanity. That is the simple truth and I challenge the nations of the world to declare their views openly on what is happening in South Africa and about apartheid. Let every nation declare itself openly. Let it question us thereafter.

You must have heard about Panchsheel. Panchsheel is an ancient concept and the term has been used in our country for thousands of years to denote five basic tenets and so on. In the modern age, it has acquired a political connotation. And what does it imply? The first is the freedom of nations and their acceptance as individual entities. The second is non-aggression. Third, non-interference in the internal affairs of a nation. Fourth, equality among nations. Fifth, friendship. Now can anyone object to any of these things? We have kept them as the basic principles of our foreign policy. The Prime Ministers of China and Burma, Marshal Tito⁹ of Yugoslavia and the President of Indonesia have all accepted this. If all countries were to accept these principles, where is the question of any dispute after that? There can be none. Disputes arise only when there is interference by one country with another, or aggression. So we have made a gift of these principles to the world for them to accept, or to give good reasons if they are going to reject them....

Please forgive me for taking up so much of your time. The problem is that my mind is so full of all these things that it is difficult to be brief. It is a never-ending story that has to be stopped at some point or the other. I want you to think about all these internal and external problems of India. They have to be properly understood. It is not enough to shout slogans or make a noise about things. India has now become an adult nation and so we cannot afford to be immature. Often people behave in a childish and immature way. Among 36 crores not everyone can be wise. There are bound to be some who can be held up as examples. However, we are an adult nation and must behave in a manner befitting our status. *Jai Hind*. Please repeat *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

Please wait; the national anthem will be sung. All of you must stand and sing it, repeating each line after the choir.

9. Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980); President of Yugoslavia since 1953.

5. Freedom is a Home-coming¹

A great crowd has gathered at this historic spot. Today is a special day for our Gadulia Lohars.² What I say today is meant for all of you, but to some extent specially for them. At the outset I should like to congratulate my Gadulia Lohar brothers who have returned home after four hundred years. They have fulfilled a four hundred year-old vow and come back to Chittorgarh. You have been exiles from home all these years. I agree that sometimes it is a good thing to go wandering about, much better than getting stagnant in one place. I too love to wander about. But there has to be a settled life behind that wandering. In a sense, all of us in India have been adrift for a long time. It is true that we were in our own country, but while we were under the domination of outsiders, we could not regard our home as really our own. So we came home seven years ago, when we became free. Just as you took a vow long, long ago to return home only as free men, the whole country took a pledge and countless people toiled and made sacrifices and only then did we achieve our goal. In the beginning, we took the pledge individually. Then about twenty-five years ago, the whole country took the pledge³ and reiterated it every year thereafter till we became free. So we have completed one great task.

I have come to Chittorgarh for the first time today. I have wandered a great deal all over India and I am a little surprised that I am coming here for

1. Speech at a public meeting in Chittorgarh, 6 April 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Gadulia Lohars are nomadic blacksmiths who wander about in bullock-carts. Tradition has it that the Gadulia Lohars left Chittorgarh when it fell to the Mughals following the defeat of Maharana Udai Singh of Mewar in 1568. Before leaving they took a vow that till Chittor was liberated they would not: (i) enter the Chittor fort or spend a night across river Gambhiri near it, (ii) live in houses, (iii) sleep in cots, (iv) light lamps and (v) keep ropes for drawing water from wells. On 6 April Nehru led over three thousand of them into the Chittor fort and thus fulfilled their age-old vow. In 1955 there were 16,672 Gadulia Lohars in Rajasthan.
3. At midnight of 31 December 1929, the Lahore session of the Congress passed the independence resolution and Nehru, as Congress President, read the independence pledge. The pledge, inter alia, declared: "The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection....(and) hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing *Purna Swaraj*." On 2 January 1930, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution fixing 26 January as Independence Day, when meetings would be held and the pledge taken all over the country.

the first time. I have heard stories about Chittorgarh ever since my childhood and been greatly impressed by them. As the message of the Maharana of Udaipur⁴ said, every stone in Chittorgarh is filled with the history of India. I have always been proud of Chittorgarh but have come here for the first time today. So I am happy to be present here on the auspicious occasion of your own home-coming.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who led us in the great task of making India free. Thirty-six years ago on this very day we celebrated Satyagraha Day.⁵ The great struggle for freedom started that day—a great battle for freedom, but a peaceful one. After that, every year we celebrate the week beginning today as the National Week. So today is a very auspicious day. This was the day on which an entire nation first took a pledge and embarked upon a mighty task for which the people toiled very hard and made immense sacrifices. That task culminated in success and our country became free. It is not just a handful at the top who became free, for that would not have been freedom at all. The whole people became free. Foreign rule was removed. It was a big achievement.

After achieving freedom, we were faced with other challenges and responsibilities, the most important being the uplift and progress of the people. As I sit here in Chittorgarh, bathed in the glow of a full moon, the history of India comes before my mind's eye. Our history dates back thousands of years and it has had great ups and downs and upheavals. Hordes of people came from elsewhere and settled down here. Perhaps our own ancestors came from outside thousands of years ago and mingled with the indigenous population. All the streams which flowed into the country were lost in the vast ocean that was India. Historians may record what they want to, but the history of India is being written today by all of you and the millions who live in India. History has once again accorded them an opportunity to rise and show their mettle, to improve their condition and to give some shape and reality to the numerous ideals they have cherished and the dreams they have dreamt over the years.

As you know, we were ruled by the British. We opposed them and British rule was removed, and we became free. But we had no enmity with the British people. We were opposed to British domination over us. We have no enmity with any race or nation. In fact we have very friendly relations with the British today.

Innumerable streams of people and ideas and thoughts have flowed into India over thousands of years and have gone into the making of what we are today. You and I are the products of this intermingling. We have no quarrel

4. Bhopal Singh (1884-1955); Maharajpramukh of Rajasthan, 1949-55.

5. Mahatma Gandhi had proclaimed 6 April 1919 Satyagraha Day, a day of hartal and mass meetings to protest against the Rowlatt Bills which granted sweeping powers of preventive detention of all suspected political agitators.

with anyone. If you read the history of Chittorgarh and of Maharana Pratap, the history of the noble family of Mewar and of Rajasthan as a whole, you will find a great deal of bravery and valour. Emperor Akbar had invaded Maharana Pratap's territory but the Maharana never bowed to him or accepted defeat. All this will always remain fresh in India's memory. Akbar's grandfather had come from outside and settled down in India, and his name is engraved in letters of gold in Indian history because he adopted this land as his own and became a true son of India. He learnt the greatest lesson that India had to teach—tolerance and intermingling of various castes and tribes and races into harmonious entity. We have great regard for Maharana Pratap and he figures in the ranks of the great men of India. We can learn many things from his life. Whenever India has forgotten the lessons of tolerance and unity, she has fallen, and when she followed them, she grew in strength and reached great heights. What has contributed to India's greatness is that she has stood firmly by her principles and at the same time, tried to assimilate new ideas and culture and philosophy from outside. While remaining stable on her own soil she kept the doors and windows of her mind open to outside influences. India welcomed all newcomers with arms wide open and permitted them to be absorbed among the people. This is the stuff of which great nations are made. India is no petty nation of small men. With our population of thirty-six crore human beings, we are among the largest countries in the world. If India shows any pettiness in her thinking, her stature will shrink. After freedom we have a choice before us—either to wallow in pettiness or to think big and go forward with our heads held high. This is what we have to decide. It is not enough for us to have secured freedom from British rule. That was only a small step. There are great tasks before us. We must understand the dreams that India has dreamt down the ages and try to make them come true. Today India is gaining the respect of the world because we want peace in India and the world. We have no desire to go to war with anyone or snatch away anyone's freedom. We want that every country in the world should be free and there should be love and friendship among them, in Asia and Europe and America and everywhere in the world. Only recently, speaking on behalf of the government, I had said—I do not remember where—that we were ready to take a pledge not to commit aggression against other countries or try to dominate them. The honour and dignity of our country will lie in other things. But we shall certainly protect our country to the hilt.

All the various streams of culture that flowed into India and mingled with the indigenous culture are no longer alien for we have adopted them as our own. So it is absolutely wrong to make distinctions between the different religions for the foremost duty of everyone in India is to remember that he is an Indian and he has to serve his country, irrespective of caste and creed. If you forget that and fall into the old errors and feuds and become disunited, we shall not be able to fulfil our dream of making India a great country. We shall

remain puny in stature. The greatness of a country does not lie in the size of its population. We have a very large population. But we are not a country of sheep for the heads to be counted. A country becomes great because of its people's ideals, their courage and their capacity to work and make sacrifices. That is how great nations are built. If we wish to build a new India, as we have pledged ourselves to do, we can do so only by remembering our old principles and ideals and the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi and by being united. Our country is the whole of India, not merely Rajasthan, Chittor or Delhi and Bombay. Your country and mine is India and every nook and corner of it belongs to all of us. The various provinces in which you have wandered all these years are all part of your country.

We must keep the entire picture of India before us. There are many languages and provinces and castes in this country. People wear different clothes, eat different kinds of food and the climate differs from province to province. It is bitterly cold in the Himalayas. In some places where it never rains because the Himalayas act as a buffer, it is colder still. They are all parts of India and so are the other places where there is intense heat. You will find extremes of climate in our country and many other diversities and all of them together make up the picture that is India. India is a world in itself. The old tendencies towards divisiveness ought to be put an end to. This great country belongs to all of us and the responsibility of running it rests with the people. They must share the difficulties as well as the advantages.

The caste hierarchy which has prevailed in the country may have had some advantages in the ancient times but in the modern times, especially in free India, all of us are equal under the law and we want everyone to have equal opportunities to progress. It is not a good thing for a few people to be rich and have all the opportunities while the poor people have none. We want to remove this disparity between the rich and the poor. Now that the struggle for freedom is over, we have another long journey before us and the goal is the progress and well being of the people of India, and the need to provide every boy and girl in India full opportunities to grow and progress to the best of his or her capacity. This is the problem before us today and we have to do it urgently. It is a tremendous problem because it involves 36 crore human beings. It cannot obviously be done in a hurry, but we cannot afford to take years over it. We can progress fast only if we work hard.

So we were faced with this tremendous task after independence and it is for this that we have drawn up plans. You must have heard about the Five Year Plans. We drew up the First Plan rather hesitantly. What I mean is that we did not wish to make tall claims which we might not be able to fulfil. Otherwise there was a danger of our slipping up. So we drew it up cautiously and on a modest scale because the important thing was for us to gain self-confidence and stability. We had become accustomed in the past to shouting

slogans and talking big as people are apt to do during big movements. But now the time has come for us to work and there is a great deal of difference between talk and action.

Whatever it is, we drew up the First Five Year Plan which was aimed at making the country self-sufficient in food. At that time the country was facing grave food shortages. So we laid stress on that and the production has increased. We took up many other schemes, such as river valley schemes, to provide water for irrigation and produce electricity. There is one such scheme in Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat on the Chambal. We need electricity for our industries and other things. Three out of the five years of the Plan have gone by. Even within this short time, we have been able to achieve many of the targets that we had set for ourselves, with the result that people have gained more self-confidence for, after all, it is they who have achieved these things by their hard work. Please do not think that the credit goes to the government in Delhi or Jaipur. It is the people who are responsible for our success though government officials have also helped. So when we saw that we could successfully complete a difficult task, our self-confidence in ourselves grew. Such things add to the strength of a nation.

The situation in the world is very curious today. You may be aware that there is constant talk of war in the world and nations are engaged in an arms race and are busy building up terrible arsenals. Consequently there is great fear. Even the big powers are afraid. But I can tell you quite honestly that, as you know yourselves, there is no fear about any power in our country, though the big powers of the world have great military strength, wealth, etc, while we are poor. Even so, we are not afraid of anyone because we still remember the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi. Unarmed, we had challenged a mighty empire and the people faced its military might fearlessly and by peaceful methods. Mahatma Gandhi had taught the nation to be fearless. His principle was that cowards die a hundred deaths while a fearless man had nothing to fear. At the worst he could be sent to jail or be shot. So what was there to be afraid of in that? This is the lesson taught by Mahatma Gandhi and by learning it, the people of India added to their strength a hundredfold.

We used no weapons to challenge the British empire and ultimately the people won. So we remember the old lesson that the strength of a nation lies not in its arms or wealth, but in the calibre of the people—their physical stamina, intellect, courage, self-confidence, unity. Big problems confront us in the country but we face them with courage and fearlessness. If somebody asks me about the future of India, I cannot make predictions because I am no astrologer. I think that all astrologers are useless and people who go to them are totally misguided. I feel that they teach the people wrong things. I advise you not to go to astrologers because whether an astrologer is good or bad, it is wrong for you to go to him. You must have confidence in yourselves instead of relying

on astrologers and the stars and the moon. What is this except absurdity? We must build this country with our strength, the same way we got freedom. I may not be able to tell you about the future but I can tell you something from my knowledge of the people of India during the last thirty or forty years and their strengths and weaknesses. The more I see of them, the more my confidence in them increases, and so does my love for them. I can say quite boldly that the people of India have the strength and capacity to achieve progress. I am fully confident of that. Therefore I have no doubts in my mind about the future. I think that the people have the strength and courage to weather any storm in the country or the world.

However, we have to be vigilant because slackness or complacency and conceit in any nation can only lead to disaster. This has happened repeatedly in India. There were two things which contributed to India's downfall in the past. One is casteism, which weakened us, divided the people into different compartments and fomented disunity. All this made them vulnerable and foreign invaders took away large chunks of Indian territory while the people were busy fighting among themselves. It was almost a disease in India. Secondly, we began to feel that we were very superior because we were Brahmans or Kshatriyas and so we did not learn anything new. The world went ahead and we remained backward. The rest of the world amassed great strength and gradually subjugated India.

So these are the two things that we must remember about our history. There have been great men in our country, brave warriors and thinkers whose names glow in the history of India. But our history also shows up the great weaknesses among us—of disunity and the attitude of superiority. It is because of this, while others went ahead, we remained backward. Do you remember that in the ancient times, the people of India had gone to foreign lands carrying the message of India's culture and art and religion? Recently, when I visited the countries in Indo-China, I saw huge buildings built by Indian artisans. These countries are thousands of miles away from us and these structures are incomparably beautiful. This was at a time when Indians were not bogged down by casteism and had courage and a spirit of adventure in them. History does not show that India went out to subjugate other countries. Indians went out to spread India's culture and religion and art. We never went out to fight, though the impact of Indian culture and art and Buddhism was felt in a large portion of Asia for thousands of years. This is where India's strength lay and we were not inhibited by taboos of caste and religion. Later, all kinds of taboos and rituals began to develop. Crossing the seas began to be regarded as a taboo. There were all sorts of restrictions on eating and marrying. In fact, the entire Hindu religion was reduced to kitchen rituals. We forgot the great things in our culture and civilisation which had an impact on the world and began to fritter away our energies in maintaining the rigidity of the caste system and in

meaningless rituals. It was strange that a people with an ancient past and who had once been powerful and adventurous and went out all over the world, confined themselves to a limited sphere. We must learn to forget caste distinctions and broaden our minds and hearts and see what India stands for fundamentally. What is our culture all about? We must learn to allow the fresh breeze of change and knowledge to blow into the country and to assimilate the influences of new cultures into our own, for that is what India stands for. Muslims came into India and adopted this land as their own. Similarly, Parsees and Christians who came to the shores of India hundreds of years ago live here as Indians. Everyone has the right to live here on a footing of equality and not quarrel with one another. If any group thinks of itself as superior or thinks that the country belongs to it alone, it will be falling into the same error which had weakened India in the past. It is the proliferation of castes among the Hindus which has weakened us as a nation.

We must realise that a new era has begun in the history of India. New tasks beckon to us. It was a great achievement to have won freedom. Now we have to take on the bigger task of marching ahead as a free country. You are assembled on this auspicious occasion on this sacred soil of Chittorgarh, and a full moon is shining down upon men and women alike. This day will remain memorable for a long time to come, because it marks the fulfilment of a pledge taken by you years ago. The future beckons to us and we must march fearlessly into it and control our own destinies, not by relying on the stars in the sky or the astrologers or mantras, but on the strength of the hands and feet of the Indian people. So it is a memorable day.

I talked to you about the Five Year Plan. We are now drawing up the Second Five Year Plan which will be better because we have become stable and gained experience. The First Five Year Plan has filled us with self-confidence and so the second one will be better and more elaborate. It will have more long term objectives. We will have to work harder than before and I have full confidence that we shall do so. You must prepare yourselves for it. That is why I invited you to come back to Chittorgarh, which you accepted. Now I invite you to participate in the great national tasks which will benefit all of us in the future.

I want you to remember that whatever I have said today to our Gadulia Lohar brethren applies not only to the men but to the women also. In fact, it is meant especially for the women because the progress of a nation can be judged not by its men alone but by the condition of its women. If you want to know whether a country is advanced or backward, you must look at the laws and customs relating to the status of women, their educational qualifications, etc. In my opinion, nobody in the world can compete with Indian women. Indian men have not done full justice to the women in India. Now the time has come for men and women to take part in these big tasks. Women must be treated

fairly. Women also try to be high-handed sometimes. So we must march together.

Just now Manikyalalji⁶ talked to you about the arrangements that should be made for our Gadulia Lohar brethren. I could not quite understand him because it is the responsibility of the state governments in Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat especially to make these arrangements. It is obvious that the Central Government will also help in the matter.⁷ I have taken up too much of your time. Now please shout *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind*.

6. Manikyalal Verma (1897-1969); social and political leader of Rajasthan; Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-57; and Convener, All-India Gadulia Lohar Sammelan, 1955.
7. On 7 April 1955, Nehru wrote to Mohanlal Sukhadia, Chief Minister of Rajasthan: "As I told you at Chittor yesterday, I am sending a cheque for Rs 10,000. This is to give scholarships to bright young men of the Gadulia Lohar community for training in technical subjects. I gather that the average cost of such training would be Rs 30 per person per month. This sum will therefore more than cover the cost of 25 scholarships for one year. I hope proper arrangements will be made for their training. This training, I suppose, will not last more than a year."

6. Peaceful Transition to Socialism¹

Today is the first of May—May Day—and all of you, especially our factory workers, are gathered together here to celebrate it. I want to say a few words about things which concern you most intimately. It is true that everything that happens in the world concerns you very closely because we are affected by them and cannot remain isolated. If there is a great war in the world, we shall undoubtedly be affected by it. We have been declaring loudly that we shall not take part in any war and are determined to abide by that. But if war rages in the world, it is bound to affect us. Therefore, it is essential that you should understand what is happening in the world. You must not think that the complex problems of Europe and Asia, Africa and America do not concern you or that only highly educated people can understand them. This is a misconception under which people often labour. However complicated a problem is, everyone must try to understand it a little, even if everyone cannot go into all its ramifications.

1. Speech at a public meeting on the occasion of May Day, New Delhi. 1 May 1955. From AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

In an independent country in which the people elect their own representatives to govern, the real strength of a democracy lies in the people's understanding of complex world affairs, particularly so in the revolutionary world of today. So I want you to understand these things. I would like to tell you that in my opinion, perhaps the common people in India take far greater interest in world affairs than in any other country in the world, even the more advanced ones. This is a good thing, for it imparts basic strength to the country. A nation in which only a handful of people at the top understand world affairs and the masses remain in ignorance remains weak. The kind of strength that we wish to build up in our country is not that of a handful of educated or intelligent people at the top, though they are always important. The fundamental strength of a nation comes from its millions.

Many important things have been happening. Recently, a conference was held in a little city of Indonesia, Bandung, which was attended by the representatives of Asian and African countries. Mostly it was prime ministers who came there and all of us were together for seven or eight days. It was an unusual gathering of people of various colours and in diverse garments. Many of them had never visited this part of the world, like the people from Africa and the Arab countries. It was a strange new world for them. For instance, there is hardly any rainfall in the Arab countries where there are great deserts with little or no greenery. They suddenly found themselves in a country like Indonesia which has rainfall all the year round and has lush green vegetation. You will find that there is no particular time for sowing or harvesting and both go on simultaneously. For the Arabs, to whom even a little water is very valuable, this was an entirely novel experience. Then there were the differences in dress and ways of living.

All of us met at Bandung. And in spite of all the differences, there was a common bond between us. We were together for seven or eight days and many friendships were formed, a mutual understanding of one another's problems grew and we formed a closer bond. Many of the delegates passed through Delhi on their way to Indonesia and others will halt here on their way back....

There is no doubt about it that the Bandung Conference was a historic landmark in the history of Asia and Africa. At the same time it increases our responsibility to some extent. Many countries of the world are looking towards India for guidance. They are interested in seeing how we are solving the big problems before us and making progress. They want to learn from us. Innumerable foreigners come to India to see what is happening here. They go to see the big projects that we have undertaken all over the country, like Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, the fertiliser plant at Sindri, the factory at Chittaranjan which produces rail engines, the locomotive and aeroplane manufacturing units at Bangalore, our big scientific laboratories, etc. But they are particularly interested in our schemes for rural development. You must have heard about

the community schemes, which are arousing great interest and rightly so, because they concern the daily lives of millions of people who live in the rural areas. We are trying to uplift them through their own efforts. This is something that people in other countries in a similar situation could also copy. I include all the Asian countries except Japan in the category of countries which are poor and backward with a tremendous unemployment problem. This is the general condition of practically the whole of Asia and Africa whether you take China, India, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt or any other country. The basic problems are the same. The countries of Asia became very backward during the last two hundred years while the United State of America and the European countries advanced rapidly. They produced enormous amounts of wealth and the people became well off. They grew very powerful and began to suppress other countries. We, however, are not interested in suppressing others. What we do wish is to make our people better off and increase production because ultimately the real wealth of a country is what it produces, whether it is from land or factories or cottage industries. We are trying to make the country strong in these various ways. These are the basic problems. Europe and the United States have had more than a century in which to progress. Moreover, though their progress was due to their own effort and hard work, they were helped greatly by their colonial possessions in raw materials and resources. They are not to be blamed because our own foolishness was responsible for that. We have no means of snatching from others or taking undue advantage. We have neither the means nor do we think it proper. We want to achieve in ten years what they did in 100-150 years, which is extremely difficult. It requires a great deal of hard work. All our plans are aimed at this....

It is my firm conviction that no country can hope to advance with the aid received from others. It can advance only by its own efforts and strength. The moment a country begins to rely on others, it becomes weak. There is no harm in taking aid from others. In fact, mutual help is a good thing, provided the country can stand on its own feet. We have also taken aid from others. We took whatever we got gratefully but we never asked anybody for aid. But the aid that we have got from outside is a very small percentage of what we have done ourselves. If we start depending too much on external aid, it is possible that instead of benefiting us, it may cause us harm. We shall no longer rely on ourselves. If you read history you will find that nations grow and advance by their self-confidence and self-reliance. Ultimately, the wealth of a nation is not gold and silver but its people. If the people have courage and unity, intelligence and the capacity to work hard, they will progress and increase their production. Therefore it is not a good thing to rely too much on others, though it is all right to maintain friendly relations with others and be of help to one another.

We have many factories here where many of you are working. You are holding flags of your trade unions. What does a trade union mean? Trade

unionism as it is understood today began more than a hundred years ago in some of the European countries. Earlier we used to have guilds to protect the interests of various professions. But trade unionism is an entirely different thing which is a product of the Industrial Revolution. It began in England where the Industrial Revolution first began more than 150 years ago. The condition of factory workers before the trade union movement began was heart-rending. Terrible atrocities used to be committed. Forming a trade union was itself considered a criminal offence. A meeting of even five workers was punishable by life sentence. Just imagine. Hundreds of people were punished and used to be sent to Australia as convicts for life. It used to take them six months to travel from England to Australia in those days. This is how the trade union movement was severely suppressed in the beginning. But gradually, over the next few decades, trade unions began to be formed.

What does a trade union imply? It is an association through which workers can help one another. One worker is obviously not strong enough but by forming a union, the workers become very strong. So trade unions began to be formed in England, Germany, France and other countries to protect the rights of the workers and gradually the movement spread to other countries. The trade unions began to fight for increase in wages, fixing of working hours and other things. Earlier, workers had to put in fourteen hours a day in the factories. When a demand was made to reduce it to twelve hours a day, there was an uproar. But gradually over the next hundred years the working hours were reduced to eight per day and in some countries to even less than that. In some countries it is still nine hours but generally the workers are required to put in eight hours.

In short, trade unions are there to protect the interests of the workers by organising them. They are a force to combat oppression and fight for workers' rights. The trade union movement is extremely powerful in England and in fact the Labour government which came to power was of their making. The idea behind this movement stems from the conflict of interest between workers and owners. This is known as the class struggle. There is a class of people who are the owners and another which consists of workers and it is obvious that there is a basic conflict of interests between them. If the wages are too high the owner is put to a loss. All kinds of philosophies have evolved out of this theory of class struggle. Many of the communist and socialist principles are based upon this theory. Many scenarios have been drawn up on its basis and great big tomes have been written about it. Many of them are very good indeed. But even while they were being written, the world was changing and by the time they were finished the world had changed out of all recognition. So it is strange that we should read what was written fifty or a hundred years ago. Though it may undoubtedly be good and teach us something, we should bear in mind that times change, new problems crop up, societies change, the world changes, and therefore what was written more than a hundred years ago

is no longer wholly relevant. It is strange that though the world changes, the human mind is very hidebound and does not change very easily. It is true that the world cannot change on its own. It changes when the people's thinking changes. At the same time it is also true that by and large people's minds refuse to change with the changing world and they keep repeating the old lessons.

Right now, there are a couple of bills in the Lok Sabha regarding Hindu marriage and property laws. They are being opposed by some people from the Hindu Mahasabha and others who quote what Manu and Yagnavalkya have written. There is no doubt about it that Manu and Yagnavalkya were great souls and we must read what they have written with respect and think about it. But the India of the days of Manu and Yagnavalkya was entirely different. It is obvious that in the last two or three thousand years, the world has changed a great deal, India has changed, our society has changed. If anyone tells me that the social organisation of two thousand years ago is right for the present too, I cannot accept it.

Let me give you a small example. We have a national census every ten years. We have had it regularly for the last fifty or sixty years. There was no census before that. But we have certain methods of calculating what the population of India was earlier. At present, our population is about 36 or 37 crore. Two thousand years ago, the population of India was less than one crore—it was perhaps half a crore. That is, fifty lakh people were spread out over a vast country, which makes a big difference. There were no large cities. There were only forests dotted about with small villages and hamlets and the people were well off with enough to eat. Plenty of land was available for the small number of people. Now the population has been increasing and has reached 36 crore while the land available remains the same. So there is food shortage and other new problems are cropping up.

Society is a growing and changing organisation. In a way it is like a child. A child outgrows his clothes as his body develops. If you try to keep the child in the same clothes when his body has outgrown them then they will restrict his growth. You have to keep making new clothes for him. Similarly the organisation of a society is a garb which has to change as the society grows and changes. Otherwise, it becomes stagnant, it does not grow. It may even tear itself out of the restricting garb. This is generally called a revolution, when a society tears away its old, restrictive clothing and puts on a new garb. Wisdom lies in gradually changing the organisation without violence. If someone were to tell me that the social organisation or administrative arrangement of Delhi should be like that of a village, my answer will be that it is absolutely out of the question. Delhi has a population of 20 lakhs, while there may be only 500 people in any one village. The set-up has necessarily to be different. The bills which are in the Lok Sabha are in my opinion very good and ought to be

passed quickly. To say that we should stick to an arrangement which is two thousand years old is not a convincing argument.

As I was telling you a while ago, the Industrial Revolution began in the West nearly two hundred years ago, and its offshoot is the new industrial state which was not in existence 150 years ago. Earlier there were small-scale industries and cottage industries but nothing on a large scale. When large factories arose, trade unions began to be formed to protect the workers from injustice and oppression. Trade unions are nowadays very powerful in some countries and are ranged against other groups, which often leads to conflict and tension. The question is, is it not possible to remove the ills of our society and progress without conflict and tensions and violence? Why should we not do it? It is odd that first we resort to violence and then begin to talk. Why not hold talks to begin with instead of trying to fight with one another? Why can we not try to solve our problems by mutual consultations? I agree that everyone's point of view cannot be similar but a consensus can be secured. It is not healthy that there should be constant tension and conflict with parties trying to back their arguments with lathis and guns. We have a democratic form of government in India and the elected representatives of the people meet and discuss matters which are put to the vote and then implemented. People have to accept the majority opinion. The old ways of conflict between the working class and others is no longer appropriate. There is no doubt about it that there is often tension between the classes. Class struggle is a reality, and I accept that. What benefits one, harms the other. Now, how is the problem to be solved? It is not as if it cannot be done without violence. Ultimately, both lockout on the part of factory owners and strikes by workers are ways of demonstrating their respective strength. I agree that workers may not want to give up their right to strike. But surely there must be better methods of dealing with these problems than by a show of strength which is harmful to the nation. For, after all, a country's progress is in proportion to the production. It is obvious that we cannot live by getting money from the United States or elsewhere. You can become prosperous only to the extent that you are capable of working hard and producing more wealth in the country.

What is national wealth? It is not gold or silver. The United States of America is a very rich country because it is highly industrialised and Americans produce an enormous amount of goods from their land and their factories, which they can consume themselves and sell to other countries. We must also do this. We must have a system by which the production goes up and the wealth that is produced is properly distributed among the people. The more goods we produce, the more the wealth in the country will increase. The people will also gradually become better off, unemployment will become less, and there will be more work for people. Anything that stands in the way of production prevents growth and prosperity. That is the broad fact. At the same

time, a way has to be found to solve the difficulties of the people as otherwise discontent is bound to result in violence. So it is up to us to find a way. There is a great task before us in India today, which is not merely to run the country but do it so efficiently and well as to put an end to unemployment and poverty, raise the living standards and to ensure that every man, woman and child is provided with the basic necessities of life like food, clothing, housing, work and education. If you wish to understand India's problems, one thing that you must always remember is that 36 crore people are involved. Whenever I have been asked abroad what the problems of India are, I have replied that there are 36 crore problems. Each individual poses a problem. It is a question of human beings, not of statistics.

We must try to live in harmony. But it is absurd to deny the existence of class struggle. Tensions and struggle are inherent in the social system. The question is how to put an end to them. Should we resort to violence or try to solve our problems peacefully? It is my opinion that the time for violence and disturbances has gone. We must try to solve our problems by mutual understanding so that no harm is done either to the country or to the people. There are bound to be ups and downs. But violence can only do damage. As I was telling you, we are engaged in a unique experiment in India today of trying to uplift the 36 crore people in this country as quickly as possible and in a special way. We are trying to do it by democratic methods and peacefully. In the United States and the European countries, they have had more than 150 years to advance, whereas we want to do it in ten or fifteen years. How is it to be done? Moreover the Western countries had the advantage of their colonies, which we do not have.

On the other side, you have countries like the Soviet Union where there was a big revolution, rivers of blood flowed, millions of people lost their lives or were ruined and then the present form of government came to power. It is a very powerful government but it is not a democracy. I am not criticising it. It is obvious that each country is free to choose its own government. But they have paid a tremendous price in blood and tears for their violent revolution. Please do not think that a violent revolution is a joke. You have to pay for it in blood and tears and the entire fabric of the country is torn apart before a new order emerges. The Soviet Union paid a tremendous price. I agree that they have been able to make great progress and today they are one of the most advanced countries of the world. But they have had to pay a tremendous price. Millions of people died of starvation and on battlefields and what not, and there was complete chaos for nearly twenty years. If somebody tells me that we should also do the same thing, it does not seem very wise to me. The Soviet Union was helpless for the disastrous effects of the world war were taking their toll. They did not deliberately start a civil war. They were helpless and got embroiled. No country willingly asks for trouble. But troubles have to

be faced when they descend upon a country. Therefore it does not seem very wise deliberately to start a civil war in the country which will weaken us and lay ourselves open to external aggression, especially when the path of peace and non-violence is open to us. We are trying an experiment which is unique in the world because, I repeat, unlike Europe and the United States, we do not have hundreds of years to do it in. Unlike the Soviet Union, which advanced through violence and bloodshed, we are trying to achieve our goal by democratic methods. Our experiment is unique because we are doing things in a democratic way, peacefully and in a very short time. It is a great challenge.

We are having discussions about the Second Five Year Plan. Almost three and a half years of the five years of the First Plan are over and there are about 18 months to go. Then the Second Plan will take over. We have to draft it very carefully to ensure that we progress more rapidly, reduce unemployment, and ensure greater production of wealth and its equitable distribution. It should not remain in a few pockets. It is an extremely complicated task and cannot be done by shouting slogans. Slogans are all very well in their own place but we can achieve our goal only by careful planning. Our Plan is not going to be rigid and we are going to keep it flexible so that changes can be made when necessary. For instance, if we are building a house, we have a rough idea of the strength of each brick and steel. The engineers calculate these things. But the edifice that we are trying to build in India involves 36 crores of men, women and children. It is not going to be built by bricks and mortar. Therefore no hard and fast line can be drawn in planning because a great deal depends upon the mental and physical capacity, the daring and courage of the human beings. There are many imponderables in this which cannot be accurately calculated. When it is multiplied by 36 crores, the matter becomes even more complicated. Therefore whatever plan we draw up has to leave room for changes as we learn from experience and our mistakes.

Let us take the experience of the Soviet Union. When they drew up their first plan there were many shortcomings in it because they were not fully aware of the exact situation in the country. Anyhow, they gained more experience by the time they drew up the Second Plan. The third one was even better. Experience is a great teacher. Similarly we are also learning from experience and growing in self-confidence. The Second Plan will be better. I want you to understand all these things and help us as much as you can because the Plan has to come out of the minds of millions. It cannot be merely an official document.

I should like to tell you another thing. We decided at the Avadi Congress to adopt a socialistic pattern of society. It had been debated in Parliament earlier and accepted. There is criticism from some quarters that this is a move on the part of the Congress to win votes. A great organisation like the Congress cannot afford to be so stupid as to go back on its word which will only result in giving it a bad name. Only yesterday a bill has been presented in the Lok

Sabha to nationalise the Imperial Bank which will henceforth be known as the State Bank. This is being done with the intention of spreading its branches to the villages to help the people with loans, etc., and assist the villagers in tasks of development. As you know, the zamindari system has been abolished and the practice of moneylending is also more or less at an end, which is a good thing. But now there is no one to lend money to the villagers when they need it. So there is a vacuum. It has become essential to make some arrangements for rural credit which the farmers can pay back after the crops have been harvested. The Imperial Bank was in private hands and now we are nationalising it in order to be of help to the farmers and encourage the growth of trade and industries. We are paying compensation to the Bank's shareholders. There is some criticism about the amount of compensation being too large. Some people demand that it should be reduced to half or one-third and others feel that no compensation is necessary. They feel that in a socialistic pattern of society, compensation on such a large scale is out of place. Now I should like to point out with due deference to some of our elders in the Lok Sabha and elsewhere that when they say such things, it is obvious that they have not understood what socialism is. They seem to think that socialism means snatching away of other people's property. The compensation that we are paying is adequate, not extravagant. But paying compensation, whether more or less, has nothing to do with socialism. Socialism is a system in which there is equality and equal distribution of the wealth in the country so that it does not remain in the pockets of a few individuals, as it happens now.

I do not propose to say very much about socialism because this is not the occasion. But I wish to point out that socialism does not mean snatching away other people's property. It is a system of social and economic organisation which ensures the maximum benefit to the people of the country from the wealth that is produced. There is no doubt about it that we want that there should be no disparity. Some differences, physical and mental, are bound to be there among human beings. But everybody should get equal opportunities. This is what we want. But if we want the country's economic condition to improve, it is essential that there should be an increase in production. We are a poor country just now. The handful or rich men make no difference. Even if we take away their entire wealth and distribute it among the people, it will not make much difference for it will be lost among the millions of people in India. We must increase production and ensure its equitable distribution. Without increasing production, there is nothing to distribute except poverty. That is not the way to progress. We must increase production and industrialise the country rapidly in order to reduce unemployment and gradually raise the standard of living of the people. This is what we have to lay stress on. Those who talk about socialism often forget this aspect. Merely snatching away someone's property does not bring about socialism. There can be no socialism in poverty.

You must remember that socialism was established in Europe when their production went up.

Today, May Day, is a special day for workers. This tradition of celebrating it has continued for a long time now. In the beginning, it was an offence to celebrate May Day in Europe and it was done by stealth. The working class has passed through great vicissitudes in other countries. So on this day, you must pause to consider not only your own problems, but the problems of the world and also form a picture of the future as it should be. There must be peace in the world. We have tremendous sources of energy in the world today. Atomic energy will make us even more powerful. In the olden days, or even two or three hundred years ago, there was no way in which all the people of the world could have a better standard of living, for the means of production were scarce. But today there is tremendous capability in the hands of man to increase production. We can double and redouble production from land and industries. There is no reason why poverty should continue when we have the means to produce enough to make everyone in the world well off. The only thing that is essential is proper planning and cooperation. We should not fritter away our energies in futile wrangling.

So the world is changing fast and the old ways and the old disputes are no longer relevant. I do not say that everyone is willing to follow this path. Vested interests are still very powerful. Nobody is willing to relinquish his rights over property. But circumstances are compelling people to change. You saw how the British rule was removed due to the pressure from the people. Within two or three months of that, the 500 or 600 princely states in the country also disappeared. We gave them large privy purses and pensions, and they have been merged into the Union. A major transformation like that took place peacefully, which is a unique thing in the world. Elsewhere such changes were invariably accompanied by bloodshed and violence and were brought about after years of struggle. We solved this problem peacefully and by mutual agreement. We paid what was more than necessary as pensions, but at least we saved the country a great deal of trouble. If it had been done violently, we would have spent a thousand times more. We abolished the zamindari system peacefully whereas in other countries there was a tremendous struggle.

We are making progress step by step, in our own way, peacefully and by mutual discussion. That does not mean that we are weak. Things can be achieved peacefully only when it is backed up by real strength of the people. It was the organised strength of the masses which led to the removal of British rule from India. The princely states acquiesced in the merger when they saw that the people were opposed to their continuance and the mantle of British support was removed. The zamindari system could be abolished because the zamindars saw which way the wind was blowing and realised that wisdom lay in coming to an agreement. We welcomed their decision. So we are progressing, little by

little, to some extent in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi, peacefully and without any violence. This is how we shall ultimately bring about socialism. If anybody says that it cannot be done without bloodshed, I am not prepared to accept it. Violent revolutions lead to prolonged chaos before reconstruction is possible.

I congratulate you on this happy occasion and want that you should think about these things and understand that history has thrown a tremendous opportunity into the laps of the Indian people, an opportunity to progress in a unique way and set an example to the rest of the world. *Jai Hind*.

Please wait. The national anthem will be played. Please remember that whenever the national anthem is sung or played, it should be listened to with respect because in a sense it is the voice of India. When it is being sung there should be no conversation or movement but complete silence. Secondly, we want as many people as possible to participate in the singing. So each line will be sung by the girls once and they will repeat it again for all of you to join in.

7. Three Obstacles to Unity¹

I am in a big dilemma. I am wondering how many of you can understand Hindi. Those who can do so, please raise your hands. I have come to this city of yours after a long time. The first question is this: Is this city called Brahmapur or Berhampur? I think the correct word is Brahmapur but popularly known as Berhampur. Well, I had asked this question when I had come here last some nineteen years ago.² There was an election and I had come here in that connection.

Nineteen years are a long time and a great many things have happened in that time in our country and the world. A great world war was fought, big revolutions took place, new countries emerged and some of the old ones fell. There was a great revolution in this country too. The two hundred year-old British rule was removed which was a revolutionary event. It was done peacefully and yet it was revolutionary. Even our revolutions are peaceful ones. We now have people's rule, democracy.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Berhampur, 8 May 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

2. Nehru visited Berhampur on 11 November 1936.

There have been tremendous upheavals in other parts of Asia, such as Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon. A part of our country was partitioned off to form Pakistan. The long European domination in Asia has come to an end and a new chapter of history has begun. For the last two or three hundred years Europeans had ruled over Asian countries and profited a great deal in the process. That has now come to an end. A new era begins in which the people hold the reins of power in their hands. Now we are responsible for the good or bad that happens in the country. We can no longer blame the British or anyone else. The reins of power are in our hands and that brings responsibilities. How fast we progress depends on our strength and capacity. The onus is on the people of the country. Please remember that I am talking of all the people and not a handful of politicians or leaders. Nor am I referring to the government in Delhi or elsewhere though they must also carry the burden. But when a country is free and there is people's rule, the burden has to be carried by all the people and does not rest merely on the shoulders of government officials. Government officials were responsible for everything during British rule and the people had no voice. The British ruled with a handful of officers who were chosen by the British Government and the people had no say in the matter. Nor did Government servants owe anything to the people. But with the coming of freedom, the responsibility becomes distributed among the people of the country. You must understand this. Otherwise you will not be able to do the work of the country properly. The burden now rests with all the 36 crores people who live in this country. It is in their hands to see whether we progress or not. I shall tell you how in a minute. It is true that not all the 36 crores participate in government directly. If everyone started giving orders, there would be chaos. They have to elect people to represent them. Therefore elections are held and people choose their representatives. Three years ago we had elections to the state assemblies and to the national Parliament in Delhi, and your representatives formed the ministries in various states and at the Centre.

All our top officials, like Dr Rajendra Prasad who is the President today, are elected by the people and not imposed by anyone. The President is the head of the state and we respect him greatly. But he is not like the kings and emperors of old. Those days have gone forever. Dr Rajendra Prasad is neither a king nor a zamindar. He hails from a peasant family of Bihar which probably owns a little land. Why did the country elect him? It is because he has served the motherland faithfully during the last forty or fifty years, taken part in the freedom struggle and made a great many sacrifices. In short, he is a tried and proven soldier of India. Therefore the people have elected him to the highest post in the land. Do you understand? He has not been elected because he belongs to a princely family but because he was one of the leaders in the freedom struggle and the country has respect and regard for his courage and integrity and spirit of sacrifice and intellect. This is how people are elected to the other posts too.

How have I come to occupy a post of such great honour as the Prime Minister of this great country? It is because the people have elected me and put their faith in me. How did Nabakrushna babu³ become the Chief Minister? He was also elected by the people, as you well know. He has always been one to efface himself rather than push himself forward. But he agreed to take on this responsibility on the persuasion of the people.

We are living in revolutionary times. Revolution does not mean violence and bloodshed. Revolution means change, whether it is political, social or economic. We have had a political revolution and a large country like ours has become free. Now we are doing a number of things to change our social and economic condition and bring about a transformation.

We used to have the zamindari system in India which has now been abolished. Then there were innumerable princely states, big and small, and as you know, they have now been abolished. It was done with mutual regard and now the old princes no longer have the political right to rule. In this way we have taken a number of steps and great changes have been effected. In other countries, such changes were accompanied by violence and bloodshed. In our country, these things have been done peacefully. So people often do not understand what is happening. They think that nothing big is happening in India because they do not read about violence and upheavals in the newspapers. But the fact is that we are bringing about a big social revolution in the country peacefully. As I mentioned, the princely states and the system of zamindari, talukdari and jagirdari have been ended. I do not mean to claim that we have solved the land problem. We have still to do a number of things. We embarked on a big journey, the journey towards freedom, and it took us years to reach our destination. The moment we reached our goal, it was time to start moving towards another. There was no time to sit and relax. The journey that we have now embarked upon is to lift up the 36 crores of people in India from poverty and various other hardships. We want to improve the economic condition of these 36 crores, which is a tremendous task. But what did freedom mean? If we had sat by idly when freedom came, we would have been useless. Freedom means that we have now acquired the right to progress. Progress is essential to our very survival. Therefore we are embarked upon this journey towards economic welfare and removal of the people's poverty. That does not mean providing jobs to a handful.

Why is our country poor, while the United States and England are rich? The countries of the West have become wealthy by their own hard work. I agree that they brought in wealth plundered from other countries too. We cannot

3. Nabakrushna Chaudhuri (b. 1909); Chief Minister of Orissa, 1951-55.

do that anyhow. It is possible that some assistance from foreign countries might be forthcoming. But that does not amount to very much. We must work hard and remove poverty from the country and we have to do it fast. The countries of the West who are rich have had a couple of centuries to progress. We do not have that much time and so we must do it in ten to fifteen years and become strong. It is a big task. How are we to go about it? The first thing that you must understand is what the task is. Once you have grasped the basic requirements, as you did during the freedom struggle, then a way can be found. It is obvious that we want to work for the economic betterment of the country, and removal of poverty and unemployment. It is a big task and cannot be done in a moment. The struggle for freedom went on for decades. I do not want that the people should go starving and naked for years or remain unemployed. That is absurd. There is only one formula for progress and that is hard work. We must work very hard and go ahead courageously. This is how a nation can progress and not by chanting mantras or counting beads or by consulting astrologers. You cannot do it by gazing at the stars or lying on your back. It requires hard work and unity.

The question arises what we should do. We learnt how to challenge the British empire. We became quite used to going to jail or facing the gun. Now there is no need for all that. We must work, but the question is what kind of work should we do. This is the problem that is haunting us day and night because there is not one but thousands of answers to that question. The majority of you are farmers and are concerned about the land problem. Yet others living in cities work in factories, in big industries or cottage industries. Many of you may own shops or land and what not. Not everyone can do the same type of work. A nation can progress only when each individual does something which suits him.

Now, take the question of land. We have to produce as much as we can from land and try to double the production. In other countries, the production from land is double, treble or four times what we produce. Why should we produce so little? There must be some defect somewhere. It is a fact that our production from land has been slowly increasing in all parts of the country ever since we started paying special attention to it and began working hard at it. That is how we have been able to get over the problem of food shortage which we faced three or four years ago when we were forced to import rice and wheat worth crores of rupees from other countries. That difficulty is now past or more or less under control. We must remain vigilant because the problem has not been fully solved. But the fear is no longer there because we have been increasing the production in the country. You may remember how the prices of food grains had started soaring a few years ago. Now the prices have fallen so low that it has been causing us some anxiety. There has been a tremendous difference.

We have to increase production from our land. But we must also see who owns the land. Is it owned by big zamindars, small zamindars, or small farmers? We have abolished the zamindari system. But the problem of land is not solved yet. A great deal remains to be done. What surprises me is that in spite of all the steps that we have taken, we often hear of cases of farmers being dispossessed and thrown out of their land, not only in this province but all over the country. It is bizarre that after all these years there should be no provision to stop this business of dispossessing people. Perhaps it is partly due to the fear of the new land legislation that is in the offing. This does not seem right somehow and should be put a stop to. We should draw up a proper plan to solve the problem.

As you know, Acharya Vinoba Bhave is in Berhampur these days and, to tell you the truth, we are here because of him. I was planning to come to Orissa anyway. We could have held the AICC session anywhere in Orissa—in Bhubaneswar, Cuttack or Puri—but when we heard that Vinobaji was going to be in Berhampur, we decided to have it at a place where we could consult him and have the benefit of his advice and presence.⁴ So I came. I have met him several times and shall meet him again. In his own way, he has taken up a gigantic task in the country and has devoted years to the task. He has achieved a great deal. He has been talking about *sampattidan* (donation of wealth) too but has concentrated mainly on *bhoodan*.

Now, as you know, *bhoodan* is connected with the question of land. The Government passes laws because the work of the Government has to be done through legal channels. But the method that Vinobaji has adopted is unique, something peculiarly Indian. Perhaps in no other country are people like him born, nor do they adopt such unique methods of working. For one thing, he is doing a great service. Secondly, an atmosphere is being created in the country which makes the task of solving the land problem easier. What can I tell you about *bhoodan*? You must hear about it from Vinobaji himself. But I can tell you this much that I feel that what Vinobaji is doing is extremely significant. Though it is directly connected with the problem of land, it affects many other problems indirectly. So in his own special way he is helping far more in building the kind of new society that we are aiming at than what mere passing of laws could do.

We must look at the tasks before us from every angle and make efforts in all directions because the task of changing the Indian society is by no means a small one. So I hope that Vinobaji's visit to Orissa will be fruitful and you will fulfil his wish and help him in every possible way to make his Bhoodan movement a success.

4. The AICC session was held at Berhampur on 9 and 10 May 1955.

The most important question before us is that of land, as is natural in a country where 80 per cent of the population lives on land. We must consider what steps to take. We must remove poverty from the country. Whatever we produce by our own effort and hard work, whether it is from land or industries or any other skill, constitutes the wealth of the nation. The United States of America is very rich because it produces an unlimited amount of goods from its land and industries. We must also do that because that will be our wealth. Gold and silver are mere tools of trade—they cannot be consumed. We must coordinate two things—one, increase in production of consumer goods and, two, reduction of unemployment. The unemployed should be employed in the task of production. It seems very simple on the face of it, but it is not so. It is much more complicated than it appears. But it can be done because, after all, wealth is produced only through the effort of human beings.

The real wealth of a country is its people if they have the capacity to work. If the people are weak and lazy and unskilled, they are a burden on society. Taking all this into account, we drew up the First Five Year Plan four years ago. It was necessary to plan if we wanted to progress. Slogan-mongering and shouting cannot take us very far. Slogans may be all right sometimes but they cannot be a substitute for work. We have to work hard. Therefore we drew up the Five Year Plan. Almost four years out of the five have gone by and the Plan is nearing completion. In many cases we have exceeded our targets and we hope that by the end of the five years, we would have completed what we had set out to do. We have been able to deal successfully with the food problem and the results have exceeded our wildest dreams....

In the next year or so, we shall have to start the Second Five Year Plan. It has been under consideration now for the last seven or eight months. You may have seen in the newspapers that some documents concerning the plan discussions were laid on the table of the Lok Sabha the day before yesterday. We want the people to read them and make suggestions. We have not taken any decisions yet. The final draft will take another eight or ten months. At present we wish to put out ideas and thoughts before the public so that they can make suggestions and voice their criticisms. The Plan ought to be understood by everyone. The broad fact is that our progress is entirely dependent on our capacity to work and stand on our own feet. We cannot depend on anyone else. The more burden we are willing to bear, the greater will be our progress. If we want to go slow and take on fewer burdens, we can do so. The less the effort, the less the distance we travel. But we want to march forward rapidly.

You must remember another thing, namely, the problem of unemployment which is acute in the country. Every year, the population is increasing by forty-five lakhs. Out of those, it has been calculated that eighteen lakh people are of the age seeking employment. If they do not get jobs, they add to the number of the unemployed. Thus we have to provide employment to eighteen lakh

people every year in addition to the millions who are already unemployed. Now, that adds up to nearly 20 or 25 lakh people every year, which is a staggering figure. Well, many of them find some work or the other, but many more fail to do so. I am just trying to bring home to you how complicated the task is. We want to put an end to unemployment within the next ten or fifteen years and improve the economic condition of the country. It is a big task and therefore I want all of you to think about the papers which the Planning Commission have put out and try to understand what we are trying to do. Please do not think that this is the task only of people sitting in Delhi or Cuttack. It is your task and mine and the task of everybody in this country. The broad issues involved in the Plan must be explained even in schools so that every school child knows what India's problems are and how they are being solved. If not today, then tomorrow or the day after, today's children will have to take over as the nation's citizens. Our young men and women in college and universities will come out in a few years and face these problems. If they do not understand the problems now, how can they do anything in the future? Therefore I invite all of you to read and think about the Second Five Year Plan that is being drawn up, and discuss it among yourselves in village panchayats and schools and colleges. Get the papers and understand broadly what we are trying to achieve—how many roads and rail engines we shall build, how much increase in production of food and clothes and sugar and other consumer goods will be necessary, etc.

We have to do things by careful planning and wherever there are shortages, we shall have to increase production. We want the country to progress fast. So we are setting up heavy industries. Some have already come up, like the fertiliser factory in Sindri, the locomotive factory at Chittaranjan, telephone and telegraph plants. We are building ships at Vishakhapatnam. In this way, India is gradually beginning to produce all kinds of new things. We laid the foundation for it by establishing a number of science laboratories all over the country. The modern world is based on science and we became backward because we did not advance scientifically, whereas the West made great progress in that direction. We are surrounded by scientific inventions and discoveries in our daily lives. I came here by aeroplane today; many of you must have travelled by train; I am speaking to you through a microphone—all these things are the offshoots of science. There are hundreds of such things. Electricity, another scientific discovery, is a great force. You hear of the atom bomb. Atomic energy is a great resource which can be used for the good of the country and the world or for the destruction of the whole world. If you have a knife in your pocket, you can use it for many things including cutting your neighbour's throat. That will not be the fault of the knife but your foolishness if you indulge in such things. Similarly, these mighty weapons, like electricity, can kill if you handle it wrongly. But electricity is extremely essential in providing light and

running industries. We want electricity to reach every single village in India, not so much for the purpose of giving light but to be used for various village industries.

We want to put up heavy industries because we cannot be fully independent without that. But heavy industries alone will not serve the purpose and, in fact, instead of reducing unemployment, they will increase it. Therefore it has become even more essential, as we have always been saying, while putting up heavy industries on the one hand, to spread cottage industries on a very large-scale, not merely for show but because the majority of India's population lives in the villages and so the consumer goods that they need should be produced in the villages as far as possible.

So village industries will have a very big place in the Second Five Year Plan. But unless we go about it properly, it will not succeed. What does that imply? Take the charkha, for instance. If the charkha is successful, meaning that the yarn spun on it is of good quality and can be produced in large quantities which makes it economically viable, then there is no difficulty. The difficulty arises when it is not economically viable. So we must make an effort to see that the small machines in the villages like the charkha become really efficient. We must look at them scientifically to make them more more efficient. A new charkha is now in the market known as the Ambar charkha which is a small mill in itself which can be worked in your houses. The principle is the same. I have no doubt about it that the Ambar charkha can compete with any mill in the yarn that it produces.⁵

Similarly, we must pay attention to new techniques and introduce electricity into the working of the small machines. We want them to spread to all the villages on a large scale. The difficulty in this is to find trained people to do this. So we have to make provision to train people and organise them. It is easy for us to put up a large factory as we are doing right here in Orissa. A big steel plant is coming up in Rourkela, is it not? It is a huge project and we are selecting the best engineers for it. But it is far more difficult to start village industries for all the villages in Orissa. That would require far greater organisation.

I am trying to show you how we are going about these tasks. Where can wealth come from except through the hard work of the people? If a country's expenditure is more than what it produces, it will go bankrupt. If it saves something, it can be invested for further progress. The question is how much we can save every year which can be invested in new projects. Our progress depends on our savings. We can borrow money for these projects, and do so with confidence, because we are not proposing to squander that money on

5. See *post*, pp. 420-421.

useless things. We shall invest them in projects which will yield dividends in the future. So there is no difficulty about that. In short, we want this message to go out to all the people in India that they must help in the great task of building a new India by working hard and cooperating with us. It is obvious that we can do so only when there is unity among us and no internal squabbles.

You can see the various factors which lead to disunity these days. One is communalism and quarrels in the name of religion. We had thought it had been put an end to. Yet it rears its ugly head every now and then. The second is provincialism, which is creating great tensions in the country these days. The third is casteism. All these are weakening the country and must be got rid of if we wish to build a strong and prosperous country. I talked about provincialism. The strange thing is that so much noise is made about states as though it is a war between two countries. This city of Berhampur is situated near the border of two provinces, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, and I have no doubt about it that many of you sitting here may be Telugu-speaking. Is it ever possible to build a wall between the various provinces in India, confining the languages strictly to their own areas? Has it ever happened before? These are new issues cropping up now. I would say that the more people speaking different languages meet and mingle, the better it is, instead of living in separate compartments. The more they understand one another and learn different languages and customs, the better it will be for the country. But the strange thing now is that each province wants to become a separate compartment and live like frogs in the well. India is a vast ocean of humanity. There are all kinds of people living here. We can add to our strength by meeting one another and learning new things. How can the country progress if all of us want to shrivel up into our own corners or if we fight with one another over our provinces? It is an absurd situation. We must go into the question of the states with calm minds. Where is the question of fighting about it? After all, whichever province you may live in, your rights as well as the laws that govern you will remain exactly the same. Please keep in mind that our accepted principle about languages is that wherever there are two languages, it is the duty of the government to encourage both and make arrangements to teach them properly. There is nothing to fight about in this....

I have spoken only about India so far. But startling upheavals are taking place all over the world. There is great apprehension of another war. I had recently gone to Indonesia. A conference was held in one of its cities, Bandung, at which representatives of all the countries of Asia and some of Africa were present. It was an unusual conference, for it was the first time people from Asian and African countries were meeting. Well, we met and talked and took some decisions and passed some resolutions. We have to be strong and stable in this fast-changing world and have friendly relations with other countries. We have made it clear that we have no desire to fight. We shall certainly

defend ourselves against external aggression. But we do not wish to fight with anyone. We want to become strong, which is possible only by being united and improving our economic condition. This is the nuclear age, the age of the atom bomb. We have no atom bomb and neither are we bothered about it. It is not possible to face an atom bomb with a gun or sword. But we can face it if we have courage and unity....

So you must remember these things. First of all, you must realise the importance of unity in the country and not indulge in provincialism. Each province is free to develop its own language and at the same time it must respect other languages and give them an opportunity to grow. Each province should strive to develop its own special cultural heritage. Secondly, we must not allow communalism to flourish. Everyone in India, whether he is a Hindu, Christian, Muslim, Sikh, Parsee, Buddhist, a believer or an atheist, has equal rights politically in India. We must help one another and get rid of the caste system which exists among the Hindus especially. There is no room for inequality and caste distinctions in a democracy because everyone enjoys equal rights. Therefore we must fight it and put an end to it so that all of us build a new India together. *Jai Hind*. Come, please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

Let me tell you one thing more. All that I have said just now is for everyone, men, women and children. Indian women especially must understand that they have to participate fully in the tasks before us. We are trying to bring in some laws especially to change the status of women. They have a special role to play in the task of nation-building and development in India.

8. Socialist Pattern of Society¹

There are many things that I wish to talk to you about. Where do I begin?

As I was coming here, I was asked what the difference was between a socialist pattern of society and socialism or *sarvodaya*. I shall deal with it first of all. Secondly, I should like to say something about the Second Five Year Plan. Thirdly, I want to say a few words about the Congress organisation. I cannot go into great detail because I am not fully in touch with the internal politics in Uttar Pradesh. But there are certain fundamental things of general relevance.

1. Speech at a gathering of Congress party workers of Uttar Pradesh. Hardwar, 21 May 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

As far as a socialist pattern of society is concerned, there is no difference between that and socialism. But if you were to ask me what socialism is, I would say there could be a number of answers to that question. There are certain fundamental principles of socialism which are generally accepted. You will find them mentioned in the Avadi resolution. It does not talk merely of a socialist pattern of society but also of public ownership of the means of production, and so on. Therefore socialism is a way of thinking which envisages the common good of society and reduction of disparities between the haves and the have-nots. I am talking to you in a very broad general way.

But if you go into the details, you will find differences. The communists also talk of socialism. The Soviet Union and China say they will establish socialism. Now there are bound to be differences in the thinking of the Soviet Union and China. In a sense, even the principles of socialism would differ according to the conditions in those countries. The conditions in China and the Soviet Union are completely different. So the same principles are given a different application. The conditions in one country cannot be reproduced in another.

You must bear in mind the fact that the word socialism was first used in England about a hundred and twenty-five years ago, as far as I remember, to mean generally equality and justice, social justice. But there were no clear-cut definitions then. It gradually acquired a deeper meaning. Then, less than a century ago, Karl Marx came on the scene. He wrote a great deal on the subject including *Das Kapital*. All that was related to the conditions prevalent in Europe a hundred years ago. At that time Europe was in the throes of the Industrial Revolution and new machines and industries were making their appearance which changed the entire lifestyle of the nations of Europe. People began to flock to the industries from land. Great upheavals took place involving tremendous hardships. The craftsmen and artisans in rural areas lost their livelihood and were forced to work in industries. They had to work fourteen to sixteen hours a day, even children.

These were the conditions in which the new industrial society in the West was built. India too played a role in it in the sense that wealth was drained from here to set up industries in England. It is in opposition to the new industrial society that socialism emerged: Every word or concept always has a history behind it. It is never something in the air. The word socialism had its roots in the conditions prevalent in Europe at that time. Marx wrote a huge tome about the condition of the working classes in England a hundred years ago. There is no doubt that Marx was a great, far-sighted thinker. Many of the things that he wrote about were proved right and we can benefit from them. But he had before him the picture of Europe of a hundred years ago. Tremendous changes have taken place in Europe and the United States during these hundred years.

It is a different story in India. I agree that there are certain fundamental

principles of socialism and communism which most of us know about. But Marx has written himself that nobody should copy him without understanding him. In fact he said that he was troubled by his disciples because they kept repeating some word or phrase without understanding it. He also said that though he was laying down certain principles which in his opinion were right, in practice a great deal would depend on the conditions of a particular country. Blind copying was meaningless.

For instance, China is a communist country. But their methods have been very different from the Soviet Union. Let me give you a broad example. Land reforms were undertaken in China. But even now, the tiller's ownership of the land is recognised. In the Soviet Union, practically all the arable land has been converted into huge collective farms. Therefore when someone asks what difference between socialism and a socialist pattern of society is, I would like to ask him in turn what he himself understands by socialism. Secondly, I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that I want socialism in India. But we must understand the sense in which the words "socialist pattern" have been used to denote the kind of society we wish to build. You must not get carried away by the idea that socialism is some magic formula which has to be constantly repeated. We accept the basic viewpoint of socialism. How and in what manner we do it depends on the situation in the country and our resources. The ultimate goal justifies our calling it a socialist pattern of society. But it will be our own brand of socialism, not a copy of anyone. Nor shall we accept any socialistic dogma. We shall certainly refer to the existing literature to clarify our views. But socialism is not a rigid dogma or Bible which cannot be changed.

Then there is the question of *sarvodaya*. Recently when I was in Berhampur, I had said that I liked the word *sarvodaya* far better than socialism.² It is a beautiful word meaning the uplift of all. It is our own word and so I prefer it. But I do not use it for two reasons. One, though it is a beautiful word, the meaning that it seeks to convey is not clear. It is not a new word but it is being given a new connotation. If we use it, it could be given various twists. I agree that Vinobaji and others have sought to clarify its meaning. But the picture is not clear.

Secondly, I do not like the idea of stealing the word *sarvodaya* which has been used by Vinobaji and his comrades. That does not seem quite proper. For instance, the Socialist Party is already angry with us for using the word socialism. I cannot understand why they should think it is their personal property. As the Congress President, Dhebar bhai, said just now, we have not used the word socialism in order to compete with the Socialists. We have used the word to show the broad direction which the Congress wishes to take and the kind of society we wish to build. There is no doubt about it that socialism is the only

2. See *post*, pp. 375-377.

word to describe it. If we call it *sarvodaya*, it may mean many things; it will not convey to anyone easily what we mean. If we use any other word, it may acquire an entirely new meaning.

As I said, socialism can mean many things but it has a definite thrust. Everyone knows broadly what it stands for and we want to show everyone the direction in which we are going and the kind of society that we want to build. The steps that we take to achieve that goal depends on the situation in the country and our good sense. At the same time we do not wish to tie ourselves down to some outdated socialist dogma.

Yes, our goal is a socialist pattern of society. It will remain so even if we did not use any of these words. Words are dangerous things. Often their mere utterance is mistaken for the actual deed. I should like us to go a little deeper into the whole thing. We must be clear in our minds about what needs to be done. Broadly speaking, whatever we do has to be done for the 36 crore people in the country. This is the first thing to be remembered and every action of ours must be weighed carefully to see how it affects the entire population of the country. We want a better life for every man and woman in the country.

What does a better life mean? First of all, everyone must have enough to eat. Two, they must have clothes to wear. Three, they must have houses to live in. Four, they must enjoy proper facilities of health care. Five, adequate arrangements must be made for their education. Six, everyone must have adequate means of earning a livelihood. It is obvious that everyone cannot get the same kind of jobs. But they must have some work to do. We do not want people to be idle and become a burden to society. Every individual takes something from society and consumes something such as food, clothes and education. Unless he repays it by producing something, he becomes a burden on society. Even the unemployed person consumes something, even if it is not adequate to his needs. So he is a burden. The country which has a high rate of unemployment has to shoulder a great burden. I am leaving aside for the moment the hardships that the unemployed have to undergo.

Unemployment is a curse for any society. The innumerable mendicants in saffron robes pose a great burden on society. I am sure many of them must be very good people. But, as you know, not everyone who wears saffron robes is necessarily a worthy person. We must respect and learn from the good ones. But even thieves and vagabonds can and do don the garb of a sadhu. Saffron robes do not change his character after all. There are huge *akharas* where these sadhus flourish. Only the other day I heard about one of these places where kidnapped boys were being kept. There is a lot of money around and people live idle lives, supposedly doing exercises but often indulging in undesirable activities. All this is very bad. I do not for a moment wish to curb the sincere ones. But on a large scale, it opens the door to a life of complete idleness. A man who puts on saffron robes is sure of getting food. He does not

have to work for it. People respect sadhus and shower gifts on them. I recall seeing a census report twenty years ago which gave the figure of sadhus in India as 54 lakhs. The number must have gone up since. I think it is 80 lakhs. Can you claim that all of them are first-rate human beings? It is obvious that even 80,000 will not pass the test: In any case the rest of them must at least do something. This is a matter that needs to be examined. Some of the states are thinking of passing a law against people becoming sadhus until they are advanced in years. Otherwise anybody can don the saffron robes.

As I said everyone must get six basic necessities of life—food, clothes, housing, health care, education and employment. It is possible only when we produce enough by working hard. Employment must be gainful and suited to the basic needs of the people. What happens now is that when someone opens a shoe factory, he does not pause to think how many people there would be in his district or city who are barefoot and need shoes. He thinks of the number of people who can buy his shoes and enable him to make a profit. That is, his calculations are not need based. Millions of people may need shoes. But it is only those who have the purchasing power that he takes into account.

Our way of looking at the problem is necessarily different. We must think of the 36 crore men, women and children who live in India, and calculate the amount of foodgrains, vegetables, meat, etc., that they need, and then produce them. If the production is less than what is needed, it should be stepped up. If there is a shortage of cloth, since the need is there, it is our duty to produce it. Planning has to be done in such a way as to ensure that the people have the purchasing power to buy the basic necessities of life. Where is the money to come from? We cannot distribute these things free to everyone. It can come only through gainful employment that will give enough to each individual to buy what he needs.

Every individual has two different functions, one as a producer and the other as a consumer. Everyone is a consumer but very often they are not producers. If everyone also becomes a producer, he will be able to discharge his duties better.

The problem with poor countries is that they have nothing left to save and invest. Capital formation is essential for a country's development. A nation has to have some capital which can be used for the progress and welfare of the people. But when a nation does not have enough to eat, how can it save anything? This is the problem with poor countries. If they do not save, there is no progress. Therefore it is essential to tighten one's belt. This has nothing to do with any particular ideology. Ultimately if everything that is produced is consumed there will be no surplus for development. If the expenditure exceeds the income, the nation will go bankrupt. It is only by saving something that development is possible and whether it is capitalism or socialism, the principle remains the same.

Take the countries of the West, in particular England and the United States, which went through the Industrial Revolution during the last 150 years. Industrialisation enhances man's capacity for production. Any tool or machine increases productivity. If you read the history of the olden days, you will find that iron had not been discovered and even axes were made of stone. You can imagine how difficult it would have been to work with a stone axe to cut trees or kill animals. But the people did not know of anything else. Then came copper and iron and what not and gradually man's efficiency increased.

Do you know the great difference between human beings and animals? Man is a tool-using animal. Other animals use their paws and mouth or just brute strength. Man progressed as he acquired more and more intricate tools. Hammer, knife and all such tools make for greater skill. A charkha is a machine, a tool which enables you to spin yarn faster. The new Ambar charkha which has been made is almost like a small mill except that it does not have chimney stacks nor does it stand three-storey high. Otherwise it functions exactly like a mill.

The history of man's progress is the story of the invention of better and more intricate tools. Ravana is supposed to have had twenty hands. That is a mythological tale. But the fact is that man has acquired much greater strength through the tools that he has invented. A man is thousand-armed today. Every new tool and weapon is a new source of strength.

Secondly, man has learnt to harness the hidden sources of energy in Nature like steam and electricity. Not that steam is anything new. It is an ordinary, everyday thing. But the discovery of steam power led to the invention of the railway engine and several industries. Similarly everybody had been familiar with lightning. But until sixty or seventy years ago, people were afraid of thunder and lightning and used to worship them out of fear of the wrath of gods. But less than a hundred years ago, it dawned on some human beings that it is a natural source of energy, which could be harnessed to serve mankind. Electricity can kill a human being. But it can also be used for innumerable beneficial things. There is no magic about it. It was purely by accident that Benjamin Franklin³ in America discovered the potential of electricity while flying a kite. He kept up with his experiments until he understood that electricity could be produced by friction. In our century came the discovery of atomic energy by splitting the atom. There are various sources of energy hidden in Nature which can be used for good as well as evil. If they are put to good use, man increases his strength a thousandfold and his capacity for production goes up.

3. (1706-1790); American scientist, statesman, and inventor; was one of the five who drafted the Declaration of Independence in 1776; member, the Constitution Convention, 1787; devised his one-fluid theory of electricity; and wrote on the problems of light, heat and dynamics.

Industries need some source of energy to run the machines, like steam power or electricity or something else. Engines run on steam power for which coal is necessary. Electricity is produced by friction and transmitted through wires to run industries. Coal can be used for steam power as well as production of electricity. You will find that atomic energy is so powerful that a very little of it is enough to run an industry. There is no need for coal or anything else which has to be transported at great cost. Today it is not possible to do many things in Rajasthan where there are thousands of miles of desert. It is extremely expensive to transport coal over such long distances. But atomic energy can be easily transmitted to set up an industry in the middle of the desert. There are countless possibilities. I have given you a small example.

If India is to progress, we must understand the world of Nature and master science. There is no secret about it. We must harness the natural sources of energy for our use. The West did it and has made tremendous advance. Their production from land has gone up, industries have spread rapidly and their strength has increased in every imaginable sphere. The West has become extremely affluent and militarily powerful. Please do not think that they have become affluent only by plundering other countries. Imperialist nations did plunder wealth from other countries. But ultimately their affluence stemmed from their capacity to produce more through new scientific techniques. We must also understand this world of science and learn to control Nature for our benefit as the other countries have done. No purpose is served by repeating old lessons learnt by rote. Our ancestors were great thinkers who had thought deeply about the physical and metaphysical world. They were no mere parrots repeating lessons by rote. They observed the world around them and learnt from it. Then came a time when we closed our eyes to new developments and refused to learn anything. We were content to keep repeating lessons learnt by rote without understanding their true meaning. So we fell back.

The first thing that needs to be done is to open our eyes and ears to the new world all around us. The radio is a very simple gadget, and yet it enables you to hear voices from all over the world, from America, Russia, China, by the turn of a knob. The sounds are in the air all the time. Only our ears are closed. An exciting picture of the world, a complex world, emerges-before us if we are ready to listen to the voices all around us. The more we advance in science and technology the greater will our strength be. Our strength lies in understanding Nature, not by being in conflict with it.

We have set up huge scientific laboratories in various parts of the country to promote the learning of science and new research. We must do original research in India instead of depending on other countries. Some of our brightest young people are working at present in these national laboratories. With their help we have tried to lay the foundations of future progress.

The next thing is a scientific temperament. Our attitudes and way of thinking

are extremely important. Do we accept things blindly and repeat lessons by rote, or do we accept something after careful thought? Let me give you an example. There are many among you who observe a fast or go and bathe in a river during an eclipse. Now everyone knows why an eclipse occurs. It can be predicted in advance accurately to the day and minute. How is that done? It is not that we get a message from Rahu that the Moon is going to be gobbled up! It is a natural phenomenon. When the Earth comes between the Sun and Moon there is a shadow which is an eclipse. This is a simple thing which you can learn from a child's textbook. Scientists observe it with powerful telescopes. But is it not strange that knowing it to be a natural phenomenon which can be predicted in advance, people should stick to superstitions about an eclipse? Fasting is no doubt good for health. There is no harm. But it is stupidity to think that you will be saving the Sun or the Moon from Rahu by fasting. So long as such thinking persists, we shall not be able to understand Nature. There should be a scientific temper, a healthy curiosity to know the truth. Even if we stumble and fall, our curiosity will take us ahead. Once a nation loses that spirit of inquiry, it will lag behind.

I have wandered away from the point. I was telling you about the Five Year Plan and the six basic necessities of life for which arrangements have to be made. We have to open up new avenues of employment. There is one method by which everyone can be given work and that is to throw away all machines. But that would be self-defeating because we shall cut down our capacity for greater production. Thousands of human beings will be needed to do the work of one large machine. Even if we provided work for everyone, it will mean greater poverty too. It will not increase productivity in any way. People will be able to eke out a meagre living after working hard for fifteen or sixteen hours a day. It would not be a very wise thing to impoverish the country and subject it to greater hardships.

What is the alternative? We can increase production by putting up a few large factories, textile mills or something. But the result would be to close down our handlooms and greater unemployment. We cannot afford that.

Therefore we have to keep both aspects before us. We want India to progress so that everyone in the country gets employment, and gradually there will be greater equality among the people. If we lay stress only on providing employment, progress will come to a halt as I showed you earlier. If we pay attention only to industrial progress, unemployment will increase. It is a tricky dilemma. We have to take both these things into account and strike a balance as far as possible. At the same time, we must increase production so that every year there is a surplus to invest in development. Unless there is capital formation, progress will come to a halt.

I am trying to explain the broad aspects of planning. Everyone in the country must understand these things. Planning does not mean making out a

list of things, schools, bridges, roads, etc., that you need. You are welcome to send a list. But what you must understand clearly is that we can spend only as much as we earn. Income must be increased by hard work and saving.

So planning is maintaining a balance between various factors. Let me give you another example. Four or five years ago when we started the First Plan, the situation in the country was very bad. For one thing, we had not recovered from the consequences of the Second World War. Secondly, India was divided into two and partition had brought tremendous upheavals in its wake. There was shortage of foodgrains. We had to import millions of rupees' worth of foodgrains. The rupee was losing in value day by day and there was terrible inflation. In this situation we could not go very far with the First Plan. So we were forced to draw up a modest Plan.

Gradually we brought the economic situation in the country under control. Inflation was curbed. On the other hand, prices began to fall. Food production increased and our fear of shortages was allayed. Many other things happened to strengthen our economic base. It is true that we did not make a very big dent on the problem of unemployment, at least not to any appreciable extent. But we were in a stronger position and could go on from there. All this led to greater self-confidence among the people. Success breeds confidence and self-reliance. This is where we are today.

In the last five years there has been an annual increase of three per cent on the Gross Domestic Product which works out to a fifteen per cent rise in five years. That is a good thing. But a three per cent per annum increase is not enough even to cover the increasing population. The population in India is increasing at the rate of 45 lakhs per year.

But even a three per cent increase in productivity is better than nothing. There are very few countries in Asia which can match us in this. But it is not enough. We must accelerate the speed of progress. We can be ambitious and declare that the annual growth rate should be ten per cent. But that means a greater burden on the people. Every little bit makes a difference. We have to calculate the capacity of the people to shoulder the burden. If we make very ambitious plans, they will remain on paper. It is pretty difficult to gauge with any accuracy what the people can ultimately bear. If there is enthusiasm and determination, the people can do a great deal. It is not easy to calculate these things accurately. Human beings are not bricks or mortar. An engineer may be able to calculate exactly how much steel or bricks will be needed to build a bridge. Human beings are a strange conglomeration and each individual is different. Sometimes a people can whip up tremendous enthusiasm and courage to achieve something fantastic. The same people at other times become faint-hearted and weak and apathetic.

How are all these things to be measured? We can make a rough calculation of what is required to increase the growth rate to four or five per cent. Our

economic pundits who have been studying the situation have said that it should be raised to at least five per cent per annum. That would mean a growth of twenty-five per cent in five years. The experts are of the opinion that even five per cent per annum growth would mean a great burden on the people though it will not be unbearable. This is the general opinion and it may be stretched to five and a half or remain at four and a half. This is the basis on which the Second Plan is being drawn up.

The quickest way to progress is through industrialisation. As I said earlier, one large machine is equal to the strength of a thousand men. Until we acquire heavy industries, there can be no progress. Other things will follow automatically. Therefore we must have heavy industries. For instance, we must make our own railway engines and carriages. For that we need steel. So we have to set up steel plants. The one at Jamshedpur produces only 13 lakh tonnes of steel a year. We require four or five times as much. Every steel plant is a huge affair. We also require all kinds of machine building industries which we must set up. Otherwise we shall remain helpless and can fall a prey to stronger powers. We must lay greater emphasis on heavy industries so that we do not have to buy machines from other countries. We must become self-reliant. Steel and other essential goods must be produced in large quantities and at the same time machine building industries must be set up so that we can produce whatever we need within the country. This is very essential for progress.

However, as I said, heavy industries produce machines, steel, etc., which are not consumer goods. Therefore other arrangements have to be made for those needs. We have reached the conclusion that while we establish heavy industries, we must encourage cottage industries too. I do not use the words cottage industries in a narrow sense. We should use electricity and small machines to make village industries more productive. Our effort should be to make the village industries efficient and productive because low production makes them unviable.

So you have heavy industries on the one hand and village industries on the other. This is what the state has to lay stress on and plan for. I do not wish to go into greater details. I merely wanted to show you how complex the whole problem is. It is not enough to make a list of demands. We do not want you to sit waiting for the Planning Commission's report to come out. I have given you an indication of the thinking of the Planning Commission. You can give your suggestions and help us in drafting the Second Plan.

I have brought with me some booklets and reports on the thinking going on in the Planning Commission. No final decision has been taken yet. These are merely the guidelines. These documents are known as working papers. They are not final by any means. Articles have been appearing in the newspapers. I

shall hand over these fifty odd booklets to Munishwar Dutt Upadhyayaji⁴ so that each one of you can take one back with you to your districts. You can get more later. There are four key pamphlets. One of them is shown as having been written by Professor Mahalanobis.⁵ But it is not his work alone. More than twenty people have contributed to writing the paper. Some foreigners whom we consulted are also among them. A preliminary draft of the Plan has been drawn up. We are very far from the final Plan. The Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry have gone over it and submitted their report. That is the second pamphlet.

Then we distributed the draft Plan to economists all over the country for their views, which are contained in the third report. The fourth pamphlet contains the note of dissent by one economist.⁶ I want you to read and think about all these various papers and reports. You will find that every little item has been gone into in great detail and the impact on employment, etc., has been taken into account. That is what planning means. It is possible that everything in these reports may not be a hundred per cent correct. But we shall arrive at the final draft after consulting everyone.

I want to say that the Second Five Year Plan period will be a great testing time for us and it is a matter of satisfaction that the atmosphere in the country is good. People in the country are beginning to understand a little the meaning of planning. It is being debated. We want to increase this awareness by publishing more articles and reports. In spite of the favourable climate, it is an extremely difficult task. But once we go through the next five years and reach the target of five per cent growth rate, progress will become much easier in the future. The hardships that we bear now to increase the growth rate to five per cent per annum will make it easier to raise it to six or seven per cent later on. You must understand this.

In this context, I attach great importance to the Community Projects. They can change—and in fact they are changing—the entire life of the rural areas and infusing a new life and self-confidence into the villagers. The villagers are learning to stand on their own feet instead of waiting for others to come and do their work.

4. (1896-1983); participated in the freedom movement and was imprisoned several times; President, Pratapgarh District Congress Committee and of UPPCC; Member of, provisional Parliament, 1950-52, and of Lok Sabha, 1952-62; Member, UP Legislative Council, 1966-72; Minister for Revenue, Government of UP, 1969-70.
5. P.C. Mahalanobis (1893-1973); founder director, Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata; Honorary Statistical Adviser to the Union Cabinet; member, Planning Commission, 1955-73.
6. See *post*, p. 383.

What I have said so far is for everyone in the country. But it is obvious that the burden on Congressmen will be greater. I am sorry that our socialist comrades have opposed the Community Projects. When we say that we want to build a socialist pattern of society, instead of feeling happy that a large party like the Congress has accepted their viewpoint, they get annoyed with us. Actually they accuse us of deceiving them. It is indeed puzzling should welcome it that a large party like the Congress is following their path. Their dilemma is that if the Five Year Plan succeeds, it will be to the credit of the Congress and the Government, which they do not like. We cannot help. The fact is that the five year plans are not confined to the Congress alone. They are national tasks in which everyone has to participate. The Community Projects are not the work of the Congress alone. Let everyone take part.

We have established the Bharat Sevak Samaj which is open to everyone. But these people suspect that it is meant to bolster the Congress image. I cannot

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There is a very heavy load of responsibilities on the Congress, of course. As you know, these days there is a heated debate about the internal organisation of the Congress. Resolutions were passed at the Avadi and Berhampur Congress sessions regarding the need to strengthen the internal organisation of the Congress and to cleanse it of the evils that had crept into it. Those are very basic issues and unless the right answers are found, we cannot function well. During the last seven or eight years since Independence, the Congress has been moving on its old momentum. We have many achievements to our credit and to some extent we have been living on our old laurels. But we cannot rest on our laurels forever. Now it is up to us to strengthen the organisation and make a name for ourselves. So what should we do? It is up to you to think about it. I shall not go into it. But I can venture an opinion born out of experience. I am not bothered about the numerical strength of Congress membership. I believe that strength comes not from quantity but quality. I would much rather have three or four good people in a village than a hundred useless individuals.

Groupism has done great harm to the Congress. Many of you are in it. But the time will come when such factions must go. We will fight against such tendencies with all our might even if it means losing an election. I am not

face? I go where there is work to be done. My home is in Allahabad. But now the whole of India is my home constituency.

It is extremely stupid to fight about petty issues. We lower ourselves in the eyes of the people. How can the Congress function like this? You must think seriously about this. Your President is no longer the easy-going Jawaharlal. Dhebar bhai⁷ is the President. I do not mean to say that I am very slack. What I meant was that I am tied up in innumerable tasks. It was wrong for me to have been the President who could spare very little time for the organisation. So it is a very good thing for the Congress that Dhebar bhai has become its President. People are beginning to realise gradually the high calibre of the man, his capacity for hard work and how well suited he is to fill this great position. He is devoting himself entirely to the Congress and his efforts will undoubtedly bear fruit. The Congress will emerge a stronger, cleaner organisation.

There are all sorts of attacks not only on the Congress but also on the public life in India. The strange thing is that, on the one hand, there is communist propaganda and, on the other, there are anti-communist slogans. India has become their battleground. In fact the whole world has become a battleground between these two camps. This is unacceptable to us. We shall not allow ourselves to be reduced to pawns in their game. Large amounts of money are being flung about and distributed to our newspapers and small organisations. It is extremely dangerous that foreign money should infiltrate our newspapers.⁸ One method is of course plain and simple bribery. There are other methods too. Large sums of money are paid for token advertisements to newspapers with very small circulation. Foreign funds are infiltrating our society in strange ways. It is dangerous. We must be extremely vigilant because it can do great harm to us.

I wish to remind you that many governments in West Asian countries have fallen because of foreign money. I do not like the idea of depending on foreign aid for our five year plans and other tasks though we are short of funds. A small loan or aid does not matter because it generates a good sentiment. If we do not have the resources I would rather that we should limp on than depend on others. Well, loans are a different matter. But it is extremely harmful that foreign powers should try to bribe and corrupt our people. In any form, such things are bad.

Since we are in Uttar Pradesh, I want to say a few words about Hindi. Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, which form a part of the Hindi belt, have a great responsibility. Hindi ought to be an all-India language and there is no doubt

7. U.N. Dhebar (1905-1977); President, Indian National Congress, 1954-59.

8. See *post*, pp. 534-536.

about it that it will grow and spread. We must make all efforts to help the cause of Hindi. But we must bear in mind that there are other great languages in India. You will forgive me if I point out that some of them are more developed than Hindi in terms of literary merit. Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Malayalam are all great languages. Our Constitution recognises fourteen languages as national languages. The only difference is that we want to use Hindi for all-India purposes. But if the protagonists of Hindi try in any way to harm the other languages or suppress them, it will cause great harm to Hindi also in the bargain. It is a delicate question. If the whole country, with its different languages, were to accept Hindi as a national language, it will be a great victory for Hindi. But if a state is unwilling to do so, you cannot use coercion. You cannot move a step in Bengal or Madras without their unreserved acceptance. Those who make Hindi a point of contention and use threats are thereby doing a great disservice to Hindi. The people of the South are learning Hindi. But they cannot be expected to give up their own languages, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada, which are first-rate. Our entire approach should be one of respect for all languages. We must also learn one of their languages.

Secondly, if examinations for the big jobs are held in Hindi, people from other parts of the country who are non-Hindi speaking cannot take part easily. It is one thing to learn Hindi. They will learn Hindi. But to hold an examination in Hindi will mean that the Hindi-speaking candidates will find it easier while for those from Madras or Bengal it will be difficult. Even if they know some Hindi, it cannot be good enough for examinations. We cannot take a step which imposes a greater burden on the people of India. Therefore we decided in the Working Committee last year that we should continue to hold examinations in English as well as Hindi for a little while longer. Those who wish to take it in Hindi could do so. At the same time, everyone must be given the opportunity to take the examinations in their own regional languages too. After passing the examinations, they may be required to learn Hindi. That is a different matter. But to compel everyone to take examinations in Hindi would be unjust. Therefore the Working Committee has said quite clearly that examinations must continue to be held in English also.

There is an expectation that Hindi will become compulsory in fifteen years. Already four or five years have gone by and I hope Hindi will be used in most places in fifteen years' time. But we cannot take any step which will cast a greater burden or be an injustice to people in any part of the country. Everyone will have to learn Hindi in course of time. But if Hindi is made the key to all important jobs, it would create problems.

This should be made clear on our side. Those who agitate against Tamil or Telugu fail to understand the real issue. Though Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada have not originated from Sanskrit, there are innumerable Sanskrit

words in these languages. They contain at least thirty to forty per cent Sanskrit words.

Then take Urdu. There is a great deal of heat over it. Some protagonists of Hindi want to root out Urdu. I cannot understand why there should be a feud between Hindi and Urdu. Hindi is the national language. But Urdu is one of the languages listed in the Constitution. Everyone has the right to be educated in his own mother tongue. If there are sufficient number of people speaking Telugu or Tamil, Malayalam or Bengali, it is our duty to open schools in those media. Urdu is a language of Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. It does not belong to Pakistan where Punjabi is spoken to this day. To agitate against one of our own languages is to throw away a precious heritage. I am amazed at such behaviour. Urdu cannot weaken Hindi. On the other hand it will only strengthen Hindi. So it should be welcomed.

Another strange thing. There is a great agitation in the Punjab over Hindi versus Punjabi. Long debates and arguments are printed in newspapers. But both sides carry on the debate in Urdu because they know only Urdu. In Delhi also, a number of newspapers are published in Urdu. Even the newspapers published by the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh are published in Urdu. What is to be done if a large number of people speak and read and write Urdu? It is a fact. Then what is all the argument about? I am really ashamed about it. It is extremely narrowminded to think that we would weaken Hindi by encouraging Urdu. Hindi already occupies a high position and it will make further headway.

Well, I have talked to you about a number of things at random as we are all old comrades. Let me tell you one thing more about which there should be no slackness. I mentioned it in the Lok Sabha also. It is about the Hindu Marriage Bill⁹ and the Hindu Succession Bill. Some Congressmen are also a little perturbed and came to me wondering what kind of impact these Bills will have on the elections. In my personal opinion, they are bound to have an excellent effect on the elections. They would have had an even better impact if you had not been foolish enough to keep women away from your committees. This is a basic thing. If you want the Congress to move ahead, you must give women a place in your committees and other posts....

9. For Nehru's speech in the course of debate on the Bill on 5 May 1955, see *post*, pp. 468-478.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

1. To Ali Sastroamidjojo¹

New Delhi
February 20, 1955

My dear Prime Minister,²

This letter will be taken by Mohammad Yunus,³ who is leaving tomorrow morning for Djakarta. He is one of our team for helping the Joint Secretariat of the Asian-African Conference.⁴ Another member⁵ of this team will go early in March.

As you know, I have been away in England and only returned three days ago. On my way back I stopped for two days in Cairo and had talks with the Prime Minister and other Ministers of Egypt. Prime Minister Gamal Nasser⁶ is greatly looking forward to his visit to Indonesia for the Asian-African Conference. He will probably come to India on his way to Indonesia and it is possible that we might come together to Djakarta.

The Asian-African Conference has attracted very great attention in the world. That would have been so in any event, but the continuation of the grave crisis over Formosa and the offshore islands of China will no doubt heighten the interest in our Conference. The situation in the Far East is a very difficult and serious one. Indeed, it might well be called an explosive one. The recent

1. JN Collection. Copies sent to B.F.H.B. Tyabji, Ambassador in Indonesia, and Subimal Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA.
2. (1903-1975); Prime Minister of Indonesia, 1953-55 and 1956-57.
3. (b. 1916); member, Indian Foreign Service, 1947-74.
4. The 29 countries which participated in this conference, held at Bandung, Indonesia, from 18 to 24 April 1955, were: Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar (all sponsors), Afghanistan, Cambodia, People's Republic of China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, North Vietnam, South Vietnam and Yemen. These countries had a population of about 1,440,408,000 or nearly two-thirds of the world population as estimated in 1953. The Joint Secretariat comprised of Ruslan Abdulgani, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia, as its Secretary General and B.F.H.B. Tyabji (India), Chaudhri Khaliqzaman (Pakistan), M. Saravanamuttu (Sri Lanka) and Mya Sein (Myanmar) as members.
5. A. Appadorai joined the Joint Secretariat as Conference Officer.
6. Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970); Prime Minister of Egypt, 1954-56.

speech of Mr Dulles⁷ in which he has announced the American intention of shielding Quemoy and Matsu islands is bound to worsen the situation and add to the danger of major incidents. Much may therefore happen even before we meet at Bandung.

In view of this great importance of the Bandung Conference, I hope that the Joint Secretariat is making full and adequate preparations for it and will not be taken unawares at the last time. The full Conference will probably only meet once or twice, but there are likely to be numbers of committees meeting as well as private consultations between various delegations. We are only meeting for a week or so and time is thus very limited. I hope that this time will not be taken up much by protocol routines or by banquets and the like. The more time we have to have private discussions amongst ourselves, the greater the success of the Conference will be.

The Conference is unique in many ways. The mere fact of our meeting is of high importance. Then we have at the Conference representatives of countries holding diametrically opposing views. All this will require the most careful and tactful management. On the one hand, we cannot be just a gathering of diverse people talking vaguely about world problems; on the other hand we cannot obviously take up highly controversial issues as between our countries. Such a Conference cannot decide any question by majority vote. In spite of these difficulties, I think that the Conference can well help in producing a broad common approach in some matters affecting Asia and Africa and throw its weight on the side of peace.

I am venturing to write to you this matter because of the high importance of this Conference and the necessity to make it a success in every way. The Joint Secretariat will no doubt work to this end. But I hope that they will have your personal guidance.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. John Foster Dulles (1888-1959); US Secretary of State, 1953-59.

2. To B.F.H.B. Tyabji¹

New Delhi

February 20, 1955

My dear Badr,²

As Yunus is going tomorrow morning to Djakarta, I am giving him a letter for the President³ and another for the Prime Minister.⁴ Copies of both are enclosed. Please have them delivered.

I am rather anxious about this Asian-African Conference and, more especially, about the arrangements. I wonder if the people in Indonesia have any full realisation of what this Conference is going to be. All the world's eyes will be turned upon it and I have no doubt that vast numbers of press correspondents will go there for the occasion. The Conference will represent a historic event of great significance and might well mould the future of Asia and Africa. The immediate subject that it will probably have to face will be a very grave crisis in regard to Formosa, etc. I do not mean that it should throw itself into this muddle, but it cannot wholly ignore it either.

Because of all this, we cannot take the slightest risk of lack of adequate arrangements. There is no reason why there should be this lack because everything can be done if there is proper understanding and intention to do it. What I fear is that there is not full understanding even and much less intention. It will be a tragedy if the arrangements are feeble and a break-down occurs.

You have been pointing out that the Indonesians are sensitive. We should respect their sensitiveness. But we cannot afford to have everything messed up because they are sensitive. The harm to Indonesia will be very great indeed if all the world sees that they cannot organise the Conference or organise it very badly. The whole work of the Conference might go to pieces because of lack of foresight and lack of proper organisation. As for the foreign delegations that come there, they will go back with irritation and, maybe, even illwill.

These are serious consequences which we cannot ignore simply because people are sensitive. I want you to realise this and I want the Indonesian Government and the Joint Secretariat to realise it fully. I have no doubt whatever that if things do not come up to standard, there will be a burst up even while we are in Indonesia and others will take charge of the situation and not calmly look on while everything goes to pieces.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1907-1995); Ambassador to Indonesia, 1954-56.

3. Letter to Ahmed Sukarno, President of Indonesia, not printed.

4. See the preceding item.

I have learnt that it is proposed to crowd numbers of people in single rooms. It is difficult for me to say much from here, but the Indonesian Government or your Joint Secretariat will not get much praise from anybody if delegations are herded up like cattle. As I said when I was in Djakarta,⁵ we put up thousands of people for our Congress session in temporary huts or tents. Surely something can be improvised. Above all, one fact should be remembered, and this is usually forgotten in Indonesia. This fact is an adequate provision of bath rooms and lavatories, etc. People can do without drawing rooms, but they cannot do without bath rooms and lavatories.

I am writing about what might be considered trivial matters. But these trivial matters upset people and frayed tempers are no good when we consider important problems.

You have been referring to some offer of Unilever of a house for me. I do not particularly like accepting this kind of private hospitality of a British firm. But if there is no way, I would accept it. But I do not understand these private arrangements. The Unilevers should place their house at the disposal of the Indonesian Government or your Joint Secretariat. It is for the Joint Secretariat to use it as it chooses. It seems to me quite improper for us to have a private arrangement, and rather a pompous one, when others are herded up in small places. Therefore, this matter should be dealt with through the Joint Secretariat or the Indonesian Government, whichever is dealing with such matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Nehru visited Djakarta when he came to attend a conference of the Prime Ministers of the five Colombo countries at Bogor in Indonesia in the last week of December 1954.

3. Problems of Dependent Peoples¹

Mr Chairman,² when this matter was brought up yesterday I thought, and I still think, that it is rather out of order, quite apart from the merits of the question.

1. Speech in the closed session of the Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 22 April 1955. File No. SI/162/9/64-MEA.
2. Ali Sastroamidjojo, Prime Minister of Indonesia, was unanimously elected Chairman of the Conference on 18 April shortly after its inauguration by President Ahmed Sukarno.

But that point does not arise now because we are discussing it and I think on the whole it is better that the truth comes out rather than not and spoil the entire system. Therefore, let us discuss it now as we are doing.

The first thing to remember, as the delegate from Syria³ pointed out, is what are the purposes of this Conference. I think it is important to remember that we have laid them down clearly and communicated them to the representatives of the countries present here.

When Sir John, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, spoke yesterday⁴ and when he spoke again today, he said that he did not desire to discuss ideologies or even to put forward any resolution. However, a resolution has been put forward by some other representatives whom I heard today. Speaking from memory, it seems to me to go against what Sir John Kotelawala and others have said. In fact, the delegate of Iran⁵ who just spoke also laid stress on the point that we should not touch ideologies. But that actual position does not seem to be that. What exactly are we discussing?

There has been a talk of new colonialism. Well, speaking technically, however much we may oppose what has happened to countries in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, it is not colonialism. It may be an objectionable thing, but the use of the word is incorrect. However, I am not quibbling about words. What exactly is the resolution? As far as I can gather reference has been made to the fact that many colonial territories have not been mentioned at all, that we have concentrated on West Irian, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. In Africa there are British colonial territories, French colonial territories, Portuguese colonial territories and many others. In India, there is a little bit called Goa; there are many others which we have not mentioned and I do not propose to mention them—it is a bad example—because we propose to deal with them ourselves.

Then reference has been made to what is called Soviet ideology. I should like this Committee to remember that we are a meeting of governments and we should function within the limitations of governments meeting. When we talk about Soviet imperialism we refer presumably to the countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria. What are these countries? Some of them like Poland and Czechoslovakia are represented in the United Nations.

3. Khaled el-Azem, Foreign Minister of Syria and leader of the Syrian delegation.

4. John Kotelawala (1897-1980); Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. 1953-56. Kotelawala had made a specific reference to 'Soviet imperialism' on 21 April and said: "Think, for example, of those satellite States under communist domination in Central and Eastern Europe—Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Poland. Are not these colonies as much as any of the colonial territories in Africa and Asia? And if we are united in our opposition to colonialism, should it not be our duty openly to declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism?"

5. Djalal Abdoh, acting head of the Iranian delegation.

We cannot deal with them. Poland is at present a Member of the International Commission on Indo-China. Many of us have recognised—as far as India is concerned we have recognised—many of these countries including Hungary. We have established diplomatic relations with them. Maybe, some other countries too. It may be that some of the Western powers deal with them as individual nations and also have treaties with them.

It seems to me rather extraordinary that we should discuss nations as such whose people we have recognised in the capacity of sovereign nations and then say that they are colonial territories. It may be—I do not know—that there are minorities and groups; but the fact is that the United Nations recognise these countries as sovereign, independent countries and give them a place within their framework. And for us, this Conference meeting as governments, to challenge the very basis of the recognition of the United Nations of these sovereign independent countries is a most extraordinary position to take up—for anybody, and more especially for representatives of the governments of Asia and Africa.

I am not for the moment criticising any government. We have criticised, not directly but indirectly, the French colonial powers because of their colonies and we have every right to do that in the moderate, plain language of statesmanship. But there is a distinct and great difference in criticising the very basis of independent nations that are represented in the United Nations and with whom we have diplomatic relations. There is a great difference between that and our talking about Algeria, Morocco or Tunisia. They are not admittedly from any point of view independent nations. They are represented in the UN by the colonial powers: by France, Britain, Portugal or whatever country it may be. The East European countries are represented directly at the UN by their own representatives. One may say that that is only the framework but some other power is behind them. That, of course, may be some peoples' opinion. But surely proceeding as representatives of governments we cannot go on this extraordinary presumption or assumption. If we do that, a question might well arise, as, I think, it has already been hinted by some hon'ble delegate who spoke: "What about the other countries which presume to be independent? How far are we under the pressure or coercion of another country?" We will have to discuss all those questions. I think the honourable delegate from Syria mentioned that some people might raise the question of American imperialism, whether it is direct or economic. Some people might remember the case of Guatemala.⁶ What exactly it was is a matter which does not shine forth brilliantly

6. In June 1954, when insurgent forces advanced into Guatemala from the frontier along Honduras, in a bid to overthrow an elected government, the Guatemalan President accused Honduras and Nicaragua of conducting an open aggression along with the US. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 404-405 and 565-566.

as the notable achievement of any country. So that once you enter into these matters, you enter into a region of doubt, uncertainty, difficulty and international confusion about which you can argue day in and day out. Whatever the result you may arrive at, it will be a confusing one.

You cannot do that in a conference of this type. I am not raising a point of order as such, but it would make our conference rather delicate if we function in that way. Surely, we are a meeting of responsible people who are giving the views of what is happening in our state. If we look at this question in its entirety, as the honourable delegates from Iran and Iraq⁷ said, and impartially, and if we examine the state of freedom, the state of individual or national freedom, the state of democratic liberty or democracy itself in the countries represented here, well, I feel many of us are lacking, terribly lacking. In our own countries there are therefore movements for reforms, movements for progress, social, economic and so on. Then we have to go back to the time when Asia and Africa had to face dynamic revolutionary situations because Asia and Africa felt that there had to be reforms for the sake of humanity. That is why we became independent and obtained independence for a good number of our territories. Now we are gradually working our way and are working hard to progress and catch up socially and economically with other progressive countries. But we feel that in spite of resolutions independent countries may remain backward. But it is not independent if it is weak. All kinds of pressure is exercised on it and the reality and substance of independence goes. If we sit down and discuss these matters in all integrity in its entirety then we shall have to go very far and discuss how far countries represented here fulfil that noble standard which we laid down yesterday in the human rights or even the ordinary tenets of democracy or individual freedom. I submit that it is completely wrong for us to consider those territories which for generations past—I am talking about the Central Asian territories—formed part of the Soviet Union. I cannot speak from personal experience but from my general knowledge I cannot say that these people are being subjugated. I do not know. If we get a statement from a small dissident group, that does not mean that the majority of the people of that territory subscribe to it. Because somebody whispers into our ears that his country is under subjugation, are we going to come to a decision and issue a paper on it that it is colonial territory? Obviously, as responsible people, we cannot.

I agree in one matter though, and that is that while we have passed a

7. Mohammad Fadhil Jamali, leader of the delegation of Iraq.

resolution about West Irian,⁸ Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia⁹ we have not passed what may be called a general resolution about other territories. It would be good if we do that because many of such countries are not represented here. Many of us know what is happening in North Africa. I do not want to mention them though I feel very strongly about it. I think it would be desirable to have a simple form of words as a preamble before dealing with West Irian, Morocco, and so on, which are dominated by colonial powers. When the Colombo powers met on the first occasion I think they said something to the effect that the Prime Ministers discussed the problem of colonialism which they felt still existed in various parts of the world; they were of the view that the continuance of such a state of affairs was a violation of fundamental human rights and a threat to the peace of the world. I am not suggesting this form of words but some such preamble should come from various countries where colonialism in whatever form may exist.

I am not an admirer of the Soviets. I dislike many things they have done as I dislike many things the Western powers have done and at the proper moment, if members consider it necessary, we will give expression to it in our own language. But for the reasons I have given, this is a question we cannot raise as a formal matter. How are we going to say that a dissident group is the majority group? What facts have we got to study it? Obviously we have not, except our own predilection, prejudice or opinion in the matter. They have treaties not only with many of us but also with the Western powers—England, France and other countries; trade and commercial treaties, and so on. I was therefore, very much surprised at the attitude taken by some members here. If you wish to discuss this matter fully and put forward a resolution then undoubtedly we shall have to consider the question of the pressure exercised not only by the Soviet but many of the Western powers as well. Take Guatemala, for instance. How are we going to consider all this? That is a matter which will possibly come up at a later stage of the Conference. Quite apart from the subjugating of territories, each one wants to put himself in an advantageous

8. Following the independence of Indonesia (former Dutch East Indies) in 1949, the Dutch retained control of West Irian (West New Guinea). The Conference supported the position of Indonesia regarding West Irian and urged the Netherlands Government to reopen negotiations on the basis of the relevant agreements between the two countries and expressed an earnest hope that the UN would assist the parties concerned in finding a peaceful solution to the dispute. However, years of dispute culminated in the transfer of the territory to Indonesian control in May 1963 and a plebiscite in August 1969 when tribal leaders voted to remain under and become a part of Indonesia.
9. In its final communique issued on 24 April, the Conference declared its support of the right of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay.

position in regard to a future conflict. Every question, whether of Palestine, Morocco or Tunisia is considered in the light of what would be the most advantageous to another country. In the United Nations every fact is not considered on its merits. If it is considered relevant to the big power countries there is all kinds of pressure brought to bear.

We were discussing the West Irian resolution yesterday. It is very interesting that in the voting of the United Nations Political Committee a number of countries voted for the West Irian resolution which was proposed by India and other countries but at a later stage those very countries voted against it—obviously on account of pressure and coercion exercised on them to change their minds. Some members will remember they came and told us they were very sorry they were against the resolution because of the pressure brought on them by the great powers.

There is another aspect, namely, subversion and infiltration. That is an important consideration, not arising in this context at all but it is an important consideration arising independently of this context. It is for these reasons that I feel we should emphasise that one country should not interfere in the internal affairs, be it political, social or economic affairs of another country. It is a fact that there is infiltration and interference of various kinds; you might call it interference, another type of pressure, but there is infiltration undoubtedly, not only from this group but both groups. We have to face both and we have to check them politely but firmly. We face a very delicate and dangerous situation. I am sure many of us realise the dangerous situation of the world today. Although no major incident has happened in the last two weeks, still, I say, the fact is that we are on the verge of war. Prominent statesmen have contemplated a meeting of what they call the big powers; for two years they have been talking about it. Sir Winston Churchill¹⁰ made the proposal to find a way out of this tangle. There might be a meeting of these countries in the near future. Now the question is, are we assisting them in finding a solution or are we merely doing something which will come in the way and thereby add to the danger of war? I think that one of the major functions of this Conference as well as of our committees is to do our bit in favour of peace although we may not agree with this or that policy, or some action of this or that country. Let us certainly criticise the policies of any country, if we like, privately in our own countries, but not in gatherings of this nature, for the reason that the international atmosphere is charged with passion and fear. But we can play a more useful part here, and play it satisfactorily, namely, throwing our whole weight in a friendly manner in favour of peace.

10. (1874-1965); Prime Minister of the UK, 1951-55.

The question we must put to ourselves now is, are the actions we take here going to serve the cause of peace or the cause of passion and mutual recrimination? I submit, therefore, that we should add a kind of preamble to the other resolution we passed about West Irian, Morocco, etc. Let it be a small preamble which may be a basis for what follows, taking into account what the Colombo powers stated some time ago; the context may be more or less the same, as regards dependent countries. Let us not have a further resolution or start a detailed discussion which undoubtedly will lead to condemnation of this side or that side, to recriminations, etc. And I would very earnestly appeal to all the distinguished delegates present here, and more especially to those like the distinguished Prime Ministers of Ceylon and Pakistan, the Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey,¹¹ the distinguished delegates of Iran and Iraq who may feel this way, to look at this question from the broad point of view that I have tried to set out and help in creating an atmosphere that will be conducive to peace which we so much desire.

11. Fatin Rustu Zorlu, leader of the delegation of Turkey.

4. World Peace and Cooperation¹

Mr Chairman, the turn this discussion has taken is a much wider one than that we had expected. In fact, it has covered the whole major heading. We have just had the advantage of listening to the distinguished leader of the Turkish delegation who told us what he, as a responsible leader of the nation, must do and must not do. He gave us an able statement of what I might call one side representing the views of one of the major blocs existing at the present time in the world. I have no doubt that an equally able discourse could be given on the part of the other bloc. I belong to neither and I propose to belong to neither whatever happens in the world. If we have to stand alone, we will stand by ourselves, whatever—happens and India has stood alone without any aid against a mighty empire, the British Empire—and we propose to face all consequences.

What has the "reality" led us to? What has the reality of the peace that followed the last war led us to? I would like the hon'ble delegates to realise that, to appreciate that. This so-called realistic appreciation of the world situation,

1. Speech in the closed session of the Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 22 April 1955. File No. SI/162/9/64-MEA.

where has it led us to? It has led us to the brink of war, a third world war. It has been stated by eminent persons who know about it that if there is another war there will be total destruction of mankind. That is to say, a third world war would bring us not only to the abyss of civilisation and culture but would mean total destruction. We have to face that.

The delegate for Turkey has gone through the history of the past ten years. Perhaps that history could be, here and there, interpreted differently. Much of it may be true and much of it may be interpreted differently. It is hardly possible for us to discuss the history of the past ten years because we have been living in revolutionary times. Following this last world war, in Asia great things have happened. There is that great nation, China, which has risen after hundreds of years of strife and oppression. That is a major fact of the situation. There is India which does not presume to possess any military might but presumes to have the strength to face any danger, whenever it may come.

We do not agree with the communist teachers, we do not agree with the anti-communist teachers, because they are both based on wrong principles. I never challenged the right of any country to defend itself; it has to. We will defend ourselves with whatever arms and strength we have, and if we have no arms we will defend ourselves without arms. I am dead certain that no country can conquer India. Even the two great power blocs together cannot conquer India; not even the atom or the hydrogen bomb. I know what my people are. But I know also that if we rely upon others, whatever great powers they might be, if we look to them for sustenance, then we are weak indeed.

True our outlook is different. Ideologies are talked about. Let us not talk about ideologies. What did the honourable delegate from Turkey talk about ideology? He talked about it all the time. If I am to talk about another ideology, the Gandhian ideology, I can go on for hours, but I do not want to impose it on honourable members here. I know that Gandhi won my freedom. I am afraid of nobody. I suffer from no fear complex; my country suffers from no fear complex. We rely on nobody except on the friendship of others; we rely on ourselves and none others.

I do not want to take up the time of honourable delegates here but I wish to tell this House that I neither believe in the communist nor the anti-communist approach to this question. So far as we are concerned, we have adopted a line of action and we propose to adhere to it, come what may. But let us examine the situation as it is today. What does it lead to? Some delegates have pointed out the dangers of the situation. One side says, "Let us arm, and arm and arm because the other party is arming" and the other party says, "Let us arm, and arm and arm because the other party is arming." So, both sides go on making arms.

My country has made mistakes. Every country makes mistakes. I have no doubt we will make mistakes; we will stumble and fall and get up. The mistakes

of my country and perhaps the mistakes of other countries here do not make a difference; but the mistakes the great powers make do make a difference to the world and may well bring about a terrible catastrophe. I speak with the greatest respect for these great powers because they are not only great in military might but in development, in culture, in civilisation. But I do submit that greatness sometimes brings quite false values, false standards. When they begin to think in terms of military strength—whether it be the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union or the USA—then they are going away from the right track and the result of that may be that the overwhelming might of one country will conquer the world. Thus far the world has succeeded in preventing that; I cannot speak for the future. But you have today two mighty colossuses, neither of whom can put an end to each other but obviously they can ruin each other and the rest of the world. There is no other way out. Everybody recognises it, the great statesmen of England, Russia and America recognise it. Let us admit that we have all committed mistakes. Let us admit that one has committed more mistakes than the other. However, that is immaterial, except in academic debate.

We have to face the position as it is today, namely, that whatever armaments one side or other might possess, war will lead to consequences which will result in not gaining an objective but ruin. Therefore, the first thing we have to settle is that war must be avoided. Naturally war cannot be avoided if any country takes to a career of conquest and aggression. Secondly, we countries of Asia have to consider whether we can, all of us put together certainly not singly, prevent the great powers or big countries going to war. We certainly cannot prevent the big countries going to war if they want to but we can make a difference. Even a single country can make a difference when the scales are evenly balanced. What are we going to do? Are we going to throw our weight in the scales on the side of peace or war? It is no use blaming the Soviet Union or America. It is perfectly true that at the present moment we, not only in Asia but in Europe as well, have every reason to dislike and oppose, not only external aggression but internal subversion and all the rest of it.

Let us then talk of the steps we can take. The first step is to make our view clear that these things should not happen. So far as I am concerned, it does not matter what war takes place; we will not take part in it unless we have to defend ourselves. If I join any of these big groups I lose my identity; I have no identity left, I have no view left. I may express it here and there generally but I have no views left. If all the world were to be divided up between these two big blocs what would be the result? The inevitable result would be war. Therefore every step that takes place in reducing that area in the world which may be called the “unaligned area” is a dangerous step and leads to war. It reduces that objectivity, that balance, that outlook which other countries without military might can perhaps exercise.

Honourable members laid great stress on moral force. It is with military

force that we are dealing now but I submit that moral force counts and the moral force of Asia and Africa must, in spite of the atomic and hydrogen bombs of Russia, the USA or another country, count! Unfortunately, in discussing this very desirable proposition put forward by the Prime Minister² of Burma, we have drifted to all kinds of other things. On the face of it, nobody can challenge the proposition of the Prime Minister of Burma. All that may be said of it is that it does not go far enough, that it is rather reiterating, even repetitive, of the Charter. Every truth that you say is likely to have originated somewhere or other. The point is that a certain truth has a certain application at a particular moment. If it has no application at a particular moment, it will be forgotten. Why does this simple word "coexistence" raise all sorts of turmoil in peoples' minds? Because it has a significance in the present state of the world. Otherwise everybody recognises it. What is the alternative to peaceful coexistence? There may be coexistence, not peaceful, but something in the nature of cold war. Why then be afraid of the word? Are we choosing war deliberately or moving unconsciously towards war, which cold war implies. I say that there is no alternative for any country, unless it wants war, but to accept the concept of peaceful coexistence. In some countries the very word, peace, is looked upon with horror. It is most amazing. That word is considered dangerous. So I submit, let us consider these matters practically, leaving out ideologies. Many members present here do not obviously accept the communist ideology, while some of them do. For my part I do not. I am a positive person, not an "anti" person. I want positive good for my country and the world. Therefore, are we, the countries of Asia and Africa, devoid of any positive position except being pro-communist or anti-communist? Has it come to this, that the leaders of thought who have given religions and all kinds of things to the world have to tag on to this kind of group or that and be hangers on of this party or the other carrying out their wishes and occasionally giving an idea? It is most degrading and humiliating to any self-respecting people or nation. It is an intolerable thought to me that the great countries of Asia and Africa should come out of bondage into freedom only to degrade themselves or humiliate themselves in this way. Well, I do not criticise these powers. They are probably capable of looking after themselves and know what is best for themselves. But I will not tie myself to this degradation. Am I to lose my freedom and individuality and become a camp-follower of others? I have absolutely no intention of doing that.

A reference was made to these various attacks made in the Middle East, South-East Asia and so on. The whole course of the discussion has proceeded on that theme. Mr Mohammad Ali³ put forward an excellent resolution. Certainly

2. U Nu (1907-1995); Prime Minister of Myanmar (Burma), 1947-57.

3. (1909-1963); Prime Minister of Pakistan. 1953-55.

the first four points in that resolution are acceptable to us all. The fifth deals with self-defence, singly or collectively: I do not deny the right of any country to defend itself. It is a natural right that cannot be denied. Then why is it put there? It has been put there because of these pacts that have been organised in Western and Eastern Asia. If that is the position I am not prepared to accept it. If that point is put there to cover those pacts, how can we accept it? I do not challenge Mr Mohammad Ali's right to enter into any pacts although I may disagree with him, but under cover of words to ask this Conference to accept the principle of those pacts is, I submit, something that should not be done. It is open to him to have those pacts. It is open to me not to have them. But to bring in this way the collective defence pacts made in the last year is going far beyond our subject and bringing in things which are highly controversial and which tend to lead to fundamental differences of opinion.

I submit to you, every pact has brought insecurity and not security to the countries which have entered into them. They have brought the danger of atomic bombs and the rest of it nearer to them than would have been the case otherwise. They have not added to the strength of any country, I submit, which it had singly. It may have produced some idea of security, but it is a false security. It is a bad thing for any country thus to be lulled into security.

The distinguished delegate of Turkey referred to NATO. I have nothing to say against NATO. It is open to the European countries to join it for self-defence. I cannot challenge it in the slightest. But I should like to point out to this assembly that this conception of the NATO has extended itself in two ways. It has gone far away from the Atlantic and has reached other oceans and seas. Leave that alone. Secondly, do honourable members of this Conference realise that the NATO today is one of the most powerful protectors of colonialism? I say that explicitly. I am not saying that indirectly, but directly and explicitly. Here is the little territory of Goa, in India, which Portugal holds. We get letters from the NATO powers—mind you, Portugal is a member of NATO—and Portugal has approached its fellow members in the NATO on this point—telling us, “You should not do anything in regard to Goa, you should not do this and that.” I will not mention these powers; they are some of the so-called big powers. It does not matter what powers they are, but it is gross impertinence. The Republic of India told them that it is gross impertinence on their part. Let there be no doubt about it, we shall deal with this little matter in the way we like.

The distinguished delegate of Iraq was eloquent about Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. Does he realise that these three territories would probably have been independent if it were not for NATO? Today because of the assistance given by these great powers NATO has bases for various purposes in these parts of the world. So we must take a complete view of the situation and not be contradictory ourselves when we talk about colonialism, when we say

“colonialism must go”, and in the same voice say that we support every policy or some policies that confirm colonialism. It is an extraordinary attitude to take up.

So I do submit that we must for the moment leave out past history, as to what happened in Potsdam, at the Cairo Conference and at Yalta, as to what President Roosevelt⁴ said or Winston Churchill said and what somebody else did. All post-war confusion has arisen from all kinds of steps taken, right or wrong, in the past. And we have to suffer today because of this confusion, because it clouds our view of the total world situation. Turkey said that the US and other powers disarmed rapidly after the war. Let us admit that. What happens today? Can we forget that the situation we have to face today is that the world, a good part of it, is ranged with one big bloc or other, both having a certain ideology? I do not know the ideology of the Western bloc. Certainly it is not one single ideology; those in it differ, but in a military sense they hold together. There are other countries in the world which have not aligned themselves in this way. Some may sympathise with this bloc or the other, and some may not. Two big colossuses stand face to face with each other, afraid of each other. Today in the world, I do submit, not only because of the presence of these two colossuses but also because of the coming of the atomic and hydrogen bomb age, the whole concept of war, of peace, of politics, has changed. We are thinking and acting in terms of a past age. No matter what Generals and soldiers learned in the past, it is useless in this atomic age. They do not understand its implications or its use. As an eminent military critic said: “The whole conception of war is changed. There is no precedent.” It may be so. Now it does not matter if one country is more powerful than the other in the use of the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. One is more powerful to cause ruin than the other. That is what is meant by saying that the point of saturation has been reached. However powerful one country is, the other is also powerful. It is the world that suffers; there can be no victory. It may be said perhaps rightly that owing to this very terrible danger, people refrain from going to war. I hope so. The difficulty is that while governments want to refrain from war, something suddenly happens and there is war and utter ruin. There is another thing: because of the present position in the world there is not likely to be aggression. If there is aggression anywhere in the world, it is bound to result in world war. It does not matter where the aggression is. If one commits aggression there is world war.

I want the countries here to realise it and not to think in terms of any limitation. Today, a war however limited it may be, is bound to lead to a big war. Even if tactical atomic weapons, as they are called, are used, the next step

4. Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945): President of the USA. 1933-45.

would be the use of the big atomic bomb. You cannot stop these things. In a country's life and death struggle, it is not going to stop short of this. It is not going to decide on our or anybody else's resolutions but it would engage in war, ruin and annihilation of others before it allows itself to be annihilated completely. Annihilation will result not only in the countries engaged in war, but owing to the radioactive waves which go thousands and thousands of miles it will destroy everything. That is the position. It is not an academic position; it is not a position of discussing ideologies; nor is it a position of discussing past history. It is looking at the world as it is today.

The leaders of the great nations like the President of the United States have to carry a world of responsibility in having to face this position. So are the leaders of United Kingdom and Russia. It is a tremendous burden. I do not know at what time an error might be made this way or that way which would lead to war.

Now, therefore, are we, the Asian and African countries, going to look on it passively or are we going to take a step which will upset the balance on one side or the other? This is not a question of security. Will not security be damned if war comes? Who is going to protect us if war comes and if atomic bombs come? Of course, every country will look after itself, but it will be difficult to do that with atomic bombs, radioactive waves and all that. Therefore, I would beg this Conference to appreciate the gravity of this situation. It is very grave situation indeed. We have not discoursed Formosa and the rest, nor is it necessary for us to discuss the merits of the question. But the fact is that in the Far Eastern countries the situation is very grave. One does not know where it will lead to. Therefore, can we not in our own way say something peacefully, and in a friendly way, firmly declaring something, which will set the scales in favour of peace? That is the problem.

I do submit that the so-called five principles (whatever the number may be, they have more or less been included in the resolution of the Prime Minister of Burma) is not a magic formula which will prevent all the ills of the world. But it is something which meets the needs of the day. It lessens tension; it does not harm anybody, criticise anybody, condemn anybody. And I assure you, broadly speaking, President Eisenhower⁵ is in agreement with those principles. I know that the present Prime Minister⁶ of England has said so in a public address given to our Members of Parliament.⁷ Some of us here may disagree with it, but surely that is the reverse of the right step for us to take. I

5. Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969); President of the USA, 1953-61.

6. Anthony Eden (1897-1977); Foreign Secretary, UK, 1951-55; Prime Minister, 1955-57.

7. Eden addressed the Members of Parliament in New Delhi on 3 March 1955.

therefore beg of this Conference to consider the matter in the light of the actualities of today. I am entirely one with the honourable head of the Turkish delegation when he says that we must take a realistic view, a view which is related to facts of today, not yesterday or the day before yesterday.

Between the day before yesterday and today there have been wars and vast revolutions have taken place; many changes have taken place and all kinds of things have been happening. So that one must consider things as they are today. If the hon'ble delegate of Iraq represents the right viewpoint, I can say that the world is going to ruin. It is not an approach to this question and his speech is full of irritation, hatred and disregard. His whole speech is a tirade. It is not a balanced speech. Let us not align ourselves as independent nations of Asia and Africa, but take a line of our own. I do not say that it should be a single line. I do submit that the resolution put forward by the Burmese Prime Minister is the correct solution. A word may be changed here and there. It works on a correct basis, a friendly basis for all countries. It does not say anything which might irritate anybody.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan says that it is good but not enough, and he wanted to add many things. There is some resolution which he had about colonialism. We have dealt with it already. You take away the force of the resolution if you add all these things. He said something about the peaceful solution of disputes. Have a resolution or an amendment; but he has referred to all kinds of things. Some people have said: "Let us have the Charter". As a matter of fact, some of the hon'ble delegates were not present when the Prime Minister of Burma proposed his resolution. So, Mr President, with your permission, I shall read it out again:

"The nations assembled at the Asian-African Conference declare that their relations between themselves, and their approach to the other nations of the world, shall be governed by complete respect for the national sovereignty and integrity of other nations. They will not intervene or interfere in the territory or the internal affairs of each other or of other nations, and will totally refrain from acts or threats of aggression. They recognise the equality of races and of nations, large and small. They will be governed by the desire to promote mutual interest and cooperation, by respect for the fundamental human rights and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

I do submit that there is not a word in this resolution to which anybody can object. As a matter of fact, the word "coexistence" is not used at all, although we are discussing this resolution under that head. Unless one thinks that there is no alternative to this except war, and to be prepared for war, this resolution has to be accepted.

5. The Policy of Friendly Coexistence¹

Mr Chairman, during the few days we have been here we have had important discussions, but I doubt if any discussion has been so important as the one we are having today. I am very glad that all of us have spoken frankly and fully upon these vital subjects. May I right from the beginning express my regrets to the distinguished delegate from Iraq for what I said yesterday about his speech exhibiting hatred? His speech I thought exhibited hatred and we were naturally upset about it.

May I also say that when I spoke yesterday I rather criticised the military outlook of some powers here. I do not mean to say that we should all be pacifists. I regret I am no pacifist. I should like to be one, but I am no pacifist in the circumstances of today and because of the responsibility I have.

I do not believe in weakness, but in the strength of the people. Weakness creates a vacuum which power fills in. The question that arises is not of weakness or strength, but what constitutes strength in a nation. Armies and the like are only one factor, if I may say so, a relatively unimportant factor, in the strength of a nation. If we have an army today and no backing, it is of no use. It is the industrial backing that a country wants; if we had no economic power the army would not be able to hold on, because the weapons are made somewhere else. We have to depend on others. Apart from all these factors, there is a certain factor: the morale of the people—the morale which refuses to give in, whatever happens.

We have spoken frankly. Perhaps I spoke with a measure of warmth yesterday, and if any words that I used yesterday seemed disrespectful to any distinguished delegate present here, I apologise wholeheartedly. I spoke with warmth and frankness because I feel strongly about these matters. Here we are meeting in this Conference. What does this Conference mean? It means many things. If I may respectfully say, this Conference reflects the profound historical changes that are taking place in Asia. It is a vast change that is going on, much bigger than the subjects that we are here discussing. Unfortunately, the thinking of men's minds often lags behind events. It is an odd thing; although events take place because of the human mind, yet the human mind lags behind the very events that take place. So we often think in terms of the past when the present is already different from that past.

Now I have come here naturally in my capacity as a representative of

1. Speech in the closed session of the Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 23 April 1955. File No. SI/162/9/64-MEA.

India, but I have come here not merely as an individual or representative of India, but as a part of the revolutionary process that has been going on in India; for I am a child of that revolution. I am no static person; I have been in the market place; I have moved with crowds and seen the vast squalor and the poverty prevailing and so I feel strongly about these matters. We have dreamt dreams and we have partly realised those dreams not only for India but for Asia and the whole world. So if anything happens that seems to come in the way of the realisation of those dreams, that seems to shatter them into bits, then naturally we react strongly with all the energy and force at our command.

We have had a very important statement from the Prime Minister² of China. He has spoken with full authority and made certain statements. I shall not say much about it except to point out what is obvious: the various things that he has said on behalf of his Government and his country deserve the fullest consideration. I shall rather deal with what the distinguished delegates from Iraq, Lebanon³ and the Philippines⁴ said chiefly in dealing with the speech I made yesterday. But before I do that I should like to repeat: the basic fact which troubles me often is the fact of our discussing things in terms of the past, when the present and the future are impinging upon us. We stand everywhere in the world, more so in Asia, on the sword's edge of the present dividing the past from the future. It is a precarious position, an exciting position, a fascinating position. But we have to be careful. We should be careful to preserve the hard-won freedom we have got, careful to see that it is not crushed out of existence, not by the enemy or opponent of us all, but by world events.

So that we have to see this large picture and in looking at it, one sees all kinds of changes. What are they due to? Well, many things. We may criticise communism, the Soviet Union, America, whatever we like, but all these things are parts of great historical processes—if I may go back 150 or 160 or 170 years—they are the culmination of the Industrial Revolution. This atomic bomb is the culmination of the Industrial Revolution.

Now, Asia fell back in the race of life because of the Industrial Revolution which came to Europe first and then to America. Asia became a power vacuum. Now, our going to Europe for building our arms and armaments would be of no use unless we build ourselves up on a much sounder basis. Therefore, we are all anxious—each country here—to advance forward in every way—economically, industrially and the like—to build up our source of power, our basic source of power, which, I submit, is morale and elan and the vitality of a nation. Here big countries and small countries can play a tremendous part

2. Chou En-lai (1898-1976); Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of China, 1949-76.

3. Sami Solh, Prime Minister of Lebanon.

4. Carlos P. Romulo (1899-1985); leader of the Philippine delegation at the Conference and Ambassador to USA, 1955-62.

because of the elan that they possess, because of the spirit of life they possess. Now that almost all countries represented here—big and small—have not been able to keep pace in the race of life, they have now to catch up and catch up rapidly. We have no time to lose; we have to face the technological changes that have brought about all this vast difference in the world. We the countries of Asia have the good in our grasp, but something terrible threatens to smother us, I mean the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. But then this technological advance has also made the world one. We may be jealous of our nationality and sovereignty and independence but as the threat affects the whole world we are really beginning more and more not to consider each one of us as isolated nations. Therefore, we have to bring up our thinking to this technological development.

Now it would be highly improper for me to criticise ideologies and theories and all that, but, with all deference and humility, I would suggest—I am only expressing my own personal opinion—that the way of approach to these world problems, which the great powers at present are adopting, whether they are on the communist side or the non-communist side, is completely out of date and that is why we are faced with all this trouble, all this confusion, because events outpace us—march ahead of us—and we are left behind. I am no believer in the communist theory—there is much in it which I accept in the economic theory, but basically I think it is out of date today, more especially in this atomic age. I think equally that the opposite theory is out of date in the context of modern world affairs.

Now one thing more. I think the delegate from the Philippines referred to the bigness of India and to the smallness of other countries. May I remind him that all the bigness of India did not prevent India from becoming a subject nation and remaining a subject nation for a long period of time. It is not physical bigness that counts and I venture to repeat what I said yesterday and to give the assurance that India will not do this or do that thing because of its population of 370 millions but because of the quality of the Indian people, not because of their numbers. I believe that that quality has developed in Indonesia and in other countries also. I want to develop that quality and I do not want any country in Asia to be lulled into a sense of, shall I say, dependence upon others, because that saps, that undermines the growth of that elan of a nation—that spirit of self-dependence, of having faith in themselves. That is the basic—if you like, the only—reason why I do not like the business of creating a feeling of dependence. A feeling of cooperation is obviously right and it is necessary in the world of today.

I refer to pacts and other things because they have been directly referred to. Now, obviously it would be highly improper for me to go about criticising everybody else as if I am a very wise man. I have no such inclination and if I refer to anything I refer to it in the context of world events of today. I cannot

say whether what was done yesterday or ten years ago was desirable or not because one has to judge at the moment. The application of certain high principles depends on the historical context of the moment. Therefore, whatever I have said does not apply to the past, we can deal with the past separately. I will deal with the present as it is today and it is in that context that I plead that the military view of the situation—I am not referring to any particular thing—is not correct. It would not have been correct anyhow with the coming of the atomic age. Now, for instance, I am not here to say that the countries of Western Europe were unjustified in having the NATO alliance; I cannot say that honestly. I do, as I said yesterday, take exception to the extension of the NATO alliance to the colonial territories because that affects me and all the countries here, but, for self-defence, if they have the NATO alliance, I have nothing to say. When we come to the very edge of the precipice, then we have to be careful what we do, whether what we do does not topple us over the precipice and whether something that we do adds to the security or insecurity of our country. None of the Prime Ministers, or other Ministers, present here can responsibly discharge his task by complacently thinking that all is well. All is not well in the world today; that is the basic position and we have to think how we meet the situation. Anyway people have tried to meet the situation in the past few years. After all what is the history of the past two years? I am not going into history but I may say, with all respect, that it is a history of diplomatic failure. If we ask whether the past few years have taken us towards peace—lessening of tension—or towards war and increase of tension, I say there has been patently a failure. Whoever may be responsible is not the point, but the point is that this diplomatic failure has been leading the world towards war and increase of tension. It has led us nowhere and, if not checked, it will rather lead us to wrong places and it is not wisdom to pursue it.

Let us think afresh. What was wrong with the past, what has led us to the brink of world war? The honourable delegate of Lebanon said that it is easy to quote some scientists or others talking about the destruction of the human race by the new hydrogen bomb and it is equally easy to quote people, equally distinguished, who would minimise the effects of that bomb. He is completely right. We can quote authorities for either side, but I say that if there is a danger of that, we must naturally see what is going to happen to our countries in the context of the present world conditions and I venture to say that no scientist in the world can say definitely what will be its precise effect because certainly we are piercing the curtain of the known and peering into the unknown. Nobody knows yet what the effect of these radioactive substances is likely to be. Some say it will have a disastrous effect; others say it might not be so, but the fact is that we have arrived at a stage when we do not know how deep would be its effect.

In fact, as everyone knows, one of these hydrogen bomb experiments has

surprised the very persons, the very scientists, who were behind it, because it was much worse than they thought. We cannot say what is going to happen, but we are all agreed on the enormous danger of this new invention. As to what is the extent of that danger, we may differ in our estimation.

Now, Sir, with your permission, I shall take up some of the points that the distinguished delegate from Iraq has raised in a very cogent and logical speech. He said that there are two camps in the world today, which, of course, is known to all of us, and that there are three possibilities—passive and negative resistance and peace through strength. We understand Sir Winston Churchill's peace-through-strength approach, universal disarmament, international control, etc.

Now, as I have just said, my attitude or India's attitude is certainly not passive. It is certainly not a negative attitude. I have to take India ahead. I have to increase the strength of India, and I presume everyone feels that way about his own country. It is definitely a positive attitude, realising that the objective should be peace and that we should positively and actively work for peace and try to counter every thing that takes one to war. Now the attitude of peace-through-strength of Sir Winston Churchill is true in a sense. Of course, as I said, weakness is the greatest crime that a country or a people can have, but I would beg to say that the strength at any time—much more so today—cannot be measured by military standards alone. Anyhow, a country—in fact most countries—apart from very, very few—cannot really even take part effectively in a big war in regard to atomic weapons and the like. They cannot measure themselves and their strength by means of atomic weapons that they possess. So let us build up our strength, but the obvious answer to all this talking about peace through strength is for every power to talk of peace through strength. So both sides go on stressing strength for peace, with the result that armaments grow more and more and consequently the danger also grows. That way you are not solving the question at all. It is getting worse and worse. When arms grow fears also grow more and then there should be more arms to encounter the fears till the whole thing topples down. It is logical that every one country wants to achieve strength and work for peace, but the whole context of it is that if peaceful strength is talked about and worked for in a sense which frightens the other party, then obviously the other party reacts exactly in the same way and if you build up fifty per cent or more of strength, the other person has also built up fifty per cent or more of strength. That is the present position: How to meet it? Well, if you have arrived at this stage, the only way to meet it is to prevent a war, to promote confidence and to lessen tension.

Now, much has been said about disarmament. Some members have studied this question deeply. I do not pretend to be an expert, but I have studied ever since the old League of Nations considered the question of disarmament year after year in Geneva and they appointed a Preparatory Committee on

Disarmament which sat for three years. I myself am in favour of disarmament of every type of armament. Let us realise that from the point of disarmament it is not very logical to speak of only one weapon and leave somebody else in possession of another weapon. One has to see the whole picture. But what is this disarmament? Some people say, let us have disarmament first, then talk about coexistence.

I am sorry I used the word 'coexistence', because that word seems to bring up all kinds of frightening pictures before people's minds. A delegate, with great knowledge of past history, referred to what happened in 1924. I am not aware of that. It is true that we have got into the practice of using words, slogans and clichés that confound our thought and limit our logical processes of thinking and the sooner we do away with them the better it will be. Then what are we to do if somebody used the word in a wrong or mischievous sense? How do we give up that word? I doubt if any word has been so misused as peace. Have we to give up peace? That is the position. Somebody used it the wrong way. Let us use it in the right way and stop the person using it in the wrong way. Similarly, the word 'coexistence' has come up for so much discussion that it has lost its significance.

I was talking about disarmament. Some people said that before you accept the principle of living together peacefully, we must disarm ourselves. That is perfectly true. On the other hand, it is equally true to say that nobody can disarm till the fears and tensions are removed. So you get into a vicious circle which goes on. Is it possible for advance to be made on both fronts? Let us try to advance on both fronts. No country, it is obvious, is going to take the risk; no responsible government can take the risk. On the other hand, not doing something in itself is a tremendous risk; it is the greatest risk of war. Therefore we have to balance these risks. Let each country strengthen itself so far as it can, but strengthening itself should not take place in the manner which increases apprehensions and fears. There have been open threats and open challenges that if you do not do this, we will come and hit you on the head and invade your country. Is this a search for peace? Peace as a word has itself assumed the likeness of war today. I would submit that we should not indulge in this, because it is not creating peace; whatever the countries may feel and whatever their views and ideologies, we should not use the word which frightens others. Great things are happening in the world today. So far as I can help it, I do not go about denouncing a thing if I do not agree. Because one denunciation brings about another. It is no use slinging mud at each other.

I go back again to disarmament as a whole, but one should really create lessening of tension. The moment the tension is lessened, disarmament becomes easier. I think in the last few years it has made some advance. How far this would go, I do not know. This is the state of affairs in the world today and we have to be realistic in facing the existing problems. What does disarmament

mean? It means not having weapons for the purposes of war; but we must realise the fact that all these countries of the world are gradually being industrialised, they are having factories, chemical factories, and they can produce arms and ammunition at short notice. They may not be able to produce atomic bombs in a short time; but the hydrogen bomb is easier to make. It is an easy matter for the scientists. Therefore, we should not forget that in advanced countries industries can make all these things at a short notice, even if you decide to disarm those countries. And that was exactly the difficulty which faced the League of Nations too in disarming the different nations; it is so very difficult to talk of disarmament in the case of highly industrialised countries. If it comes to anything, these countries can produce all these things in a week's time. Therefore, I would pose a question to the delegates here: Are you going to stop industrialisation of the various countries so as to disarm them? I feel that we cannot hold that view because we have to make progress in the industrial field and thereby also improve our economic fabric which is the most important and baffling problem facing us today. So the question of disarmament is a complicated question in which we cannot easily come to a fruitful decision. We can discuss it and it must be discussed, but for us merely to say that we should disarm ourselves, would not help us.

Now, I come to the few possibilities that the delegate from Iraq mentioned. The first possibility that he suggested was that we should be passive, which means that the people of a country are not a live people. We have been passive too long in Asia; it is about time that we gave up passivity and came to live like active people in the world. So I completely disagree with his first proposition.

The second was peace through strength. Well, I doubt very much if many countries here can ever acquire strength at least for a long time to come to resist any of the great powers of the world. That is not possible. We certainly require strength to protect our liberty, but then our strength will be dependent on industrialisation. We have to industrialise the countries as much as possible. The whole industrial background of the various countries represented here has to be given a new outlook and finally and most important, it depends on the improvement of economic fibre of the country. Well, now, for instance, you cannot make a country strong by supplying it arms and deadly weapons like atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, because until such time as it is industrialised and able to produce these weapons itself, you will have to go on supplying weapons. So the position does not change at all. The balance is the same. Therefore, it does not help us to talk about peace through strength. So actually disarmament is the only remedy that we have in view, but that has got to be achieved through international control. We quite realise that a highly industrialised country is an armed country because it can produce all types of arms including hydrogen bombs at a short notice, while others are not. So,

therefore, we have to approach this question in its proper perspective and certainly we can industrialise each and every country for peaceful purposes to keep up the moral fibre of the nation at its highest pitch. It is necessary to make every country realise that it would be a stiff job to adopt aggressive motives against any country.

Then, the honourable delegate from Iraq said that we should all be united in one single bloc as there was great danger of obliteration to the small nations if they are left single by themselves. I have never suggested that we should not organise for self-defence. But what I said was that if you organise in a way which does not solve the problem, you are constantly in danger. Today, what is the nature of war? In this atomic age, havoc can be played within a very short time. There cannot be real defeat or real victory in war in the present day world of scientific development. Therefore, I say that we should not involve ourselves into a common danger by forming a separate bloc of nations. Really, small nations have greater chance of survival if they keep away from military alliances. Therefore, we have to think and think very seriously before we form ourselves into a common bloc. By all means, if you all think in terms of forming a bloc of small nations, you can do so, but there are grave dangers involved in it as I feel that we are in a stage where we cannot help each other effectively. I do not quite understand how we can reduce the tension which exists today by making military alliances.

I am all for ideological disarmament; it is quite true that ideological disarmament can bring about harmony and peace but, for that, we have to work. We have to stop cursing each other, we have to stop using the language of war. In this connection a reference was made to the Cominform. Well, there is no doubt about it—and I admit it quite frankly—that any organisation like the Cominform cannot in the nature of things fit in with peaceful coexistence. That is to say, any organisation with the object of carrying aggressive and interfering propaganda in other countries obviously goes against the idea of two countries existing peacefully together; it obviously goes against the principle among the so-called five principles of non-interference; it is entirely opposed to them.

China mentioned other organisations in the world of different kinds, but aiming at internal interference. It is perfectly true. All countries here have had the experience not only of the activities of the Cominform in the past but the activities of the anti-communist organisations. And we have to deal with both in India and we do so effectively, I hope. If anybody misbehaves, we ask him to behave, and if he does not, we ask him to go away, communist or anti-communist. I entirely agree that if there is to be peaceful coexistence, if we have to adopt the principle of non-interference, with each other, then any interference, whether it is communist or anti-communist, must stop, and each country should develop according to its own notions. But you cannot put a

wall against ideas. Ideas grow. I do not mind ideas coming. You cannot stop them. It is not the ideas that I object to, but it is the foreign interference in a country, doing aggressive propaganda this way and that way.

The delegate from Lebanon referred to my speech yesterday about my saying something about pacts. I do not remember my words but I am sure I had not meant exactly that. What I said was for any country of Asia putting itself in a position where it is dictated to in its affairs is, personally speaking, a humiliating spectacle. That was my point. It is far too much for any country, whether it is on the communist side or the non-communist side, being bound hand and foot and not being able to act as it likes.

One of the necessary steps that the world should take in order to bring about lessening of tension is to encourage trade. Yet there are all kinds of embargoes on trade. Many countries desiring trade are compelled and coerced into not going in for it, thereby not only acting against their wishes but I feel acting against the interest of peace. So I ventured to say yesterday that there was great danger in Asia—great danger because we are trying to stand up on our feet to stand firmly on our ground—if we begin to align ourselves with big power blocs.

The honourable delegate from Philippines referred to the Manila agreement⁵ and pointed out that it was purely defensive and aimed at economic development and all that. I entirely agree but I would ask you, with all respect, to remember its timing. It was soon after the Geneva Agreement.⁶ What was the threat in South-East Asia then and where did it come from? There was not the slightest fear of aggression to any of the countries of South-East Asia. I saw none and see none. It was thought that the threat might come from a big country called China. True it is a big country. But, was there any threat then? Actually at that time there had been a lessening of tension because of the Geneva Agreement. And yet some people rushed to Manila and had this treaty. They may have given economic help but this occasion was rather extraordinary. It seemed to be an angry reaction to what had happened in Geneva. It had made no difference to anybody; it had not strengthened even the military potential or the economic potential of South-East Asia; it had not added to the security even in a military sense. It added rather to the insecurity of the region

5. By a treaty signed at Manila on 8 September 1954, the US, the UK, France, the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand agreed to stand together against aggression in South-East Asia and South-West Pacific, and asserted their determination to stop "any attempt in the treaty area to subvert freedom."
6. An international conference was held at Geneva from 26 April to 21 July 1954 to restore peace in Korea and Indo-China. The participating nations which could not find any solution to the Korean problem, however succeeded in signing separate ceasefire agreements covering Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia on the last day of the Conference, bringing to an end the war in Indo-China.

because it has put others on guard that here is an organisation which is a military pact.

Fear exists on both sides. The Geneva Agreement had gone a long way in lessening the tension. A horrible war was going on for seven long years; it stopped the war. It did much more. Why did the Geneva Agreement succeed? Because in Geneva all the great powers came up against the terrible threat of war. If the Geneva Agreement had not come off, war would have started in Indo-China, a war not only in Indo-China but inevitably on a bigger scale which would have developed into a world war. The Geneva Agreement laid down that the Indo-China states should not be aligned with any of the big blocs. Now, observe these great powers coming to an agreement, because they were up against this grave danger of a terrible war. They chose the way of non-alignment not for themselves but for the Indo-China states. If any of the Indo-China states aligned themselves, let us say, to the communist bloc, then obviously the Western powers feared that communism would spread all over Asia. China was apprehensive of the Indo-China states becoming a base for the Western powers. So if either of the eventualities happened, there was the danger for war. Therefore, the only way out was to prevent either bloc from sitting down in Indo-China and using it as a jumping off ground. Therefore, circumstances compelled the great powers, all of them, to agree to a policy of coexistence and non-alignment for the Indo-China states.

It is a very good and significant example of how to deal with a situation like this. We have heard the representative of Cambodia⁷ stating quite frankly what the position was. He said that press correspondents asked him: "Are you lining up with America or China?" He replied that he was lining up with Cambodia.

The only way, therefore, open is the way of the Geneva Agreement which is the way of non-alignment and friendly cooperation and peaceful existence. There is no other way.

Now let us try this example in the wider field. Please remember that I am not saying that you lay down your arms. You will have to be awake, wide awake. That is perfectly true but at the same time you must realise that the policies that countries like America and Russia are pursuing in the past two years have brought us to this. For us the best course would be to be friendly with them. Of course we can evolve our own policies independently, put them before them, discuss with them and not by way of arms. We should influence them in two ways. First of all we should put them in a friendly way. The arguments put forward now usually are not put forward in a friendly way, they are threats. Even good arguments are put forward as threats and the other party

7. Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1922); Prime Minister of Cambodia, 1955-57, and leader of the Cambodian delegation.

also puts forward equal threats. But if you say in a friendly way—we are not their enemies, they will consider, because whatever our present position may be, we do represent potentially a mighty force that is Asia. It is a tremendous thing. Therefore, we have got this great opportunity, unique opportunity of playing a constructive, peaceful role in the world today in a friendly way, not that we like everything that happens in the Soviet Union or in America. We should not increase the feeling of dislike and hatred. If you do things in the right manner, people will respond, and you will have good results. The results may not be there immediately. I submit therefore that the policy that this Conference should pursue is that of friendly coexistence.

6. Conversation with Chou En-lai and U Nu¹

In the course of my conversation with the Chinese Prime Minister and U Nu, the former asked me about the next session of the Asian-African Conference. There was talk of this being held in Egypt. What did I think about it? He also asked me about a proposal to have a liaison office. He thought that some such liaison office might be desirable. Perhaps the Joint Secretariat could function as such.

2. U Nu said immediately that his mind was quite clear that there should be no kind of organisation or liaison office. Further that if another session of this Conference was held, he had decided not to send any representative of Burma to it. He was firm about it.

3. I told U Nu that in my opinion, in spite of all difficulties and differences of opinion, the net result of this Conference was very good. I was not referring so much to the resolutions passed but rather to the effect produced in Asia and the world. Also to the great advantage of all of us having met together and getting to know each other.

4. Mr Chou En-lai agreed with me, but U Nu refused to agree and said that the Conference only brought out differences of opinion and even the resolutions passed indicated that. What was the good of repeating platitudes, etc.

5. I told U Nu that I did not like the idea of the Joint Secretariat as a liaison office. Also that it seemed to me unwise to fix the place or time of the next conference. He agreed and said that this might be left to the five sponsoring powers to consider later in consultation with other countries. I agreed that this might be done.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, Bandung, 23 April 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.



WITH DELEGATES TO THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE, BANDUNG, APRIL 1955

22/4/55

afternoon

Present position = living on the verge of war

Developments leading to formation of 2 mighty Powers & their associates.
Clear that war between these cannot lead to policies aimed at
or solve any problem -

Atomic age - culmination of industrial revolution.

While Asian countries start trying to enter industrial

age - Others in Atomic age - Gap increases.

=

Aggression

Cold war
armed peace

Interventions = Interference =

Europe's conflicts & rivalries

Are there only 2 ideologies? Imperialism.

Gandhism!

=

History Up to 10 years - 2 world wars ..

Cold war . war preparations

Atomic weapons.

Indo-China

Taiwan

Germany -

alters in extent

No limited war now — or in use of atomic weapons

7. A Historic Milestone in Cooperation¹

Mr President, for seven days we have been in this pleasant city of Bandung, and Bandung has been the focal centre, perhaps I might even say, the capital of Asia and Africa, during this period. For all the world's eyes have been upon us. We were neighbours for these seven days as you all know, and we have dealt with many problems and we have come to certain conclusions that have been placed before you. Why did we meet? The Prime Ministers of five countries invited us. But do you think that is the reason why we met? There were the conscious or unconscious agents or other forces. We met because mighty forces are at work in these great continents, in millions of people, creating a ferment in their minds and irrepressible urges and passions and a desire for change from their present condition. So however big or small we might be, we represented these great forces. We met. What have we achieved? Well, you have seen the draft statement which has been read out to you and I think it represents a considerable achievement. Other delegates have referred to it and you have agreed to it but I should like to draw your attention, to direct your minds not to that statement which is an important statement but rather to the imponderables, to the fact that we have met, gathered here from thousands of miles, conferred together, seen each other, and in spite of all manner of differences and arguments, made friends with each other.

My friend, the Prime Minister of Burma, referred to our diversities of opinion and our differences and our arguments. We have wrestled with each other in many ways because we were not all of the same opinion, because obviously the world looks different from where you are. If you are sitting in the far east of Asia you have a different perspective of the world. If you are sitting in the far west of Asia you have a different perspective again, and if you are in Africa naturally the problems of Africa overwhelm you. So we all came with our own perspectives, with our own problems, each one, no doubt, considering his own problem the most important in the world, but at the same time trying to understand that big problem, that is, the problem of the world; and the second big problem, that is, the problem of Asia and Africa, and trying somehow to fit in our little problems in this larger context, because in the ultimate analysis all our little problems, however important they might be, are parts of this larger problem and can hardly be solved unless that larger problem is tackled and solved. How will you solve this problem or that problem if

1. Speech at the concluding session of the Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 24 April 1955. AIR tapes.

peace is shattered, endangered and thrown overboard? Obviously you cannot. The very primary consideration is peace. You and I, sitting here in our respective countries, are all passionately eager to advance our countries peacefully. We have been backward. We are backward. We have been left behind in the world race, and now we have got a chance again to make good. We want to make good, and we have to make good rapidly because of the compulsion of events. It is not so much a choice of yours and mine, it is a choice dictated by this compulsion of events because if we do not make good we fade away and we stumble and fall not to rise again for a long time. We are not going to do that. We are determined not to do that. We are determined in this new chapter of Asia and Africa to make good: primarily, not to be dominated in any way by any other country or continent; secondly, to rise in the economic domain, in the social domain, to become prosperous, to bring happiness to our people, to put an end to all the age-old shackles that have tied us, not only political—you rightly call them colonialism—but the other shackles of our own making which have also tied us. We criticise other nations in our resolutions, and it is a fact that that criticism is just. Therefore we advance it. But in the final analysis the criticism has to be directed against ourselves, because a country falls because of its own failings, not because another attacks it or does anything to it. It is because we fail that we fell, and it is only when we make good that we will succeed, and not all the resolutions in the world would make much difference if we are weak of heart and weak of spirit. But there is another spirit in Asia today. Because Asia today is not static, is not passive, is not submissive, does not tolerate chains as it has tolerated so long. Asia is dynamic, Asia is alive and full of life. Asia will make mistakes, has made mistakes, but it does not matter. If life is there, every mistake is tolerated and we advance. If life is not there, then all our right words, right actions and right eloquence is no good.

What have we achieved then? I think our achievement has not only been great in the agreements we have arrived at, but much greater in the background of that agreement, because as I said we have wrestled with problems, we have wrestled with our differences, we have argued till fatigue overtook all our bodies and minds, and finally in spite of those differences, we have agreed. That is the main thing. We are not 'yes-men', I hope, sitting here saying 'yes' just to this country or that, saying 'yes' even to each other. I hope we are not. We are great countries in the world who rather like having freedom, if I may say so, without dictation. Well, if there is anything that Asia wants to tell them it is this: No dictation there is going to be in the future; no 'yes-men' in Asia, I hope, or in Africa. We have had enough of that in the past. We value friendship of the great countries and if I am to play my part, I should like to say that we sit with the great countries of the world as brothers, be it in Europe or America. It is not in any spirit of hatred or dislike or aggressiveness with each other in regard to Europe or America, certainly not. We send our greetings to Europe

and America, I hope, from all of us here, and we want to be friends with them, and to cooperate with them. But we shall cooperate only as friends, as equals. There is no friendship when nations are unequal, when one nation has to obey another, and when one dominates over another. That is why we raise our voices against the domination of colonialism from which many of us have suffered so long, and that is why we have to be very careful that any other form of domination does not come in our way. Therefore, we want to be friends with the West and friends with the East and friends with everybody, because if there is something that may be called the approach of minds and spirit of Asia, it is one of toleration and friendship and cooperation, not one of aggressiveness.

I wish to speak no ill of anybody. In Asia, all of us have many faults, as countries and as individuals. Our past history shows that. Nevertheless, I say that Europe has been in the past a continent full of conflicts, full of trouble, full of hatred, and their conflicts continue and their wars continue, and we have been dragged into their wars because we were tied to them. Now are we going to continue to be dragged in, tie ourselves to the troubles, hatred and conflicts of Europe? I hope not. Of course, Europe and Asia and America and Africa and all these countries, it is perhaps not quite right to think of them as isolated, because they are not. We have to live together and cooperate with each other in this modern world which is going up towards the ideal of one world. Nevertheless Europe has got into that habit of thinking. Whatever political or economic persuasion there may be, America and Europe are in the habit of thinking that their quarrels are the world's quarrels and therefore the world should submit to them this way or that. Well, I do not quite follow that reasoning. I do not want anybody to follow Europe or Asia or America. If others quarrel, why should I quarrel, and why should I be dragged into their quarrels and wars. I just do not understand it. Therefore, I hope we shall keep away from these quarrels and exercise our pressure with others not to quarrel. I realise, as the Prime Minister of Burma said, that we cannot exercise tremendous influence over the world. Our influence will grow no doubt, it is growing, and we can exercise some influence even today but whatever our influence, big or small, it must be exercised in the right direction, in an independent direction, with ideals and objectives behind it, if we represent the ideals of Asia, if we represent the dynamism of Asia. Because if we do not represent that, what are we then? Are we copies of Europeans or Americans or Russians, what are we? We are Asians or Africans. If we become camp followers of Russia or America or of any other country of Europe, it is not very creditable to our dignity, our new independence, our new freedom, our new spirit and our new self-reliance.

So we mean no ill to anybody. We send our greetings to Europe and America. We send our greetings to Australia and New Zealand. And indeed

Australia and New Zealand are almost in our region.² They certainly do not belong to Europe, much less to America. They are next to us and I should like Australia and New Zealand to come nearer to Asia. I would welcome them because I do not want that what we say or do should be based on racial prejudices. We have had enough of this racialism elsewhere.

We have today passed many resolutions, etc., about this or that country, but I think that there is nothing more terrible, nothing more horrible than the infinite tragedy of Africa in the past few hundred years. When I think of it everything else becomes insignificant before that infinite tragedy of Africa ever since the days when millions of them were carried away into America or elsewhere: the way they were taken away, fifty per cent dying in the process, we have to bear that burden, all of us, I think the world has to bear it. And when we talk about this little country or that little country in Africa or outside, let us remember of this infinite tragedy. But unfortunately even now the tragedy of Africa is more than that of any other, I venture to say, even today, whether it is racial, whether it is political, whatever it may be, it is there. And it is up to Asia to help Africa to the best of her ability, because we are sister continents.

So, Sir, I trust that the achievement that we have had in this Conference has left, I am sure it has, a powerful influence over the minds of all who are here. I am quite sure that it has left an impress in the minds of the world. We came here, consciously and unconsciously, as agents of a historic destiny. And we have made some history here and, we have to live up to what we have said, and what we have thought and even more so, we have to live up to what the world expects of us, what Asia expects of us, what the millions of these two continents expect of us. I hope we will be worthy of the people's faith and our destiny.

2. In reply to a questionnaire submitted by Douglas Wilkie of the *Sun News Pictorial* of Australia, Nehru said on 25 March 1955 that: (i) The question of Australia and New Zealand attending the Conference did not come up at the talks among the Prime Ministers of the Colombo powers held at Bogor, Indonesia, on 28-29 December 1954 to discuss the proposed Asian-African Conference, because it was assumed that they did not form part of Asia; (ii) There was no foundation for any suggestion that Australia had been left out of the invitation because of its dispute with Indonesia over the question of Irian (Dutch New Guinea); (iii) It was far from the minds of the sponsoring Asian Prime Ministers to create a so-called third world bloc—or in fact any bloc; (iv) There was no intention of ranging the East against West or non-white against white; and (v) If Australia wanted to attend the Conference it should have made known its wishes to the Prime Minister of Indonesia who was the sponsor of the Conference.

8. Note to Chief Ministers¹

The Asian-African Conference met for seven days at Bandung. These were days of hard, and often concentrated, work. The open session of the Conference met for two days to begin with. It then dissolved itself into three committees—the Economic Committee, the Cultural Committee and the Political Committee. The Political Committee which consisted of the heads of all delegations, was in fact the Conference and it considered the reports of the Economic and Cultural Committees.

2. This Political Committee was supposed to meet in camera, but in effect there was not much privacy and fairly long reports have come out in the press about its proceedings. These reports are not wholly correct. The Political Committee appointed several drafting committees, as they were called. These drafting committees tackled some of the most difficult and controversial problems and had to do the hardest work, often sitting for six or seven hours almost continuously. The agreements arrived at were in these drafting committees which were subsequently approved of by the full Political Committee. In the Economic Committee, our representatives were B.K. Nehru² and K.B. Lall³ assisted by P. Vaidyanathan, Commercial Secretary in our embassy at Djakarta. In the Cultural Committee, our representatives were Dr Syed Mahmud⁴ and C.S. Jha⁵ assisted by A.J. Kidwai.⁶ In the main drafting

1. New Delhi, 28 April 1955. Paragraphs four to twenty were drafted on 25 April 1955 in Bandung. From G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 159-171. Also available in File No. SI/162/9/64-N.E.
2. (b. 1909); served in the Department of Economic Affairs, Government of India, 1954-58.
3. Krishen Behari Lall (b.1915); joined ICS, 1937 and served in various capacities; Chief Controller, Imports and Exports, 1953-54; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1955; Additional Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1958-60; Ambassador to Belgium, 1962-66; Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, 1966-69, of Foreign Trade, 1969-70 and of Defence, 1970-73.
4. (1888-1971); Congressman of Patna and a friend of the Nehru family.
5. Chander Sekhar Jha (1909-1998); joined ICS, 1933; Secretary, Supply and Transport, Government of Orissa, 1943-46; served in MEA in various capacities since 1946, and became Joint Secretary in 1954; Ambassador to Japan, 1957-59; Permanent Representative to UN, 1956-62; High Commissioner to Canada, 1962-63; Commonwealth Secretary, 1964-65; Foreign Secretary, 1965-67.
6. (1917-1996); Deputy Secretary, MEA; Secretary, CSIR, 1962-64; Secretary, Department of Science and Technology, 1971-73, and of Information and Broadcasting, 1973-75; Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, 1978-83.

committees of the Political Committee, our representatives were V.K. Krishna Menon,⁷ S. Dutt,⁸ B.F.H.B. Tyabji and C.S. Jha. The main burden of work on our side in these drafting committees fell on Krishna Menon and Dutt and I am grateful to them for the ability and restraint with which they conducted this work, often in the face of considerable provocation. Krishna Menon, more especially, deserves credit for this work.

3. The Conference issued a Joint Communique which was unanimously agreed to. This has already appeared fully in the press. It is being printed and will be circulated soon. I am, however, taking the earliest opportunity, after my return, to note down my own impressions of this Conference.

4. Every country invited, except the Central African Federation, accepted this invitation and sent its delegates. Thus, twenty-nine countries of Asia and Africa were represented at the Conference. The number of delegates, advisers, etc., which they brought with them was much larger than we had expected. Probably, the Japanese delegation was the biggest. The Egyptian delegation had 34 persons. Our own delegation had 26, including stenographers, assistants, private secretaries, personal staff, etc., and a security officer.

5. Some of the delegations brought their own security staff. The Chinese delegation had the largest. I am told that this consisted of forty to forty-five security men. The disaster to the Air-India Constellation Kashmir Princess had produced a special sense of the need for security arrangements.

6. Apart from this, it should be remembered that there is a party in actual rebellion in parts of Java. This is an extreme Muslim religious group. They have a habit of sniping. Therefore, the Indonesian Government took extraordinary precautions all along the route to Bandung and practically put a cordon round Bandung town, using a very large number of soldiers for the purpose. Inside Bandung also, there were very special precautions and each delegation was separately guarded.

7. There was also a very large number, many hundreds, of newspapermen from all over the world. Among these were some top-ranking American commentators and columnists. To find accommodation for all these put a great strain on the organisers. The arrangements, however, were very satisfactory. There are some good hotels in Bandung, and a number of small but good houses were taken, where Prime Ministers and heads of delegations stayed.

8. Indeed, looking at this Conference and these arrangements, I realised how poor we were in Delhi in this respect. We could not rival Bandung either in regard to hotel accommodation or the halls and rooms required for the Conference.

7. (1896-1974); India's representative in the United Nations, 1952-62.

8. Subimal Dutt (1905-1992); Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 1954-55, and Foreign Secretary, 1955-61.

9. The open Conference was held in a large hall with ante-rooms and with modern equipment of tables for each delegate, microphones and arrangements for simultaneous translations. The seats provided for the delegates were comfortable.

10. Then there was another large building which had very big committee rooms, small committee rooms, office rooms, press rooms, private rooms for separate delegations, canteen, etc. The press was very well provided for. The only rather unsatisfactory arrangement was that of reporting. It seems to me that tape recording should be adopted in such conferences, apart from any other kind of reporting.

11. Delhi is becoming a city of conferences and yet we are very poorly equipped for this purpose. I think that we must take this matter in hand immediately⁹ quite apart from the Unesco or any other conference.

12. The Asian-African Conference was a world event which had attracted great attention. Every country in the world was following it closely and, sometimes, with apprehension. Many observers from other countries had come here in some capacity or other.¹⁰ Some Intelligence men had come as delegates. The USA had sometime ago opened a new department for this purpose and had collected their Far Eastern experts. They had also added considerably to their staff of the Indonesian Embassy. Many odd individuals had also come to watch from outside and meet delegates. These included representatives of freedom movements in colonial territories as well as men and women from the big powers.

13. The delegates who came represented every view, political or other. Some were definitely committed to either NATO or SEATO and were thus parts of the American system of military pacts and alliances. They had been fully briefed for the occasion and took up, almost in detail, the American line. Two countries, namely, China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Viet Minh), were communist.

14. India and Burma took up an independent line according to their policy. Indonesia and Egypt usually supported them. Most of the other countries represented were keenly interested in some local problem and had rather vague ideas about world issues. Sometimes, they appeared to agree with India's line, but seemed to be under pressure not to go too far. Many of these countries either receive aid from America or look forward to receiving it.

15. The Prime Minister of China, Chou En-lai, attracted the most attention, both in public and in the Conference. This was natural as he was not only

9. Also see *post*, pp. 515-516.

10. For instance, Moses Kotane and I.A. Cachalia of South Africa attended the Conference as observers representing the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress respectively.

playing a great part in the crisis of the Far East but was rather a mysterious figure whom people had not seen. He conducted himself with ability and moderation in the Conference and its committees. Whenever he spoke, he did so with authority. He took particular pains to meet delegates and went to many parties given by heads of delegations. He had private talks also with them. He did not put forward any important proposal but objected to something if it seemed to him to be opposed to any principle for which he stood. He was obviously anxious that the Conference should succeed and, therefore, tried to be as accommodating as possible. He was patient even when he had to put up with rather offensive behaviour, which sometimes happened. Only once did he lose his temper for a short while in a committee and said that China would not be bullied. He had naturally more intimate contacts with India and Burma. Altogether, he created a very good impression on the delegates who were impressed by him. Even those who were entirely opposed to him and tried to irritate him by their behaviour, were definitely impressed by him. They said so. At a private meeting of a few heads of delegations, he was asked many questions about Formosa, Korea, Tibet and communism, etc. He came out well from that questioning and even some of his greatest opponents, who were present, realised that his case was not a bad one.

16. Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Lebanon and Iran were the most aggressive in the Conference and in the committees. They represented fully and sometimes rather aggressively, the pure American doctrine. Thailand and the Philippines fully supported them but in a quieter way. Ceylon also was inclined that way but was rather quiet except for one speech in which the Prime Minister criticised Soviet domination of East European countries.

17. The Egyptian Prime Minister played an important role in committees and helped in arriving at compromises. Syria and Afghanistan also played a considerable part. Jordan and Saudi Arabia were on the whole moderate.

18. Probably the most aggressive of the delegations were those of Turkey and Pakistan, though Iraq and Lebanon ran them close in this respect.

19. U Nu, as is usual with him, did not make long speeches, but what he said was pertinent and obviously sincere. He made a good impression. On behalf of India, I spoke three times at some length in the Political Committee¹¹ and also spoke at the closing session of the open Conference.¹² I dealt not only with the particular points raised by resolutions but also with the basic approach and philosophy of India's foreign policy. I think those speeches created an impression and made delegates think.

20. In the Political Committee of the Conference and its subcommittees, there were long and exhausting discussions. As I have said, Premier Chou En-lai

11. See *ante*, pp. 100-124.

12. See *ante*, pp. 125-128.

was very accommodating and he did not bring up any controversial issue. His object was to get an agreement. The object of Pakistan and Turkey especially appeared to be to create as many obstacles as possible. They did not seem to be much interested in agreement or in the success of the Conference. Indeed, at one occasion in a committee, Pakistan threatened to prevent any agreement being reached and therefore let the Conference fail. It must be remembered that there was no question of decisions by majority voting. In fact, unanimity was the rule. This made it easier for a small group to stop progress.

21. With this background, it can well be realised how difficult it was to arrive at any conclusions. The fact, therefore, that ultimately we issued a Joint Communique which was unanimously agreed to, is remarkable. Some of us would have liked this communique to be somewhat different, but we were anxious to succeed and agreed to many things. The Conference thus represented a headlong conflict of ideas, forcefully expressed, and at the same time an amazing capacity to find some common ground and decide ultimately unanimously. It may be, of course, that people carried away reservations in their minds.

22. Taking an overall view of the picture, it seems to me that the Conference was a remarkable success. Quite apart from the Joint Communique issued, it represented the coming together of all these varied and differing nations, their delegates getting to know each other and learning something from each other and finding ultimately that, in spite of so many differences, they had much in common. Thus a feeling of common purposes among the Asian and African countries became more and more evident. We should not imagine that all is well in Asia or Africa, or that our differences have been resolved. I have no doubt that they would be dissolved but for external pressure and military pacts and financial aid and the like. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that we have gone some way towards helping the creation of this common feeling among these countries. What is even more important is the psychological impact of this Conference on the people of Asia and Africa and also in Europe and America. This impact, though imponderable, will have far-reaching consequences.

23. In the course of the Conference, private meetings took place in regard to specific problems. More especially, some of us were concerned with the problems of Indo-China and we met repeatedly the delegates from Indo-China as well as China. U Nu often assisted at these meetings. As a result, some considerable success was obtained in regard to relations between Cambodia, Laos and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Viet Minh) but, unfortunately, South Vietnam proved recalcitrant and took up an indefensible attitude. In effect, they challenged the very basis of the Geneva Agreement. Meanwhile, some kind of a civil war was going on in South Vietnam between different factions. South Vietnam is in a bad way, and because of this it talked loudly and

aggressively and most unrealistically. Their representatives even refused invitations to meals and discussions. Turkey and Pakistan generally supported the South Vietnam representatives. This means that America supports them. The future of Vietnam, therefore, is not a hopeful one.

24. Another successful result was an agreement arrived at between Thailand and North Vietnam about a large number of Vietnamese who had gone to Thailand on account of the civil war. This indicates how at such conferences, problems which had defied solution because of lack of contacts could be dealt with successfully when people came face to face with each other.

25. Premier Chou En-lai made some important declarations in the course of his speeches which were frank, courteous and to the point. He stated clearly that he was a communist and represented a communist government but he stated explicitly that China desired no expansion or internal subversion in any country. He was there to have a common understanding and there were the five principles which dealt with these matters and with which he entirely agreed. He did not press for the exact language of these five principles but wanted the substance with a view to establish collective peace. He was prepared to give every assurance to remove apprehensions. He was of opinion that each country must respect the way of life and economic system chosen by another country. He specially mentioned that he respected the way of life of the American people and their country as also that of the Japanese. But he claimed the same right for himself and his country. China asked for no special privileges or special status in its dealings with other countries. They wanted equality of treatment and were prepared to settle international disputes by peaceful means.

26. In the course of a private conversation at which the Prime Ministers of Ceylon, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma were present, and also Prince Wan¹³ of Thailand and Dr Romulo. Premier Chou En-lai answered many questions about Formosa, Tibet, communism, etc. He gave the background history of Tibet, Formosa and the Chinese civil war. He referred to Chiang Kai-shek¹⁴ being kidnapped by one of his own Generals¹⁵ and how he was released at his (Chou En-lai's) instance. The poor General who had kidnapped him through patriotic motives and who was one of the ablest and most patriotic of Chiang's Generals, was subsequently imprisoned by Chiang Kai-shek and he was still in prison in Formosa after about eighteen years. When asked if he wanted to push

13. K.N.B. Wan Waithayakon (1891-1975); Minister of Foreign Affairs, Government of Thailand, 1952-58, and head of the Thai delegation.

14. (1887-1975); President, Republic of China in Taiwan, 1950-75.

15. Chiang Kai-shek had been kidnapped by General Chang Hsueh-Liang at Lintung, and held in detention from 12 to 17 December 1936. Chang Hsueh-Liang, who was Commander-in-Chief of Kuomintang troops, was arrested and tried by a special military tribunal.

communism into Tibet, Chou En-lai laughed and said that there could be no such question as Tibet was very far indeed from communism. It would be thoroughly impracticable to try to establish a communist regime in Tibet and the Chinese Government had no such wish. Indeed, they had appointed a committee, of which the Dalai Lama was the chairman, to consider what should be done in Tibet.¹⁶ Tibet was an autonomous region of China and they had no desire whatever to interfere with its customs or ways of life. They had gone to Tibet because it was an integral part of the Chinese state and because it had been used for imperialist intrigues, meaning thereby the British recently and previously Czarist Russia.

27. As regards Formosa, Chou En-lai said that they wished to treat this also as an autonomous region. It was a part of China. Most of the people who lived there had Chinese origin and spoke the Fukian dialect of Chinese. The Chinese Government had no desire to punish in any way Chiang Kai-shek's officers and army. They would gladly absorb them in their own army. Even Chiang Kai-shek could be offered an honourable position. He was asked if he would agree to state that he would not use force in regard to Formosa. He said that force is being used by Chiang Kai-shek and the Americans all the time. He for his part wanted a peaceful settlement and he thought this was possible provided the foreign element was removed, that is America withdrew. But he could not give a one-sided assurance about not using force in the circumstances. He was prepared to talk directly with the United States on this subject of Formosa or Taiwan.

28. It was subsequent to this private talk that Chou En-lai made a statement¹⁷ about Formosa and said that China wanted a peaceful settlement and was prepared to have direct talks with the United States. In private he has said he could not say more at this stage or go into details till he knew what the American reaction was. The immediate American reaction was not helpful at all and the subsequent reaction, though better, did not carry things very far.¹⁸

16. Dalai Lama (b. 1935); temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet, was chairman from 1955 to 1959 of the preparatory committee to make Tibet an autonomous region.

17. After a luncheon with the delegates at Bandung on 23 April, Chou En-lai announced that the Chinese Government was willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the US Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Formosa area.

18. Dulles stated on 26 April that the US would probe further China's offer "but would not negotiate with a pistol pointed at its head", and added that it would not insist on Taiwan being made a party to the negotiations for ceasefire if China gave the assurance that she would not attack Taiwan. The next day, President Eisenhower, endorsing Dulles's statement, said that the US could enter into negotiations if the position of the nationalists in Taiwan was not affected.

There is no doubt, however, that this is not the end of the matter and the initiative taken by Premier Chou has opened out various avenues of approach.

29. It is difficult to explore these avenues formally as each party adopts a stiff attitude when approached in that way. The most practicable course is to proceed as informally as possible through private talks with the parties concerned. It was this procedure that led to successful results at the Geneva Conference. The Formosa question is no doubt more difficult than Indo-China because the prestige of the United States is involved as well as the national pride and interest of China. Still, there appears to be clearer thinking now on this issue than there was before. This is evident even in the United States and certainly in the United Kingdom. At the Bandung Conference, although the subject was not discussed at the Conference, the atmosphere created was certainly in favour of peaceful approaches. As I was saying goodbye to Premier Chou En-lai, he mentioned to me that he would like to have further talks with Krishna Menon and had invited him to go to Peking for this purpose as soon as possible. I welcomed this proposal and told him that Krishna Menon would go there within the next two weeks or so. He will go there quietly and with as little fuss as possible. Publicity cannot be avoided altogether but, so far as we are concerned, we should play it down.

30. At the Bandung Conference, it was not India's purpose to play any aggressive role or, indeed, to seek the limelight. Some newspapers, especially in India, naturally played up India's role. We felt, however, that it was better for us to work quietly. The fact, however, remained that the two most important countries present at the Bandung Conference were China and India. Indeed, U Nu pointed out at a private meeting that without China and India the Conference would not have had much significance.

31. Not many people have probably read carefully the Joint Communiqué issued by the Conference. It deserves careful reading. Attention has been directed to certain controversial issues which were resolved by certain language acceptable to the parties concerned. In every compromise, there is an effort to find some such language, if agreement is sought. If I had done the drafting of the statement, without others' intervention, I would have drafted it somewhat differently. I think, however, that the Joint Communiqué, as it is, is a worthy document and there is nothing in it with which we can disagree. It may be that some countries will emphasise one aspect of it and some others another aspect. As a whole, it is a most important document which will influence not only Asian and African thinking, but will also affect European and American thought.

32. The so-called five principles or the Panchsheel had somehow become a bone of contention. We were not anxious for the particular phraseology or

the principle. We agreed, therefore, to a reformulation of them with some additions which meet our purpose.¹⁹

33. There can be no doubt that the personal contacts at this Conference were of great value. Speaking for myself, I got a much better measure of the many well known people who attended this Conference than I had before. I had a certain prejudice against Prince Wan of Thailand, or rather the prejudice was against Thailand's policy. I found Prince Wan a very agreeable, decent and, if I may say so, civilised man. He was an old liberal type and probably he doesn't quite fit in the present politics of Thailand. So also I was impressed by some others. The Japanese, though present in very large numbers, did not play an important role. Privately they talked about trade matters and were anxious to push Japanese trade and commercial interests. Their leader confessed in private the limitations they suffered from because of pressures from the United States. The Conference, in spite of controversy and argument, was definitely a friendly conference.

34. For many of the Africans who attended the Conference, this was the first view of some of the countries of Asia. Many of the Arabs and others from Western Asia also came for the first time to South-East Asia. Coming from dry and more or less desert regions, they were surprised at the greenery and richness of the vegetation. They were even more surprised at the freedom of the women. Those who passed through India had first noticed this to some extent. Then they came to Burma and there women were very much in evidence. In fact, it was the time of the water festival and girls and women took a great part in it. Then came Indonesia and their surprise was all the greater that Muslim women should be so free and should take so great a part in public activities.

35. An Arab delegate made a characteristic remark. He said that Bandung did not look like an Asian city at all. It was too clean.

19. The Conference adopted on 24 April 1955 a Joint Communiqué which, *inter alia*, established the following ten principles for developing friendship and cooperation among nations: (i) respect for the fundamental human rights and principles of the UN Charter; (ii) respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations; (iii) recognition of the equality of all races and nations, (iv) abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country; (v) respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively in conformity with the UN Charter; (vi) abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers; and abstention from exerting pressures on other countries; (vii) refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country; (viii) settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means; (ix) promotion of mutual interest and cooperation; and (x) respect for justice and international obligations.

36. Everyone present at the Conference had a sense of participation in an historic process. The mere fact of our meeting there was unique. The other fact of our coming to a unanimous agreement, in spite of differences, was little short of astonishing. This agreement could not have been reached if there had not been a powerful urge to agree. The Conference has opened a new chapter not only in Asia and Africa, but in the world.

9. Message to Anthony Eden¹

I thought I should let you know briefly my personal reactions and judgment about the Bandung Conference. I feel that the Conference has been a very useful one and productive of more good to our common cause than perhaps we dared to anticipate. Apart from the public statements, which you must have seen, the Conference has given a momentum not only to the desire for peaceful cooperation among its participants, but for the peaceful approach to world affairs. I also think the contacts made not only by us but by other delegations as well with each other and particularly with China and some of those who are closely aligned to the Western alliances have been useful.

You must have read about the treaty about Chinese nationals concluded between China and Indonesia² and also of similar offers for negotiation on the question made by Chou En-lai to Thailand and the Philippines.

I am also glad to say that the rather thorny problem of about 50,000 North Vietnamese nationals in Thailand has been satisfactorily settled by private talks

1. New Delhi, 29 April 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Papers.
2. A treaty regulating the status of the Chinese living in Indonesia, signed on 22 April 1955 at Bandung by Chou En-lai and Sunarjo, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, provided that: (i) All persons over 18, including women, holding both Chinese and Indonesian citizenship, were required to choose between them within two years. Any person failing to do so would automatically be registered as Indonesian or Chinese in accordance with his or her father's descent; (ii) Children would acquire their father's citizenship, but would be allowed to choose for themselves on reaching the age of 18; (iii) Nationality would not be affected by marriage, unless either party chose his or her spouse's citizenship at the time; and (iv) Persons choosing Chinese citizenship would be liable to deportation if considered undesirable, whilst those choosing Indonesian citizenship would not be eligible for the Chinese Government's protection.

between Prince Wan and Pham Van Dong.³ U Nu, Chou En-lai and I gave our assistance.

We have also had talks with the Prime Minister of Laos⁴ and Pham Van Dong both separately and with all of us together.⁵ These have resulted in a satisfactory approach and agreement on procedures in regard to the difficulties in Laos, especially in regard to the two provinces. The real solution of this problem lies in the elections which we hope will take place in September next in accordance with the Geneva Agreement. The two ministers issued a joint communique at Bandung in which they expressed their agreement. They have also agreed to meet each other both at Vientiane and Hanoi. This matter has to be pursued so far as the operational part is concerned and we shall take the necessary steps.

Cambodian problems were also discussed separately and jointly. Prince Sihanouk, Chou En-lai and Pham Van Dong were cooperative. I regret to say that the attitude and behaviour of the South Vietnam delegation was singularly unhelpful. They were hostile even to the Geneva Agreement.

With regard to Formosa, as you would know, there is nothing really new in Chou En-lai's willingness to negotiate direct with the United States. The fact that a public statement has been made by him no doubt takes this further. I have had talks with him and at my request Krishna Menon has also discussed this matter with him to explore various steps and details for finding ways and means of settlement. As you will appreciate, this has to be a long and patient process and I think that it should be continued in Peking. I hope to make a statement⁶ in our Parliament tomorrow.

I have no doubt your influence will be exerted by way of favourable responses from the side of the United States. I confess, however, that I am not heartened by statements which appear to proclaim scepticism about the motives and sincerity of China or to pose the most controversial issues, such as cease-fire,

3. (b. 1906); Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), 1954-61 and leader of the delegation.
4. Katay Don Sasorith (1904-1959); Prime Minister of Laos and chief of the Laotian delegation.
5. Following a series of meetings between representatives of China, North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, Katay Don Sasorith and Pham Van Dong signed an agreement on 23 April 1955, whereby Sasorith affirmed his country's adherence to the five principles of coexistence and Pham Van Dong gave an assurance that North Vietnam had no designs on the Laotian provinces controlled by the Pathet Lao movement. Similar assurances of non-interference were given to Cambodia by Pham Van Dong and to Laos and Cambodia by Chou En-lai.
6. Not printed.

as a prelude to negotiation. We have taken up with Chou En-lai again the question of prisoners and other matters. These prisoners would probably have been released but for the occurrence of the air disaster. We are continuing to make efforts in this direction as part of the steps to bring about a relaxation of tension.

You will have noted that the proceedings of the Conference and certainly our approach have not been characterised by any race hatred or anti-West attitudes. This is true also of the Chinese delegation. Some delegations were naturally concerned with their special problems. This was inevitable. We had considerable difficulties because of the attempts on the part of certain parties to project cold war controversies into the Conference. Yet I think it was as well that these were aired. The final results of the Conference, as revealed not only in the Joint Communiqué but in the approach of the great majority of members, are satisfactory. We ourselves have no difficulty in accepting it. The Conference has strengthened the feeling that the new Asia can and will make a contribution towards world cooperation and peace and, in doing so, is not animated by any continental compartmentalism or by racial or anti-Western feeling.

I feel sure that you will also be impressed by the repeated references to the Charter of the United Nations. Contrary to newspaper reports, there was no opposition to this from any of us or from the Chinese delegation. Chou En-lai not only accepted the Charter but was anxious that it should be regarded as the basis of world cooperation, China being one of the Charter members. His difficulty was only in regard to resolutions passed by the United Nations organs to which he was not a party. Even in this respect, we were able to find a middle way and Chou En-lai was helpful.

In regard to the Middle East, while the issue of Palestine was the foremost in the minds of the Arab countries, they showed a sense of comparative moderation and a desire to build their own future in cooperation with their neighbours. I must say, particularly in regard to Egypt and some other countries, that there was an insistence not to be considered or treated as part of great power alliances. I think it is only fair that I should give you my impression of this even though it may not conform to your own present policies.

In regard to Africa, the Conference helped to give the African delegations and people a sense of confidence and equality. Here too there was no racial approach and the Conference accepted the basis of multi-racial societies.

The definite gains at Bandung, not only in the context of the Conference and its resolutions, but also in the general atmosphere it engendered in the present and some tangible results in regard to Indo-China territories and other South-East Asian countries and in the preliminary talks on Formosa, are substantial and considerable.

The above is only a personal note for your information.



WITH V.K. KRISHNA MENON AND B.F.H.B. TYABJI, BANDUNG, APRIL 1955



WITH U NU, BANDUNG, APRIL 1955

10. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
April 30, 1955

My dear Edwina,²

Bandung has been so full of impressions that I have to write at great length about it. It was an exciting Conference. The variety of human beings represented there was itself rather fascinating. We had practically every country in Asia represented, and then there were people from the Gold Coast, Sudan, Libya, Liberia and Ethiopia, in addition to Egypt. Merely to see this motley gathering, all assembled there with a semblance of common purposes, was rather a moving sight.

Then, of course, there were crowds of other folk—many hundreds of pressmen from all over the world and hundreds of other persons who had come just to meet the delegates or try to influence them for some particular purpose. I said on the last day that Bandung had become for a week the capital of Asia and Africa. There was some truth in that.

Then, there was the political interplay and backstage intrigues. Quite a number of people there were permanent performers of the UN and they functioned with all due pomposity. A tightly knit group represented, if I may say so, the United States policy. This consisted chiefly of Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq and Lebanon. Also, of course, the Philippines and Thailand. These two were at least somewhat moderate in their expression. The other four were quite aggressive and sometimes even offensive. A threat was made out that the Conference would be broken up if their viewpoint was not adopted.

Chou En-lai was a star performer. As a matter of fact, he did not say very much, but naturally he attracted most attention. He was the mysterious figure representing a country which was playing an important and perhaps dangerous part in the world, and both, those who were favourably inclined to him and those who were bitterly opposed, were anxious to see him and measure him. The Chinese in Bandung, and there was a large number of them, gathered in the streets to cheer him. Chou En-lai did not speak much, but what he said was to the point and authoritative. He was quiet and restrained and obviously determined to do everything in his power to make the Conference a success. He did not bring forward any controversial proposition. If, however, anything was said, which was objectionable from his point of view, he spoke firmly but quietly. He spent long hours in subcommittees and went to every party there. There were dozens of parties, sometimes three or four a day. Apart from this,

1. JN Collection.

2. (1901-1960); Edwina Ashley, Countess Mountbatten.

he met small groups of individuals. Altogether he created a very good impression. Even his opponents melted somewhat and agreed that he was an attractive person. Only once, in a subcommittee, did he speak rather curtly and said that China was not going to be bullied. He had some reason to feel irritated because Pakistan and some others were creating every kind of difficulty.

So far as I was concerned, I behaved generally. Once I lost my temper, but regained it soon after. On two or three occasions I spoke with some vigour. It is true, however, that I was often very irritated and it was with some difficulty that I restrained myself.

With all this background, it is really amazing how we succeeded in the end and brought out quite a good document unanimously agreed to. The surprising part is that this document is receiving praise from the USA as well as the Soviet and China. I think it is a good document.

But, of course, what happened at Bandung was much more important than the mere preparation of a joint statement. Daily contacts and our being together day after day for long hours toned us all down and we tended to become rather a friendly gathering, in spite of our differences. Strangers to each other almost became friends, or at any rate behaved as such. I must say that I had to change my opinion about a number of delegates about whom I had heard much. Thus, Prince Wan of Thailand went up in my estimation as a decent civilised individual, rather like a 19th century liberal. Others went down in my estimation. The Conference was a good place to give us a measure of persons attending.

Although there were five sponsors of this Conference—Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Pakistan and India—and we shared expenses³ and had a Joint Secretariat, still a great burden of organising it fell on the Indonesian Government. They discharged this remarkably well. I doubt if we could have provided the same amenities in Delhi. Altogether, therefore, the Conference was a remarkable success. I think all of us who were there came back a little wiser and certainly with a better understanding of the other.

It was interesting to observe the reaction of the Arab delegates to the new countries they were visiting. Hardly any of them had ever come to South-East Asia. Nasser of Egypt had never left Egypt previously, except to go to Mecca. For him this was a piling up of new experiences, first Pakistan, then India, Burma and Indonesia. He was excited like a little boy. The other Arab delegates were not so demonstrative but, I have no doubt, much surprised at what they saw. Used to a dry desert climate, they came to these richer regions with a

3. In reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on 19 August 1955, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister stated that the total expenditure incurred on the Bandung Conference would be in the neighbourhood of four million Indonesian rupiahs. Each of the five countries would pay eight lakh rupiahs, approximately equivalent to Indian Rs 3,33,000.

lush vegetation and greenery. Another fact which impressed them no doubt greatly was the position of women in these countries. Nasser mentioned this to me in India when he found a large number of women attending our public meetings and generally being evident in the streets, etc. In Burma, there was much more of this. In fact, we reached Burma on the day of the water festival, and U Nu took us all, attired in Burmese dress, to a number of places in Rangoon where we indulged in this water-play. This was no joke. We were thoroughly drenched with pailfuls of water.

Perhaps the Arabs might have thought that India and Burma being largely non-Muslim countries, in Indonesia things would be different in so far as women were concerned. But they found that women there had complete freedom of movement and were present in large numbers everywhere. They were much impressed by all this.

Prince Faisal⁴ of Saudi Arabia, looking very distinguished and distinctive in his flowing robes and with a rather dissipated looking face, imbibed all this quietly. Others were a little more demonstrative. The Africans from the Gold Coast, tall and looking like giants before the Indonesians, evidently liked this new experience. Nkrumah⁵ could not come owing to some constitutional difficulties but he sent two of his Ministers,⁶ hefty and giantly persons. They went about in their Roman togas. Most of the others were more soberly clad. One of the persons who had accompanied me was the Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Prince Mohammed Naim,⁷ rather a distinguished looking person and likable. Because he had no special kind of dress on, he was apt to be ignored and got lost in the crowd.

I spent ten days in Indonesia and then came back with U Nu, Nasser and Naim Khan. We dropped U Nu at Rangoon. The others accompanied me to Delhi. The next day, Nasser went on to Kabul. He is coming back to Delhi again. We are also having a number of other visitors like Faisal of Saudi Arabia and the Prime Minister of Sudan.⁸ So we are being kept busy.

Parliament is working very hard sitting nine or ten hours a day in order to get through some important legislation. We are at last on the eve of passing

4. Malik Faisal ibn Abdel Aziz (1905-1975); brother of King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1930-60; acclaimed Crown Prince, 1953; Prime Minister, 1953-60; was granted full control of finances, internal and external affairs, and the armed forces of Saudi Arabia by a decree of his brother, March 1958, until December 1960; Regent, 1963-64; King of Saudi Arabia, 1964-75.
5. Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972); Prime Minister of Ghana (Gold Coast), 1952-57.
6. Kojo Botsio, Minister of State, Ghana and leader of the delegation.
7. Mohammed Naim Khan (b. 1911); served in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as Minister of Education; Ambassador to UK, 1946, and to USA, 1950; Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, 1953-63, and leader of the Afghan delegation.
8. Sayed Ismail El Azhari was the Chairman of the Sudanese delegation at the Conference.

the Hindu Marriage Bill⁹ which has been pending for a long time, and we are taking another step in regard to the Hindu Succession Bill. Both these two measures have aroused violent opposition from the orthodox, but we shall get them through before long.

I am enclosing a press cutting of a statement which I made in Parliament today.¹⁰ This is about the Bandung Conference. I need not tell you that Krishna played an important part at Bandung, chiefly in committees and in private talks. He has been invited by Chou En-lai to come to Peking for further talks. I expect he will go in about a week's time.

Yours,
Jawahar

9. For Nehru's speech in the course of debate on the Hindu Marriage Bill in the Lok Sabha on 5 May 1955, see *post* pp. 468-478.
10. Not printed.

11. Recollections of the Conference¹

The Asian-African Conference met at Bandung for seven days. Of this, first two days and the last two hours were open to the press and the remaining, you might say, five days were not open to the press, and nearly all the work was done in those remaining five days. Of course, this meeting, though not open to the press, was not very secret. When a hundred persons are present there, it is not very secret, but anyhow it was not open to the press and the result was that the press got their accounts from their own country's representatives who were present there. Of course, some of the delegates there from some countries were really newspapermen, specially from the Arab countries, Thailand and some others, so that the accounts you read were not always accurate, sometimes they might be, and they have a tendency to make out some striking fact outside the context and you do not see the context of it; you merely see a fact or two. Therefore, it is a little difficult to judge all these things, but the abiding impression of this Conference on me was a very great one. It attracted tremendous attention all over the world, and people viewed it according to their liking either with some apprehension and dislike or enthusiastically. There

1. Speech at a closed-door meeting of members of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 3 May 1955. From AICC tapes. Extracts.

was a good deal of apprehension as to what this might do. A rather remarkable thing is that at the conclusion of the Conference almost every country has commended it, has approved of it—certainly the American press, the British press, the French press, the Russian press, the Chinese press and others. It is a remarkable thing that something should be done which is approved of by all these people who usually never agree about anything. It does not mean that nothing important was done there, only some pious platitudes were expressed, and therefore, everybody agrees with pious platitudes. I do not think so. The work this Conference did was not merely a repetition of pious platitudes. No doubt in their Communique there may be many pious platitudes, but as a matter of fact a large part of that joint statement was drafted after enormous argument and discussion, each word being discussed.

It was easy enough for everyone present there to condemn colonialism and to demand this and that. Personally, I am beginning to react very strongly to lists of demands. There is a type of resolution which lays down, "We demand this, we demand that," but does not cast any responsibility on the person making a demand. It just demands from others to do something, and then you go home. That is a type of irresponsible approach to a question. The Gandhian approach, of course, is that you make demand in yourself: "We are going to do this, we must do it, our country must do it, I must do it", that is the Gandhian approach, rather extreme! Because, if you do, have got to do, well, that will strengthen you and the other person who will be forced to do, he has got to do. Well, may be, we cannot adopt that Gandhian approach hundred per cent, specially in these political gatherings, and some balance has to be struck between these two approaches. The Bandung Conference was not a Gandhian conference, but in the course of arguments there, some heated argument about communism and anti-communism, I spoke three times, twice on one major issue, major resolution, where the resolution was really considering this broad approach to the conflict in the world between the two power blocs, and communism and anti-communism. And it had been stated that in regard to colonialism why should not we condemn the neocolonialism as it was called, in the communist countries of Eastern Asia or of Central Asia apart from the Soviet Union and the like. So this led to a broad argument on this question and I spoke at some length. It was not easy to speak and criticise others, but I endeavoured to speak rather constructively of our policy. That led to many questions in other speeches to which I had to reply. Those were my main contributions to this debate.

In the course of that debate, I dealt with this question. I said, it is quite absurd to talk about colonialism in connection with Poland, Czechoslovakia and the rest. That has nothing to do with your approval to the policy of Czechoslovakia, or Poland or Rumania or Yugoslavia, that is, the communist countries. You have every right, any individual has every right to say that in these countries there is not the type of democracy that we approve of, you may

like it or you may not. But to consider it as colonialism is, on the face of it, wrong. The word does not mean that. Secondly, I pointed out here that the agenda was, 'Dependent Peoples'. Now, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries are considered independent countries internationally. The United Nations and many countries have relations with them. Therefore, to put them in the same category as Morocco or Tunisia obviously was not suitable, quite apart from your liking this or that. With all respect to the countries represented there, as well as those who were not, if we enter into a minute examination of the extent of freedom or democracy in a country, in the so-called independent countries, well, that might lead us to strange revelations. Many countries that are called independent may really be, in fact, not independent at all, but completely dependent. Many countries that go under the flag of democracy have not an atom of democracy inside them, and yet they are called the democratic free world. So I pointed out all these factors which, obviously, we could not discuss in that Conference and we have to accept things as they were. Countries that we have considered independent, internationally speaking, we had invited. We dealt with them as independent countries. We did not go into their internal affairs. We could, if you like, take Pakistan. Pakistan may be a good country but nobody can say that it is governed democratically today; that is obvious. This point was not to be discussed there, because that will have meant squabbles between every country there. We had to accept things as they were. So I said that I did not understand this business of my being called upon, to be communist or anti-communist. Well, I am what I am, what I want to be in my country, my country is there.

Broadly speaking, we have been nurtured on a certain approach which might be called the Gandhian approach. I said, if you start about ideologies, I might as well talk about the Gandhian ideology to all of you here. We could discuss the ideology, but that would serve little purpose, I said. And then, it was said by representatives of some countries about people being airy and idealistic, and not seeing the practical world as it is. Well, I ventured to point out that while idealism was good and I want the people to be idealistic, I was not putting forward anything on an idealistic basis. I had found that those people or countries who called themselves very practical, were usually very far from being practical, and the history of the last two wars showed where the so-called practical politics led the world to—to the brink of war—and it becomes worse and worse, and everybody talks about practical politics. I said if this is the test of practicality then we must find some other word for it.

Then again I said, I am no pacifist, if you think I am speaking here as a pacifist to surrender myself, my arms or anything to anybody else. I am not a pacifist. I like pacifism, the idea of pacifism, but in the world as it is, I do not call upon any country to be weak. I do not believe in the weakness of the individual or the group or the nation. I believe in strength, and it is by strength

only that we can achieve anything, and if we have achieved our freedom it is through our strength, not through our weakness. It may be that our policy was a peaceful one but it was based on strength and certain principles. And, therefore, we succeeded. Therefore, I said I do not want any country to be weak and I want every country to make itself as strong as possible. But what is strength? I said, you are talking all the time in terms of military strength. Well, I do not deny that military strength is a type of strength which a country possesses and should possess, in present circumstances, although military strength has a new meaning today, that is, in the age of the atom bomb. Whether you have a few more guns or rifles or, a few more or a few less, it does not make much difference. Before the atomic bomb you are as unarmed as if you have no guns. So it makes no difference. It may make some petty difference on some petty squabbles. Therefore, the whole conception of even strength has changed. Normally too, what is the strength of a nation? Let us say, it is the army, the defence forces, yes; but behind the defence forces you must have an industrial apparatus, industrial production to feed the defence forces. In fact you must have an industrialised economy, otherwise your army is depending even for its arms and equipment on some other country—you are dependent, you are not independent. Then, your industrial background. Thirdly, your general economy, that is, if your economy is not strong and you cannot carry on a war, you go to pieces. And fourth, and very important, is the morale of a nation. I said all this is the equation of strength of a nation, our defence forces, industrial output and condition, economy of the nation and morale of the nation.

So far as the military part is concerned, by all means have your armies. I am not saying that go and put an end to your defence forces, but realise that in the world today, these small armies that the countries of Asia might possess really do not make much difference, unless you want armies against your own people, as indeed they are sometime used in some of these countries. That is a different matter. But when you are talking about protecting yourself against communism or anti-communism, you are thinking of some attack. So, I said, you must look at it realistically in this atomic age. I developed this argument there. I said, I do not want my country to be weak. And I do not want any country in Asia or Africa or elsewhere to be weak. It is not weakness that I want. But you must understand what is strength and what is weakness today. In the ultimate analysis, before the atomic bomb there is no weapon that prevails; but nevertheless human will might prevail, human strength may prevail. A nation which refuses to bow its head, it is difficult to meet that nation with an atom bomb.

Now, right at the beginning, I had written to the Joint Secretariat of the Conference that it would be a good thing for us, all the heads of delegations, to meet a day before the conference itself so as to decide on the procedure informally and save time next day. Therefore, I went two days ahead. In fact

most people came, some were delayed and we met the day before, 22 countries out of 29. There might have been three or four more present, but their airships were delayed. And we met and I suggested to them that we had only seven days at our disposal and if we spent two days just in opening speeches and in the conclusion we spend another day, and in drafting our final communique we spend another day, we get three days for the Conference's work. I said, this will be unfortunate, because this would not let us have time to discuss the important matters. So I suggested let us have no opening speeches, except the speech of the President of Indonesia and President of the Conference, and if anybody wants, let him put in his written speech, and we circulate it. As a matter of fact, most people had written speeches, so it was easy. And after some argument, this was agreed to by the 22 present there, but that night some other delegates also arrived. They protested, first of all, you have no business to come to an agreement in our absence, we did receive no notice of it. Which was true. And anyhow we felt that people were very anxious to deliver speeches. It was not right to try to stop them by mere majority; we could not decide anything by majority there. So we decided to have speeches....

Our approach to this Conference had been that what might be called obviously major controversial issues should not be raised there. Secondly, that things should not be decided there by a majority of voting. It was not exactly that there should be absolute unanimity. That will be a little absurd, because one country might hold up everybody else. But, broadly speaking, we have said that there should be no voting and there should be a consensus of opinion and maybe one might state that one country did not agree, if necessary. That was our approach. Now, this made it difficult. You can decide issues by majority, otherwise you either come to an agreement or there is nothing, there is a blank. Therefore, we laboured for an agreement and in spite of our wish that major controversial issues should not be brought up, they were brought up in various forms. First, I have just mentioned about this question of neo-colonialism. Well, much had been said about the Panchsheel, the five principles. Nobody can disagree with them and yet simply because we have said it, others wanted to disagree with them and somebody produced seven and somebody produced ten and somebody produced more. In the end this was also referred to a subcommittee and it produced something, which we agreed to.

Now, there was much discussion on a point which I brought out in my statement in Parliament.² In one of the drafts, the question of self-defence, singly or collectively, was brought in as one of the principles. Obviously, everybody has the right to self-defence singly or collectively. That was brought

2. Nehru's statement made in the Lok Sabha on 30 April 1955 has not been printed.

in to cover the Manila pact or other pacts. We did not want to say anything against the Manila pact, because we were not raising controversial issues. We did not want to say anything about it, but neither did we approve of a cover being given to them in this broad way. It is interesting how this has been dealt with. I am sorry, I have not brought the Communique here with me but it was said—the right of self-defence singly or collectively in terms of the United Nations Charter. The addition of that in terms of the United Nations Charter really made a great difference. I do not know if anybody realised it. First of all, as members of United Nations we are all bound by it, everybody. The representative of China stated at the beginning that he approved of and considered himself bound by the United Nations Charter. You must realise, he did not accept the resolutions of United Nations. He said, “I was not there and I am not prepared to accept the resolutions which were passed in my absence. But the Charter I accept, because China is a member, I am a member; although they do not like me to go there, I am a member and I accept the Charter.” So that the Charter was a basis that nobody could deny. Now, the Charter deals with the question of self-defence in a particular way. I shall read out to you that particular Article of the Charter:

“Article 51: Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of a United Nations.”

Observe, the collective defence comes in if an armed attack is made:

“Until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security, measures taken by members in their exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as deemed necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.”

The Charter gives a right of self-defence singly or collectively when an armed attack is made until the Security Council comes into the picture. It is a very limited right. So we gladly accepted this. It does not obviously cover these other pacts.

Then Article 52 deals with regional arrangements:

“Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the

maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

First of all, as members of the United Nations, we are all bound by the Charter. We have no objection to saying that. It is possible that some of those who subscribe to this phrase there, were thinking in terms of their regional pacts. But the language really does not cover that. The interpretation that this covers or protects these military pacts that have been made, is not justified. We did not wish to condemn them, or to say anything about them because they are controversial issues. In the course of arguments, certainly, references were made to them and I made a reference too. Then people said that they had a right to do that in terms of the Charter, etc. I pointed out, first of all, that their interpretation was not correct; secondly, that if they were seeking security by their pacts, instead of adding to their security they were adding to insecurity. The security of South-East Asia has not been added to by the Manila pact, looking at even strictly from the military point of view. The countries which have armies and navies will have them. They have not increased because of the Manila pact; there they are.

The people living in big continental countries become narrow-minded in regard to other countries. A small country like Switzerland cannot be that, because you can hardly move from Switzerland without going to some other country. Here you can go 2,000 miles and you are still in India. Therefore, this kind of meeting broadens one's vision and understanding very much, just as many people coming to India have broadened their understanding very greatly. I will give you an instance. Take the Arab countries. There are many of them. Many of the people from the Arab countries as well as from Africa had never come this way, to South-East Asia or even to India. It was a first experience for them to go there. Some came to India. From India they went to Burma. From Burma they went to Indonesia. Well, even climatically, it was a new experience for them. Because most of them are used to dry Arab desert regions with rich oil fields, but generally desert regions. And going to Indonesia, which is a tropical country, with heavy and lush vegetation, greenery and you don't see a dry spot there, everything is cultivated; right up to the roadside there is cultivation. And there is a very heavy and thick population. The whole aspect is surprising—it is a new picture of the world that they saw. Another aspect, I might mention to you. Some of them who came to India were struck by the number of women they saw here, in the streets, in the public meetings. They mentioned it. They went to Burma. They saw many more of them as we reached Burma at the time of the water festival, which is a kind of Holi with

a big exception, that they only use plain water. Sometimes they may put a little rose water in it, but generally it is plain water. But they use it in large quantities. They soak you completely and those boys and girls, men and women doing this. This was a surprising sight too for many of the people who came.

Now, I went to Indonesia. It is a very attractive country, and the people are very attractive and likeable. Indonesia is a Muslim country in the sense that the great majority of the population is Muslim, 90 or 95 per cent. But it was utterly unlike the Muslim countries of western Asia—the life, etc., the women there, the living conditions there. There is no question of a woman in purdah. In fact, the women there were participating in every work. So that was surprising and it broadens one's wisdom. I have been there, of course, and I know. So all these people coming from Africa and other places, it gave them, suddenly, a new picture of Asia just as Mr Chou En-lai, who came from China to India or Burma and now in Indonesia, got a new picture of this part of Asia, which he did not have. And all these new pictures broaden one's wisdom, one's understanding. Then the discussions there were, on the whole, fairly frank. These discussions, undoubtedly, made all of us understand the fears and apprehensions of various countries. So it was an enormously educative Conference and in spite of what you might read in the papers about conflicts in the Conference, really it was a very friendly Conference. Conflicts there were in the sense that in argument somebody said something, somebody replied but it was a very friendly Conference and people were constantly meeting not only in the Conference but in large numbers of parties. Every delegation was giving party; every evening there were five or six parties and people going from one to the other. Some were of course very lavish parties, some were simpler. So it did create a sensation of some commonness of purpose in Asia and Africa which is a tremendous thing. On the whole, there was no, what might be called anti-European or anti-American feeling. There was no racial feeling, not much anyway, very little. But there was very definitely a pro-Asian feeling, a pro-African feeling, that is, a positive side was present there with a feeling of Asia standing on its own feet and not being pushed this way or that by Europe or America. Then, of course, there were some countries very much afraid of communism, usually tied up with the so-called anti-communist group of nations. The communist group had only two countries there, China and North Vietnam.

While this Conference was meeting, there were not only people at parties and meals but they met also to discuss their particular problems. There was a long standing problem between Thailand and North Vietnam. They do not recognise each other, they could not deal with each other, but they did meet each other there and deal with each other and agreed to the solution of the

problem. It is related to about 50,000 refugees from one country to the other. Apart from solving that problem it created a better feeling between those two neighbour countries, Thailand and North Vietnam. Then Laos, Cambodia and North Vietnam met together and we were also there, and China and Burma, and quite a number of minor matters were settled. The disputes settled were not very important, but the whole atmosphere that was generated was a friendly atmosphere and, remember these people had been fighting each other in the past. One Prime Minister invited the other man to come to his place and discuss further, the other invited this man to come to his country and discuss. The whole atmosphere was one of trying to solve their problems themselves. It is a good thing. The only country that somehow stood out of these talks was South Vietnam. There is a civil war going on in the state of South Vietnam, and one can understand that it is rather difficult for anyone to represent South Vietnam. In fact, the Minister³ who was representing South Vietnam in the middle of our Conference, resigned from his ministership there, because of these odd problems. So that, all these contacts helped in solving a number of petty problems and in creating an atmosphere for further solution. A major problem like Formosa was not discussed. Privately we had some talk about it with Chou En-lai and others and as you know Chou En-lai invited Mr Krishna Menon to go to Peking and probably in about five or six days or so he will go there.⁴

Now, in all of these committees—drafting and subcommittees—our people did a lot of good work. In the Cultural Committee and the Economic Committee, it was heavy work but it was straight-going work; there were no conflicts. In the Political Committee there was a good deal of tug of war. Specially in some of the subcommittees in the Political Committee which sat for hours on end arguing about a word here and there and sometimes reached almost the point of breaking up. In one committee the Chairman was Col Nasser, the Prime Minister of Egypt. He was a very quiet man in the big Conference or the big committee, saying just a few words, but in this committee he functioned with an extraordinary ability and undoubtedly he was largely responsible for the agreement arrived at. Our own men there functioned very well. Our chief representatives in these committees were our Commonwealth Secretary, Dutt, and Krishna Menon. Krishna Menon has an amazingly fertile intellect for dealing

3. Nguyen Van Thoai, Minister for Planning and Reconstruction.

4. Krishna Menon visited Beijing from 11 to 21 May 1955 and had a series of talks with Chou En-lai and other members of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Formosan question and other issues. Menon subsequently had talks with the British and Canadian leaders and thereafter with John Foster Dulles and President Eisenhower on 14 June 1955.

with these situations. I do not know of anyone else who has that. That is, if one thing is not agreed to, he will find a dozen alternatives for it, trying to meet each person's viewpoints and so going on expressing. I may say, instead, what might well have happened in case like me: I would get irritated and walk out or do something.

Really he was extraordinarily helpful in these matters, and in the other matter also which is in a sense similar to it. That is, when you have these big conflicts between great powers, if they meet in formal conference, they address each other formally and you cannot get an agreement with formal addresses and speeches; you simply remain where you are. If one country through its diplomatic agent addresses another country, it is a formal document and it may help, of course, if you are friendly. But if you are suspicious of each other then it does not help at all and formal documents are apt to be rather curt. This is where the virtue of informal talks comes in. In Geneva, we were not officially represented but there is no doubt that a very great role was played by India, simply because India happened to be friendly to both the parties and we could meet them and discuss matters with them in a friendly way and for the moment become some kind of link between others. And Krishna Menon, there too, did a remarkable piece of work, quite amazing! I think he must have had, in the course of two or three weeks there, 200 interviews with the heads of delegations and each lasting two hours, long talks with each parties gradually, slowly getting hold of his viewpoint, putting some other viewpoint without commitment, and exploring and then ultimately helping to find some way which is agreed to by the parties of course. All this only happens when there is an urge. Now, in Geneva, for the first time, the conference came up against the prospect of immediate and sudden war on a big scale. If there had been no agreement in Geneva, there is no doubt about it that war would have flared up in Indo-China and this time the war in Indo-China would not have been limited to Indo-China. That might have meant America and China at war and so a world war. So that at Geneva they had a terrible prospect. All the parties present there worked hard for an agreement. But even when you worked hard for an agreement, it does help very much if your way is eased by some connective link which we, which India provided.

Now, of course, because Krishna Menon is going to Peking, one must not imagine that some wonderful result is going to come out of his going there. But the mere fact of his going there, on our behalf, at the invitation of the Chinese Prime Minister, indicates that some things are moving. That it is not a hundred per cent deadlock, that helps, that prevents people, the American or the Chinese, from going to the extreme.

So, now after this Conference, some of the people who were at the Conference have come here on their way back—the Egyptian Prime Minister came here, the Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan came here. Now, as you

know, the Crown Prince and Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, Prince Faisal is here. He went to the House today here and probably he is going day after tomorrow. And they had time to see our Community Projects today and were much impressed. So that, gradually an entity that might be called the Asian consciousness is arising. This Asian consciousness is a very big thing and to say that we all think alike, is wrong of course but nevertheless in the context of today, this is arising and it is helpful. How far it will help, one does not know. And therefore the Bandung Conference really was very important in the context of history, because these various forces, urges, etc., were given a certain shape by the Conference, a certain focal point, a meeting point. The Bandung Conference by itself could have done nothing unless there were these urges; it was because these urges were there, we met, and Bandung gave it a shape and formulation. None of us who went to Bandung, none of the countries that went to Bandung, are quite the same now. All of us have developed, in regard to each other, somewhat, which is important. If you have read any of the criticisms in some foreign newspapers, and which I have been reading since I came back, mostly they are angry criticisms: "What business have these people to meet without their elders and mentors." "Oh! they are going to meet like children away from their teacher, they want to play about and misbehave,"—this kind of extraordinary mental approach. Because the Conference, by and large, behaved responsibly and not merely as a public meeting, shouting. There was a feeling of relief in other countries which expected a lot of curses. So there is a relief. It was better than we thought it might be. Nobody realising that by cursing nothing much happens or by repeating pious platitudes, not realising fully that something much more important has happened at Bandung. It is a step in the historic process; by itself it is nothing—some people do realise it, maybe.

And now, one step leads to another and inevitably India's responsibilities grow, whether we want it or not. India is in a difficult position. On the one hand, there is no doubt that there is a good deal of admiration for the progress made by India, and they may be impressed by Bhakra-Nangal and Chittaranjan and Sindri, but the things that affect them most are our Community Projects, because that is a thing which they can do themselves, they might, if they have the men. Because conditions in all these countries are, industrially speaking, backward, they are underdeveloped countries. And so they admired what has been done by India. At the same time, because India is a big country and potentially strong, and progressing rapidly, sometimes there is a certain feeling of apprehension against India, a little feeling of, I do not want to use the word 'jealousy', but still not liking that 'this big country is going ahead fast while we may not be,' that type of feeling. One has to be very careful about dealing with these countries, to remove their apprehensions.

We have this question of Ceylon before us. Well, we feel that the way Ceylon has dealt with the people of Indian origin there has not been fair. But how exactly are we to react to it. I am not talking about minor steps that you may take but basically, because oddly enough, any strong reaction from us produces the very conditions in Ceylon which we want to prevent. Because, ultimately Ceylon is afraid of India, afraid of the bigness of India, the strength of India, afraid of being absorbed in India. That is there. We want to remove that fear. If we take, in a metaphorical sense, a big stick, that is the very thing that they think that India might do, and confirms them, and it drives them into other people's hands. They say, "No, we are safer with Britain or Australia than with India; after all they are far away, India is right here". So it is always, these restrictive factors which have to be considered. We may take some steps but we have always to remember that by, what might be called any use of sanctions, we just frighten them and they react more adversely to us. It is a difficult position. Ultimately, we do want to make them feel that their association with India, a friendly association, will in no way harm them, reduce their independence; it will be to their profit. Whether it is culturally or industrially or commercially, whatever it is, we do not wish to interfere with Ceylon's freedom and our cursing Ceylon, just apart from irritating them, frightens them.

That applies to other countries too. As I told Mr Chou En-lai when I saw him I think in Peking, I said: Now, it so happens that China and India are two huge countries in this part of Asia and they are progressing, they are getting stronger. It is quite natural, I said, that the other countries of Asia and South-East Asia specially, should be a little frightened of China or India, or both. I was driving home a lesson to him. From my point, I said no. I said that if Ceylon is afraid of us, she has no reason to be afraid, but the fact is, she is. If Burma or Cambodia is afraid of you, it is natural and you and we should go all out to remove their fears. The only way to get things done is to remove their fears and not to frighten them more, that is a difficulty. And he completely agreed with me. He said, "Yes, we should go all out to remove their apprehensions and fears. If they are afraid that China is going to interfere with them, well, I can give them not only every assurance but every act of mine will show that I do not wish to interfere with them, externally or internally". And as you see, gradually he is solving this question of Chinese citizens abroad or Chinese people abroad. Because the Chinese are spread out in large numbers in Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China, Thailand, and still because China and India in the past have been big countries, rather prolific and dynamic countries, one thousand years ago, and they spread out all over and there they are. It is an interesting story.

To conclude, I will just give you a thought that if you are acquainted at

all with the history of South-East Asia, it is a fascinating story. In the early years of Christian era, maybe the second century, first century, Indian colonists first went from India to South-East Asia, about 1,800 years ago, and not large numbers of them, and when they settled down round about these places like Malacca, Singapore and all over the region, they mixed with the people and they developed a kind of mixed culture, powerfully Indian and yet imbibing others, both mixed up, and a very fine culture, architecture, painting and dancing developed. At the same time, China was also a dynamic nation that spread, not in a military sense so much, but culturally and otherwise. And for a thousand years India and China faced each other in South-East Asia, not in a military sense, they never had any big war, but in the cultural and other areas, they met and both of them influenced South-East Asia. South-East Asian countries, of course, have their individuality, very powerful individuality, but they were both tremendously impressed by China, by India, in these thousand years, naturally.

Then came the period of European colonial rule. The Portuguese came, the Dutch, the British, the French and the Spaniards came in South-East Asia and they fought against each other and ultimately something developed, and for 250 years or more there was this colonial rule. Now that colonial rule has largely gone. Some relics remain in Malaya, here and there. And again you go back somehow to pick up old threads and China and India are again facing each other in South-East Asia, which we did for a thousand years previously. In those thousand years, so far as one knows, there was no major conflict between them. And there is no particular reason why there should be in the future. But it is inevitable by the mere fact of our geography, our bigness, our dynamism that this happens. We have to be very careful, because of our bigness, that we should be modest. We should not talk tall, we should not be jingoistic. Jingoism is, of course, bad anyhow but there is a tendency always to do that. Even in the Bandung Conference, it was our deliberate desire not to push ourselves to the front too much. Of course, we could not escape the fact that we came from a big and important country. One cannot escape it. Somebody said there, that if China and India had not come here, what will the Conference be? Well, even then, the Conference would have been a good Conference, even without China and India, but nevertheless it would have made a big difference if China and India were not there. We cannot escape our bigness. We cannot escape a certain inevitable role that is coming to us, a historic role by our geography, by our bigness, by the fact that we are developing a certain dynamism, in our general economic life or psychologically, in everything, which is bound to throw more and more responsibilities upon us. And therefore we have to be exceedingly careful, to be modest about it all, not to shout about it, and to try to win other countries not by threats but rather by showing how peaceful and friendly our attitude is. Thank you.

12. The Spirit of Bandung¹

I have no doubt that the Bandung Conference has played an important role.² It has represented various forces that have been developing in the past few years and has compelled the attention of other countries to these new developments. While the fact that there are some new independent countries in Asia is known to everybody, the real significance of this is not always appreciated. Bandung helped a little in bringing about this awareness to others.

2. There is, in large parts of Asia and Africa, an intense desire to be left free to work out our destiny. We want progress at a rapid pace. But with all our past memories of colonial domination, we suspect any attempt at interference or patronage. We have no ill will to any particular country and do not reflect the fierce antagonisms of Europe and America. We want peace not only because we are peacefully inclined but because it is essential for our progress. The aggressive attitudes of communism or anti-communism find no echo with us and we see no reason whatever why we should lose our own individuality, give up our thinking and become a mere camp follower of others.

This may not represent the views of all the countries represented at Bandung. In fact some of them repudiated this approach. Nevertheless this is the basic viewpoint of the peoples of all the countries of Asia and possibly of Africa also. We are a little tired of the conflicts and hatreds of Europe and see no reason why we should succumb to them.

The Bandung Conference was the first clear enunciation by the countries of Asia especially that they have an individuality and viewpoint which they are not prepared to give up because of the views of or pressure from other countries.

3. Many of the newspapermen who came to Bandung from other countries had preconceived notions. Because of these ideas, they tended to judge everything accordingly. They attached importance to personalities rather than to the ferment in Asia and the forces at work there. They tried to look at Bandung as another arena for the cold war. No doubt some of the statements

1. Answers to a questionnaire sent by Louis Gibarti, a Hungarian communist, 23 May 1955. JN Collection.
2. Enclosing the answers, Nehru wrote to Gibarti on 23 May that he was not clear how Gibarti's proposal to have an unofficial movement to maintain and further the aims of the Bandung Conference could be organised. He added, "I have no objection to somebody trying to do this. But it cannot take us far...it will be far better for each country so inclined, to carry on a policy to further the Bandung idea and to keep in touch with other like countries."

made there supported this viewpoint and much was made of them. But, as a matter of fact, all this was rather a superficial view and gradually the real meaning of Bandung is being understood.

4. It is true that relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan are not happy at present. They have not been very friendly for some years past. Attempts are being made by friendly nations to bring about some settlement at least in regard to the recent incidents. I hope they will succeed. As for Kashmir, this is an old and complicated question. On the whole, I think that there is much less tension over this question than there used to be. Certainly the feelings of the Indian and Pakistan peoples towards each other are extraordinarily friendly.

5. It would be absurd to expect that the Bandung Conference would lead to the solution of international problems. It may help a little. The Bandung Conference should not be judged so much from the forceful speeches delivered but from the joint statement issued at the end.

6. I would rather not express any opinion about recent developments in Europe. That is too complicated a question to be dealt with briefly and, normally, I avoid discussing European problems. All I can say here now is that I do feel that there is a movement in Europe away from the tension and cold war of the past several years. I hope it will succeed.

7. I am going to the Soviet Union in response to an old invitation. I had accepted this many months ago. This has nothing to do with any recent development. We want to be friendly with the Soviet Union. I have no special problems to discuss there, but naturally we shall have talks about many general problems. There is no controversy on any issue between India and the Soviet Union. We hope that we shall cooperate in a larger measure in future.

II. CHINA AND TAIWAN

1. Note to Indira Gandhi¹

...The situation in the Far East is a difficult and dangerous one because two great countries with high ideas of their own prestige and "face" and with a

1. London, 1 February 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. Nehru attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in London from 31 January to 8 February 1955.

good deal of passion are at logger-heads.² In the balance, I do not think that war is likely, but one never knows. Eden and R.A. Butler³ have a fair understanding of the situation, but Winston Churchill is difficult. His face has deteriorated and become more flabby. Sometimes, he has quite a child-like impression, a kind of second childhood. Yet, occasionally his mind works well, but he cannot get rid of his past background. As for the other PMs, as usual, Menzies⁴ talks a lot with little sense. St Laurent⁵ is restrained and cautious and is respected more than anyone else. Holland, Pakistan and Ceylon have little to contribute. South Africa and Rhodesia even less so....

2. In September 1954, artillery duels broke out between China and Taiwan over Quemoy island, followed by air raids against each other by both parties. On 6 September the US strengthened its Seventh Fleet over 30 islands in possession of Taiwan and signed with her a Mutual Defence Treaty on 1 December 1954, Dulles declaring that any attack on Taiwan by communists would result in a declaration of state of war by the US. The problem was compounded by the US sending aerial reconnaissance planes over the mainland, several of them being shot down and prisoners taken. On 24 January 1955, Eisenhower asked the US Congress to authorise him to take measures to protect Taiwan, and stated that he would not hesitate to take measures against any action which jeopardised the safety and security of a country bound to the US through the Mutual Security Act.
3. (1902-1982); Chancellor of the Exchequer, the UK, 1951-55; Leader of the House of Commons, 1955-61.
4. R.G. Menzies (1894-1978); Prime Minister of Australia, 1949-66.
5. Louis S. St Laurent (1882-1972); Prime Minister of Canada, 1948-57.

2. Message to U Nu¹

Thank you for your message to me and also the message of Premier Chou En-lai which you have been good enough to forward. I met your Chargé d'Affaires here today.

The Far East situation is undoubtedly very grave and there is danger of its worsening. I feel however that at this stage we should not issue any statements.

1. London, 2 February 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. On the same day a similar message was sent to Ali Sastroamidjojo, Prime Minister of Indonesia.

We must await developments resulting from meeting of Security Council and invitation to Chinese Government.² Public statements by any of us might be misinterpreted and add to difficulties. I shall keep in touch with you.

My programme is to stay in London for a few days after conclusion Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and then go to Paris for two days to meet Prime Minister there. On my way back I shall spend one day in Cairo. These visits to Paris and Cairo are important. I hope to reach Delhi on 18th February night. All good wishes.

2. Leslie Munro, New Zealand member of Security Council and its chairman for January convened a meeting on 31 January to consider the situation in the Formosa straits. He described the situation as one which was "likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." The meeting agreed by ten votes to one to invite China to send a representative to discuss the New Zealand proposal for a ceasefire. An invitation was accordingly sent to China by Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld the same evening.

3. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

We have been considering what steps we can and should take in respect of the present dangerous situation and its grave potentialities.

2. Both Burma and Indonesia have also expressed their anxieties and urge endeavours calculated to help towards some solution.

3. We have no definite proposals at present to make to the Chinese Government and our attitude in regard to China's claim to Formosa and other islands is well known to them. Nevertheless we are anxious

- (a) that continuance of present conflicts should not lead to greater conflict and war,
- (b) that China should not appear to be unwilling to participate in peace efforts or to make a constructive contribution,
- (c) that increasing international recognition or at least acceptance of China's position should come about as at Geneva.

1. London, 3 February 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. N. Raghavan (1900-1978); Indian Ambassador in China, 1952-55.

4. The recent resolution at the Security Council inviting China which was opposed only by the Kuomintang representative, Russia abstaining, has encouraged the feeling that China will make some response.

5. Here at the Commonwealth Conference,² no progress in discussions has been made on this issue as the Security Council procedure is pending Chinese reply. Eden has expressed to me his view that he thinks that Russia favours China sending representatives to New York and that other trends also give this indication. The British think that if China sends representatives to New York discussions may open and tension may be lowered.

6. I am fully aware of and understand China's attitude to the United Nations and particularly to the Security Council. We would not suggest that she should take any step which compromises or reflects adversely on her status as the only government entitled to speak for China.

7. We however feel that a totally negative answer would be to throw away the opportunity to propound China's case and her desires for a just settlement. It would be further exploited by her opponents. Our view is that a constructive response should be made, which fully reserves her position on all matters of substance.

8. It is probable that such response would shift the diplomatic and negotiating initiative to China and to counsels of peaceful solutions and help to bring about some method of bringing the issue into a conference where China takes her rightful place. Her reply need not necessarily be an acceptance to appear before the Security Council but could be an offer to confer as, say, at Geneva pursuant to decisions.

9. We have refrained from making any concrete mediatory proposals because (a) the Security Council communication to China is pending and (b) we would like some indication from Chou En-lai in regard to our taking any initiative for peaceful approach.

10. This is by way of briefing for you. You should see Chou En-lai and talk on these lines, making it clear that our position in regard to China's rights remains unaltered, we would like some private indication of his present reactions. Also that we think it would be desirable to make a constructive and not a negative response to the Security Council's request.

2. The following Prime Ministers attended the Conference: Winston Churchill (UK), Louis S. St. Laurent (Canada), Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Mohammad Ali (Pakistan), R.G. Menzies (Australia), S.G. Holland (New Zealand), C.R. Stewart (Deputy PM, South Africa), John Kotelawala (Sri Lanka), and Godfrey Huggins (Rhodesia and Nyasaland).

4. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Received your telegram 36 and 37 February 4th. Chinese Chargé here has given me full copy of Chou En-lai's reply to Hammarskjöld.² This has in fact appeared in today's press here.³

2. Situation is undoubtedly very grave. Because of this we have decided here to avoid saying anything at all and give ourselves time to think.⁴ Next meeting Commonwealth Conference on Monday⁵ afternoon.

3. As you know, as regards law, constitution and justice we are in favour of Chinese claim to Formosa, etc. We think that United Nations and Security Council have treated Chinese People's Government very improperly in the past. Therefore I agree largely with Chou En-lai's basic contentions and arguments.

4. But admitting all this, the fact remains that we are being led into major war which will be disastrous for all countries concerned and in fact for entire world. Therefore it does not seem to me enough merely to repeat arguments, however justified, but also to find some way out of this tangle at least to allow present passions to subside so that matters might be considered in cooler atmosphere.

5. It is clear that UN or Security Council can no longer afford satisfactory forum for discussion of these matters. Some other way to discuss them has to be found. Not to do anything is to abdicate all sense of statesmanship and allow matters to drift to war.

6. I have no clear ideas as to how to proceed and would very much like Chou En-lai to help us by suggesting possible ways of approach which preserve

1. London, 4 February 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961); Secretary-General of the United Nations, 1953-61.
3. On 3 February 1955 China announced that it would not attend Security Council discussions unless the Chinese nationalists were ousted from the Security Council and their seat given to the People's Republic of China and the Security Council discussed the Soviet proposal which condemned US aggression on China.
4. At the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held on 4 February. Nehru stated "that he agreed that it would be desirable to wait over the weekend to see what the reactions to the uncompromising reply from Peking would be. Although the reply had been in harsher language than he had expected, a refusal had not been unexpected. It was clear that, if progress was to be made, the Peking Government had to be brought into consultation...."
5. That is, 7 February 1955.

China's position entirely and yet enable some progress to be made. It is clear that, however justified it might be, it is not practical politics at present to ask United States to withdraw completely. No great power can act in that way.

7. Perhaps some kind of formal or informal conference, unconnected with United Nations, something like Geneva, might be appropriate for this purpose.

8. I am merely informing you of how my mind is working and giving you some kind of a brief for informal talk with Chou En-lai. I do not wish to take steps here which might embarrass Chinese Government. At the same time merely negative attitude does not appear either adequate or proper.

9. I suggest your discussing this matter informally with Chou En-lai and indicating to me if he has anything positive in mind.⁶

6. Raghavan cabled to Nehru on 6 February that one of the objections of China to the New Zealand proposal included that it did not mention American aggression against China while asking for ceasefire, implying that it was Chinese attempt at liberating their own territory that constituted threat to peace.

5. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

With the failure of the Security Council initiative promoted by New Zealand and Britain to bring about a conference to help resolve the problem of the present conflict, there is a general attitude of search for procedures for bringing about another conference outside the Security Council. We ourselves have always thought that some such procedure was necessary and steps would have to be taken towards it.

2. A communication from Mr Molotov² to us and the United Kingdom (separately) suggests to each of us to join the Soviet Union in an initiative to call a conference of ourselves, the United States, France and the Colombo states. We are reliably informed that this Soviet initiative is not a propaganda move but a serious suggestion and reflects concern about developments. Molotov

1. London, 5 February 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers. NMML.
2. V.M. Molotov (1890-1986); Foreign Minister of USSR, 1953-56.

also mentions that preliminary talks with China enable him to feel that China will accept an invitation to such a conference.

3. We welcome the initiative and the intentions but cannot feel hopeful at all that the United States will agree to such a conference or that the composition proposed is the best. But we do not dismiss the Soviet initiative as not worth pursuing. The exclusion of Formosa in such a conference, when she is one of the parties to the conflict, is not easy and would not be accepted by the United States.

4. We are also considering whether making diplomatic soundings and preparation should not precede the decision to call any conference and therefore whether the preliminary steps would not be for a group of states including Britain and the Soviet Union, perhaps including India, to make such diplomatic exploration with China and the United States.

5. We are also considering whether the request to the United Kingdom, the USSR and India or others to take such an initiative may not come from the Security Council. This procedure does not mean that a future conference should be convened by the Security Council but that the Security Council recognising Chinese objections, takes other steps to promote a peaceful settlement.

6. It is also necessary to take soundings whether pending a total cessation of hostilities, to be negotiated at the conference, some lowering of tension cannot be brought about by actions of each party, that is the United States and China, not by agreement as between them but by approaches to each of them and by private assurances obtained from each by the negotiating (or good offices) states.

7. We would consider exercising what influence we can with the United States directly and through Canada and Britain to refrain from action near the coastal islands, or in the Straits and also to restrain Chiang. This would mean that we would have to know whether the Chinese Government would acquiesce in the evacuation of these islands, thus assisting in preventing incidents or any agent provocateur action by Chiang in respect of United States aircrafts, etc. We do not hereby propose a ceasefire or any political settlement, but merely one of understandings reached by both sides by diplomatic action to lower tension and the risks of warlike developments.

8. We have replied to Molotov welcoming his initiative, but saying that any initiative to be successful must obtain the cooperation of the United States and China. We have suggested that some preliminary steps may be necessary and that the procedure of taking such initiative and the composition of a future conference would require consideration. We have also mentioned to him the idea of a Security Council initiative to request some states to use good offices.

9. This is briefing for you. We would like to know China's reactions.

6. Long Term Policy in the Far East¹

... Mr Nehru said that the success of the revolution in China was not due simply to its communist nature. It was the product of a revolutionary ferment which, fundamentally, was nationalist in character. The Chinese revolution had achieved success with very little help from Russia; the whole Chinese race, including even anti-communists living in other territories, were proud of the emergence of their nation as a world power. This fact ought to be more widely realised. The history of the world might have been different if greater efforts had been made to come to terms with Soviet Russia after the revolution. It would be a tragedy if this mistake were repeated with China, whose strength and unity seemed bound to increase. We should accept the success of the Chinese revolution; for continued hostility to it would only assist the communist cause. The alternative policy was bound to lead to war in the Far East.

2. The Indian Government had been very successful in meeting the threat of communism, largely because of the Indian Government's policy towards China, which had disconcerted and perplexed the Indian Communist Party. By recognising the Peking Government and by agreeing with them certain principles on which they could live together, the communist will to create trouble in India had been undermined. Mr Nehru said he could easily understand the attitude of the Peking Government to Formosa. Any Chinese Government would be equally eager to obtain Formosa, not only because of their desire to recover their former territory, but also because it was at present occupied by enemy forces. Historically, attacks on China had always begun with the occupation of Formosa, followed by an attack on Korea, then the occupation of Manchuria, and finally the invasion of China itself. Nevertheless, although the Peking Government had committed themselves very firmly to the recovery of Formosa, it was his personal view that, if they could be assured that Formosa would not be used as a base for an attack against them, they would probably not risk war in order to capture it....

3. Mr Nehru said that he had no doubt that the Manila treaty was regarded by the statesmen who made it as a purely defensive arrangement. But from the point of view of China it might look very different. It was doubtful whether the treaty would serve any useful military purpose—it was not clear how the defensive potentialities of a small number of weak countries in South-East Asia could be increased by it—and it had the disadvantage of being irritating to the

1. Minutes of the eighth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 8 February 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

other side. In conclusion, Mr Nehru recalled that Mr Dulles had said, some years ago, that war did not settle problems, and that it would be the political system which paid dividends in economic betterment and human happiness which prevail....

7. To Anthony Eden¹

New Delhi
February 8, 1955

My dear Sir Anthony,

I have had a message from our Ambassador in Peking which he has sent after a long talk with Chou En-lai.² This is not very satisfactory, though in regard to some matters his reaction is not bad. He points out that on the one hand America withheld China her due place and status in the United Nations and on the other hand she refused discussions by a conference outside the United Nations. Was this the way to search for peace? He repeated his opposition to the inclusion of Formosa in any conference, or to the recognition, express or implied, of the existence of two Chinas. Otherwise, he said that the composition could be settled by consultation. He agreed that diplomatic sounding and preparation might precede the decision to call any conference. This could be done by consultation between the UK, the Soviet Union and India.

Our Ambassador explained to Chou En-lai our anxiety about the Tachen evacuation³ and that nothing should be done to create any incidents. Further, that we should try to lessen tensions pending further negotiations. This could be done without any formal agreement, but by implied understanding on both sides. Chou En-lai did not say anything in opposition to this from which our Ambassador concluded that the Chinese were not likely to provoke any conflict during evacuation. Chou En-lai, however, complained of active provocation and war threats. Last week, according to him, American aircraft intruded into North Korea. A few days later there was an American broadcast that two MiGs had been shot down by them, implying thereby that they were Chinese (apparently they were not Chinese). On the 7th February American planes flew over Chinese territory. Chou En-lai said that in view of these provocations the proposed conference should be held sooner rather than later.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Raghavan had a 90 minute talk with Chou En-lai on 8 February.

3. The nationalist-held Tachen islands (200 miles north of Formosa) were evacuated of troops and civilians with US help.

Chou En-lai was much put out by your remark in Parliament on the 7th February and he spoke vehemently about the British attitude. He said that this was injuring Sino-British relations. He said that the United Kingdom was supporting American opposition to China's admission to the United Nations and supporting the idea of creating two Chinas. Our Ambassador pointed out that Chou En-lai's view was not correct and that the United Kingdom was working hard for peace....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegram 43 dated 8th February. I shall reply to it in detail later. I shall be leaving England on 14th morning direct for Cairo where I shall stay for two days; then Delhi, reaching there 17th. Prime Ministers' Conference here ended last evening.

2. For your personal information only to understand background here, Commonwealth Prime Ministers naturally were not wholly of one opinion, but everyone here is very anxious to avoid war. At the same time, you will realise that many of them are closely associated with United States and are afraid of breaking away from America. Hence they cannot take up hostile attitude to America. They have in fact been trying to influence America in right direction.

3. One great difficulty has been Winston Churchill's attitude. He is too old now to appreciate facts as they are and sticks to some picture in his own mind. He is also deeply attached to America. In fact, his own Ministers are worried about his attitude. So also some other Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

4. I have explained China's attitude fairly fully and I believe this has created some impression. Eden and Pearson² of Canada have on the whole taken up understanding position, though naturally neither can go as far as Chou En-lai might wish because of various limitations. It is clear that if war is to be prevented, UK's and Canada's attitude will count a great deal in influencing

1. London, 9 February 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. A similar message was sent to the Indian Ambassador in Myanmar. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Lester B. Pearson (1897-1972); Minister for External Affairs, Canada, 1948-57.

America. Therefore it is of utmost importance that China's relations with UK should not deteriorate and contacts should continue. Chou En-lai must realise this as well as difficulties of UK's position.³

5. It is clear that China cannot possibly conquer Formosa so long as American fleet and aircraft defend it. From practical point of view any attack on Formosa would be foolish and cannot yield result aimed at. It will only lead to widespread war and probably use of atomic weapons by Americans in China.

6. We do not ask China to abate any of its just claims, but we do think war and adventurist action should be avoided in China's own interest.

7. China's strong language in rejecting UN approach has had unfortunate result. It has led many people to think that China wants war which of course is not true. Strong language and denunciations do not help.

8. We have to think therefore not so much of immediate solution of problems but of preventing incidents and gradually moving towards solution later on. It may be to the interest of America to obstruct, but that is no reason why China should help in that process. It is clear that no conference can be held without general agreement. At present there is no such general agreement. Also matters must be explored privately and through diplomatic sources and present excitement and passion should be allowed to cool down.

3. Raghavan cabled on 11 February that China's relations with Britain might further deteriorate if nothing was done to improve them. "Chou En-lai said other day it would soon be as easy to find British friendship as to catch fish on roof tops." Raghavan cited the Chinese Premier as saying that if Britain could not afford to take hostile attitude to America she could at least refrain from making public statements against Chinese stand and aspirations.

9. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

.... Prime Ministers' Conference took no decisions on China problems but there was full exchange of views and consideration of possible developments.² I stated China's position fully.

1. London, 10 February 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in their final communique of 8 February noted that "they were united in their conviction that it was necessary that incidents should be avoided while means were sought for a peaceful outcome."

3. There is adequate appreciation of gravity of situation and also that while neither United States nor China wants to initiate war, position taken up by the two sides, if it results in incidents, can well lead to war. United Kingdom and Canada and to some extent other countries also are exercising influence on United States for restraint and not to encourage Chiang. United States has not yet committed herself on Quemoy and Matsu either way and appears to have given no undertaking to Chiang on this subject. There is little doubt that US will afford large-scale protective cover over evacuation if and when it takes place. Pressures are being exercised to press US to bring about evacuation of offshore islands.

4. Debate in Security Council is being discouraged. You should however know that a different view is taken of coastal islands from Formosa. There was general agreement that coastal islands are certainly part of China and should be evacuated. But Formosa's position was considered to be yet undetermined and such determination must be (a) by negotiation between all concerned, (b) with United States cooperation, (c) without danger to Chiang forces who it is alleged might be massacred. Our view on Formosa is of course different and we consider it to be part of China and stated this clearly. We are however of opinion that Formosa issue should be sought to be settled without precipitating war which will unite Western countries against China.

5. Therefore we must lead up to negotiations and meanwhile (a) secure coastal islands for China (about which there is less difficulty), (b) bring about some steps which in some form bring issue into at least first stages of negotiation, direct or indirect, (c) prevent United States from committing herself more and more, (d) press for recognition of Peking as Government of China. This may well mean that issue of Formosa, so far as de facto position remains for the present, and de jure position of China as entitled to Formosa is accepted by some, challenged by others, and by some others regarded as undetermined. If this position is obtained, there are greater prospects of Chiang regime being gradually isolated and issue of Formosa becoming less an international issue engaging actively the West or any outside state.

6. Therefore first step is to make some progress towards negotiations. We are awaiting Molotov's views on this which he has promised to communicate and seeking to persuade United Kingdom. If we can get agreement that a request to United Kingdom, USSR and India on lines communicated to you in paragraph 4³ of telegram 246 by the Security Council would be accepted or at least acquiesced in by all concerned, a step would have been taken to shift conflict into negotiations.

7. We have acquainted Eden of Chou En-lai's reactions. Our present view remains that in spite of some public statements United Kingdom is exercising her influence for peace and restraining United States. It would be a setback to

3. See *ante*, p. 164.

constructive developments if China took a more hostile attitude to United Kingdom.

8. Absence of incidents on Tachen is proving helpful and we have drawn attention to this already.

9. Please assure Chou En-lai of our deep concern and our anxiety to find solution, or the beginning of one, which will avert war and result in China obtaining her legitimate rights. As I have told you, we agree with legal and constitutional position taken up by China, but it is not enough for us to lay stress on that and do nothing more. We do not want China to give up any of her just claims or sacrifice any vital principle. But if we are to avert war, we must proceed with caution, step by step. We shall not relax our peaceful endeavours and we look to China to assist us.

This is by way of briefing for you.

10. Cable to P.N. Kaul¹

I have been hoping to receive from you² Molotov's reactions in regard to our suggestion contained in paragraph (e) of my telegram of fifth February.

2. We would like to express the hope that proceedings of the Security Council on Monday will not be acrimonious, thus enabling diplomatic discussions and for some constructive step if agreements result therefrom.

3. We have pressed the United Kingdom and asked them to request the United States to consider favourably the main suggestion contained in paragraph (e), namely, that the Security Council should request the Governments of USSR, UK and India to use their endeavours in such manner as each one of them and or all together collectively consider appropriate to assist in easing the present situation and to pave the way for a peaceful settlement.

4. If we have a favourable reaction from Molotov in this direction we hope it may help to obtain similar results from others concerned.

5. It appears to us essential that at least some initial step should be taken to ease deadlock and enable efforts at lowering of tensions with a view to promoting some conference on agreed basis in the future.

1. London, 12 February 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Prakash Narain Kaul (1924-1972); joined Indian Foreign Service, 1948; second secretary, Indian embassy, Moscow, 1952-54; first secretary, 1954-July 1955, and Chargé d'Affaires from 3 January to 23 March 1955.

6. The suggestion we are making falls in line with Molotov's own proposal in so far as that a peace initiative should be taken by our three countries. We do not in any way rule out a conference. Indeed, some conference will have to be brought about to effect peaceful settlements. But we fear this can only come (having regard to present circumstances) after much preliminary work and after having brought the issue somehow in the context of talks in which the parties become directly or indirectly concerned.

7. Our proposal does not contemplate mediation under the auspices of the Security Council or of any terms of reference prescribed by it. At the same time it gives the Security Council an opportunity to be connected with the matter but without involving any derogation of China's position as the request would be addressed only to our three countries to act as they consider appropriate.

8. I would like you to convey to Molotov our deep concern to ensure that (a) fighting does not break out and present situation does not go out of control; (b) we are not advocating or supporting my proposal for ceasefire before negotiations, but seeking to bring about a lowering of tensions leading to cessation of hostilities by approach to both parties through negotiation; (c) we believe that USSR, UK and India should use such initiative in interest of peace and of speeding the acceptance of China's legitimate position; (d) with regard to the conference it appears to us obvious that without prior agreement of China and the United States and the necessary diplomatic approaches a conference which we also consider appropriate procedure cannot be brought about at all; (e) to put the conference in front and as a first item in the procedures for conciliation would at present prove an obstacle, while if a constructive initial step in which the three countries are involved is taken and is acceded to by China and the USA, we can hope to make some progress....

11. Message to U Nu¹

I sent you brief appraisal of situation on February 10th.² Since then Soviet Government has given publicity to Molotov's proposal for conference of certain

1. London, 14 February 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Extracts. A similar message was also sent to Ali Sastroamidjojo.
2. Nehru, in a cable to U Nu on 10 February, noted that the Prime Ministers' Conference had ended on a general agreement that coastal islands off Taiwan should be turned over to China as soon as possible.

countries including Colombo powers. Idea of having conference at proper time is desirable. But obviously conference can only be held if there is agreement between principal parties concerned i.e. USA and China.

2. At present there is no chance of such agreement on some matters including admission of Formosa Government to such conference. There will also be acute disagreement about formulation of agenda. Hence, we have felt that we should approach this question cautiously by diplomatic approaches in order to prepare ground for future conference. Possible course may be for Security Council to ask a few countries, including UK and USSR, to explore avenues for easing present situation and to pave way for peaceful settlement. This would give freedom of action and at the same time give Security Council opportunity to be connected with matter without involving any derogation of China's position. It would also be peace initiative somewhat in line with Molotov's own proposal. Conference could come later after ground has been prepared. Any rush tactics for conference would not only fail at present, but produce deadlock and perhaps produce fresh complications.

3. It appears to us essential that at least some initial step should be taken to ease deadlock and enable efforts at lowering of tensions with a view to promoting some conference on agreed basis in future. Hence, present approach should be cautious and on diplomatic level with agreement of UK and USSR. We have suggested this to both these countries but have had no clear reply yet.

4. It is difficult for any group of countries to take any joint action at this stage. Whatever that action might be it is likely to be interpreted as bringing pressure on one side or the other and this will make any subsequent agreement more difficult. Commonwealth Conference here happened accidentally to meet when Far Eastern question had become critical. In natural course they considered it, though even they could not arrive at any decision.

5. For Colombo powers to move jointly in this matter at this stage will probably be resented by one or both parties to dispute and would not prove helpful. When we met in Colombo for first time, Indo-China dispute had reached critical stage and naturally we considered it. If we had met especially for Indo-China it would have been misunderstood. When we meet in April in Asian-African Conference for other purposes, it may be possible for us to express our opinion generally on Far Eastern question as part of larger problems.

6. Hence, it seems unwise for Colombo powers as such to move in this matter or to make public statements. Also, as you know, there is not likely to be unanimity among these Colombo powers. Pakistan's views inclined towards United States position. But if occasion arises each government may express its own views.

7. India's position, with which presumably you agree, is that there is only one government of China. We do not recognise Formosa government and we think that Formosa will ultimately have to come to China in accordance with

many previous statements and policy enunciated at Potsdam and Cairo and subsequently. But we feel that whatever steps are taken should be peaceful and by negotiation. We do not think it right that emigré governments like Chiang Kai-shek's should be bolstered up by foreign powers. This is unreal situation which cannot last and which will continually give trouble. There can be no solution of Far Eastern problem without agreement with Peking government.

8. We are naturally in favour of recognition of Peking as government of China and its admission in United Nations.....

12. Cable to P.N. Kaul¹

As I have informed you already, our position in regard to China is quite clear. So far as we are concerned, there is only one China. We do not insist on Kuomintang participation in conference. Kuomintang, in our view, came in for consideration only as part of the factors needed to bring about US participation. There are no other considerations in our mind in respect of this matter and we are anxious that Chinese position should not be compromised in any way.

3. Our view about conference is that primary consideration is that it should take place. Basis for this would have to be such as will enable participation by the two principal parties, namely, China and United States, as without such participation there can hardly be a conference. It is for this reason that we consider that there should be preliminary and private talks before we can hope to establish basis of the conference, or direct negotiations between China and the United States, if such prove possible. Our preliminary negotiations would seek to find ways and means enabling participation of US and China in a conference and seek to lower tension pending such developments, as far as these two parties are concerned. We are not making a ceasefire proposal.

4. We do not consider that Russia would abandon her position in regard to composition of conference, as suggested by her, by her participation in an initial peace initiative. She would only thus seek to lend her great influence in bringing about a reduction of tension and the search for an agreed basis of negotiations to which later, for realistic reasons, the United States and China must be parties. Our suggestion is not one that contemplates an indefinite postponement of the

1. New Delhi, 18 February 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. Copies of this cable were also sent to N. Raghavan and Vijayalakshmi Pandit, High Commissioner in the UK.

conference or any other final stage of negotiations that may hereafter be thought of, but one that, it is hoped, is calculated to lead to them.

5. The alternative to an initial step like the one we have suggested, or any other, is to continue the deadlock and conflict. It leaves us all without any method of finding a peaceful solution. We would consider that if the procedure of an initial peace move is agreed upon by our three countries we would make our approaches to both parties, namely, United States and China, severally and collectively, in such ways as we consider appropriate and we would not abandon any position we hold.

6. As mentioned in previous telegrams we have considered that our suggestion is in line with Molotov's own idea that our three countries should take some initiative. It also appears to us that any initial move to reduce tension which Molotov assures us is our common objective, need not be confined to military issues and may well include some political questions.

7. As regards Molotov's observations on the failure to make a common approach at the Commonwealth Conference, it would be an error to come to this conclusion because Commonwealth Conferences do not pass resolutions, nor do they function as a federation of governments. There are, of course, exchanges of views. In the present issue and the approach to the problem which has given rise to our suggestion, Britain, Canada and India have been mainly concerned and the talks in this regard have been sometimes all three together, sometimes separately. We have not been able to proceed further than we have done in regard to this suggestion as we did not have Molotov's reaction.

8. There are, doubtless, marked differences between the Indian and British positions in regard to the whole issue and the Soviet proposal. It should be noted also that there are basic differences between the British and the United States even in respect of the offshore islands. British public opinion also appears to be opposed to US position. We have to rally these peace forces and middle way opinion and not permit them to become less reconcilable to China's legitimate rights or to a peaceful settlement. The present US position in respect of the offshore islands, ambiguous as it may be, can lead to greater tension or even conflict. Therefore, it appears necessary that without surrendering any of the views and positions that we each hold, we should set in motion a peace initiative as a preliminary move to finding solutions.

9. The British reply to the Soviet Union need not, in our view, be considered as a barrier to British participation and to steps to bring about a conference or for negotiations to that end. The suggestion that we have made, if accepted both by the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, would, in the absence of another proposal, be an initial step towards endeavours to find solutions.

10. Please convey our views as contained in this and previous telegram to Soviet Government.

13. To A. Krishnaswami¹

New Delhi
March 11, 1955

My dear Krishnaswami,²

.... The ideal solution would be to allow the Formosans (excluding the Chinese army of occupation) to decide for themselves. That hardly appears feasible at present. Situated where it is, Formosa, in the present circumstances, can hardly be an independent state. It has to suffer because of the rivalry of the United States and China.

3. What is likely to happen, I think, in the not distant future, is that the Chiang Kai-shek regime will crumble because of its own inaptitude. You refer to various currents of opinion in the United States. Opinions change rapidly there, and there has been, I think, an advance since you were there. Our own information is that President Eisenhower is rather fed up with Chiang Kai-shek and considers him a burden. The difficulty is how to get rid of him.

4. Whatever the rights and wrongs of China might be in regard to Formosa, there appears to be absolutely no justification for American forces to occupy it. In fact, the problem would be much simpler if America was not there.....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of this letter was sent to Secretary General, MEA.

2. (1911-1988); advocate; Independent Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

14. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
20th March, 1955

My dear Krishna,

Your letter of the 13th March has just reached me.

As for the incident in Nagpur, I rather doubt if it had any larger significance behind it, that is to say, if there was any group behind it. We are still enquiring. But there appears to be little doubt that the individual concerned wanted to use his knife on me. It was a vicious knife with a razor-like blade.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

There is naturally an outcry for more strict security arrangements. I do not mind normal arrangements but, obviously, I cannot be kept in a glass case.

N.R. Pillai² has told you that it would not be advisable for you to go to Karachi. Certain developments have taken place since you left which have resulted in a little more confusion. I shall speak to you about it when you come here. Meanwhile, as you know, the Pakistan Prime Minister is not coming here this month as previously arranged. We shall meet in the middle of May now in Delhi.

It was inevitable that Eisenhower should have Dulles with him when he met you.³ This could not be avoided, whatever the approach. As Dulles and, maybe, others were going to be there, it was necessary for our Ambassador also to be present.⁴

The situation in Formosa, etc., is, of course, as bad as ever and yet in another sense it has toned down. I imagine that the Chinese do not wish to do anything to precipitate a conflict. Perhaps they have adopted this deliberate policy because of the Bandung Conference.

Meanwhile the news about the hydrogen bomb becomes grimmer and grimmer. We have now super-hydrogen bomb and, what is more, it is becoming easier to make it.... What this might lead to, I do not know.

I have absolutely no idea in my head as to what we can do about the Formosa situation.⁵

2. (1898-1992); Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs. 1952-60.
3. In a cable sent to G.L. Mehta on 7 March, Nehru suggested "that you should accompany Krishna Menon and introduce him to the President and you might indicate previously to the State Department that this interview is an informal one" so that Menon might personally report to Eisenhower about the forthcoming Asian-African conference and the Indo-China situation. In his letter of 13 March, Menon expressed the doubt that the meeting would have any value or purpose, "apart from making a contact," as the matter was broached through the State Department, and Dulles and Mehta were going to be present at the meeting.
4. According to the State Department records, the discussion at Menon's meeting with Eisenhower on 15 March dealt with Menon's travels, Commonwealth PMs Conference, Eisenhower's contacts with Nehru, medical facilities in India, etc. "Mr Menon discussed Indian philosophy and life. Apparently he made one or two disparaging, and therefore astonishing, remarks about the Communists.... Later the President said, in commenting on the surprisingly general trend of the conversation, that perhaps this was a preliminary to some further conversations the Indians might have in mind."
5. In his letter of 13 March Krishna Menon wrote, "The sentiments in these matters (East Asian affairs) have now reached such a pitch that there appears little room for reason.... The problem is today not so much the discovery of formulae, or even the prospects of final settlement, but of reaching, somehow, the basic peace sentiments.... To ignore American sentiment, and even more to seek to analyse it in ethical or anti-colonial or other terms is today unrealistic. This nation is so sensitive to criticism that it finds everyone critical. Therefore one can only seek out the better side of them."

I have come back today after a visit to Chandigarh and Bhakra-Nangal, much impressed by what I saw. I shall be going to Allahabad day after tomorrow on a brief visit.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

15. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

As you know, Krishna Menon met President Eisenhower and others in Washington recently. He carried no message from us but discussed broadly many pending issues. Among these reference was made to Chinese citizens in US being allowed to return to China.

2. Later he was given to understand that State Department was considering announcement to effect that those Chinese in US who wish to return may do so. They do not expect many applications for return permits. Object obviously is to proclaim US generosity and in hope that it might lead to reciprocal action on part of Chinese Government unilaterally. But US announcement will be unilateral and not conditional.

3. While this is a relatively small matter, it will be step in right direction and might give opening for other steps to lessen tension.

4. Krishna Menon strongly recommends that without waiting for any announcement from Washington, Chinese Government would be well advised to release some American nationals in China, if not all the prisoners, such as four jet fliers who have not been tried and, if possible, some others also who have received minor sentences. If this is done as unilateral act of grace by Chinese Government before any American announcement, it would certainly produce considerable impact upon American public consideration of larger issues. The importance to China, morally and politically, of taking some such step prior to American announcement would be very great. There would be no sacrifice of any principle or any bargain. It would be pure act of grace and generosity.

1. New Delhi, 27 March 1955. JN Collection.

5. American announcement might well come very soon and perhaps before end of the month, though of course we cannot guarantee it and there might be delays.

6. I am conveying Krishna Menon's message as I have received it. I would add that I agree with his recommendations and feel that it would redound greatly to Chinese credit if this step was taken soon. Naturally I cannot interfere with Chou En-lai's judgment of the situation and he must act as he thinks best. But I would like him to give earnest consideration to this matter because I feel it would be helpful to China and also to cause of peace generally.

7. Please convey this message immediately to Chou En-lai. Care should be taken to keep this secret so that no leakages might occur.

16. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegram 101 of March 28th.²

2. It is absurd for anyone in China to think that India is falling in line with Britain since Eden's visit. In fact, events then and later have had the opposite effect upon us. I made that clear to Eden in regard to Bangkok conference and what was happening in China seas. Attitude of United States, more especially Dulles's statements, have been, in our opinion, objectionable and adding to tension. It is not our habit to shout needlessly.

3. I forwarded suggestion made by Krishna Menon for Chou En-lai's consideration as I thought this little act would strengthen China's position and have favourable reactions elsewhere. There is no question of our pressing him to do anything.

1. New Delhi, 29 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. Raghavan reported that as Chou En-lai was convalescing, he was conveying Nehru's message through Chang Han-fu. "Feel Chinese may not react sympathetically to suggestion.... Atmosphere at present one of silent anger.... Impression seems to be that India has more or less fallen into with Britain since Eden's visit", he added.

17. Talks with Chou En-lai¹

I referred to the case of the American airmen² in the course of my talk tonight with the Chinese PM. He said that he had already had a talk with Shri Krishna Menon on this subject some days ago. When I had sent my original message about the airmen, he was in hospital, but he had got it. They had practically decided to release them when the aircraft disaster took place. This roused deep and widespread feeling in China, and they postponed the release of the airmen.

2. I pointed out to him that there was little connection between the two matters, although I could understand the Chinese feeling over the disaster. Presuming that Chiang Kai-shek's agents were responsible for sabotaging the aircraft, it certainly did not follow that any American agents were involved. Even if some local American agent was involved, it did not follow at all that the American Government or any responsible US officer had any connection with this. Therefore, we should not connect the two.

3. I pointed out that release of these airmen, or at least some of them, would undoubtedly have good effect on American public opinion. In particular, now after the Bandung Conference, this step would have a good deal of effect.

4. Mr Chou En-lai said that he realised all this and would look into this matter again.....

1. Bandung, 23 April 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Four US airmen, shot down during the Korean war in late 1952 or early 1953, were in Chinese custody.

18. To Ali Sastroamidjojo¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

Your Ambassador² in Delhi has informed me that you are going to Peking. I am glad to hear this and I am taking advantage of Dr Palar going also to Peking to meet you, to send this letter through him. I am happy that you are going to Peking and will have the occasion to discuss various matters of high

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Lambertus Nicodemus Palar (b. 1902); Ambassador to India, 1953-56.

importance to all the countries of East and South-East Asia. I am sure that your visit will bear good result in promoting mutual understanding....

3. As you are likely to discuss with premier Chou En-lai the situation in Formosa and the China seas, I should like to tell you about Krishna Menon's visit to Peking. I think you will probably just miss him as he will be returning soon.

4. I have been rather chary of approaching the Chinese Government in any way in regard to the Formosa issue. On one or two occasions I forwarded to Chou En-lai messages from Sir Anthony Eden to which he replied. These messages were chiefly in connection with the American airmen who are in detention in China.³ About the Formosa issue as a whole I made no suggestion because it was a very difficult and delicate one and I was reluctant to interfere in any way.

5. In Bandung I had occasion to discuss various matters, but even there very little was said by Premier Chou or myself about Formosa. When Sir John Kotelawala suddenly suggested in public that the five Colombo powers should become some kind of trustees for Formosa, I was a little taken aback, as that seemed to me not a wise approach for any of us to take. The only possible good that one could perhaps do, I felt, was quite privately and informally to discuss matters in order to find out if it was possible to make any suggestion. Even this I was a little reluctant to do myself.

6. Krishna Menon, as you know, had been present during the Geneva Conference and he had met Premier Chou many times and had long talks in connection with Indo-China. As a matter of fact, in Bandung my talks with Premier Chou were largely in connection with Indo-China because of India's particular responsibility there. Krishna Menon also went to Premier Chou at Bandung to discuss various aspects of the Indo-China problems. Probably the conversation might have extended itself to the Formosa issue also. I was too busy with the Conference itself to keep in touch with these conversations between Krishna Menon and Premier Chou.

7. As I was saying goodbye to Premier Chou at Djakarta on my last day there, he suggested, rather suddenly and to my surprise, that he had invited Krishna Menon to go to Peking to have further talks. I replied to him that I would gladly agree to this. On arrival here, therefore, I arranged that Krishna Menon should go to Peking after he had finished some important work here.

8. I have had no report from Krishna Menon yet about his talks with Premier Chou.⁴ I take it that these talks concern themselves with Indo-China problems

3. On 30 May, Beijing Radio announced that the detained US airmen had been tried by a people's court on May 24, found guilty of 'acts of provocation' for intruding into Chinese air space and, ordered to be deported from China.

4. Krishna Menon was in Beijing from 11 to 21 May.

and also with the Formosa question. But I have no idea what they were. My own instructions to Krishna Menon were that he should have informal talks of an exploratory nature, the object being if possible to reduce the present tension between America and China. Previously Krishna Menon had met President Eisenhower and Mr Dulles in the US, when he was leading our delegation to the UN. I think that Krishna Menon conveyed to Premier Chou the gist of his talks in Washington and in New York.

9. I was anxious that it should not appear that Krishna Menon had gone there with any suggestions from us or any proposals in regard to Formosa, because in fact there were no proposals or suggestions. Also that he had not gone there in any capacity as a mediator. I presume he acted according to my instructions.

10. As I have said above, I do not know exactly what has happened in the course of these talks in Peking. But I doubt if anything solid has emerged as otherwise I would probably have been informed.

11. This is all the information I possess in this matter. This will not help you much, but at any rate this will make clear to you the background of Krishna Menon's visit to Peking. You will no doubt find out from Premier Chou himself what the position is in regard to these various problems.....

With all good wishes to you,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. Message to John Foster Dulles¹

Krishna Menon returned from Peking today and reported to me about his talks with Chou En-lai² and others. His visit there was at my request and in response to an invitation by the Chinese Government. The talks extended for several days and were informal and frank. It was agreed on both sides to keep them secret.

2. I believe we have made satisfactory progress in the efforts to: (a) find a

1. New Delhi, 27 May 1955. JN Collection. The message was sent through G.L. Mehta, Ambassador to the US.
2. Krishna Menon had talks with Chou En-lai in six sessions from 12 to 20 May.

basis for negotiations which can be accepted by both sides; (b) take steps to lower tensions and to create better climate for negotiations, (c) take steps and procedures prior to actual negotiations which would be helpful and lead up to them.

3. I would like to say that your talks with Krishna Menon in Washington last March had been an encouragement and they helped in making progress. Also more recent developments on both sides have assisted in finding way towards a peaceful approach.

4. After Krishna Menon's talks with you in Washington you were good enough to inform him that the United States Government had decided to remove restrictions on some 58 Chinese students. He reported this to me and also the impression he gained during his talks with you.

5. The Chinese Government have decided in response to our request and "as a first step" to release four of the United States airmen of the Fischer group. I believe this has definitely opened the way to further and final solution of the problem of the United States nationals detained in China. Given goodwill and continued efforts at lowering tension their release could be accomplished in a very short time.

6. Progress also now appears possible in regard to the maintenance of the climate of negotiations free from use of force. This represents a distinct gain.

7. The next step in this matter would appear to be conversations in Washington as exchange of views in regard to details of this matter of talks in Peking do not easily lend themselves to exchange of views by telegram. I hope arrangement for conversations in Washington can be made without much delay.

8. The position in regard to the four United States airmen should be treated as secret until an announcement is made by the Chinese Government on the evening of the 30th May. I have made this communication to you on that basis.

9. I have also made a communication to President Eisenhower conveying my views that hopeful position exists both in regard to the immediate issue and the basic problems. I would like to express the hope that progress now made and after discussion with you will lead to further and hopeful results.³

3. Such similarly worded messages with slight contextual variation were also sent to Anthony Eden, St Laurent and Lester Pearson, seeking their assistance in conveying to the US that helpful response to the initial progress achieved in Beijing would help to secure further results. "This will involve no sacrifice of principle and no commitment on the part of the US Government", Nehru stated in his message to St Laurent. In his message to Eden, Nehru also said, "The Chinese Government has also agreed and decided to facilitate visits of US nationals and others to see China for themselves with a view to encouraging good feeling. I think this is a helpful step and hope that this will meet with response."

20. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
May 28, 1955

My dear Krishna,

Thank you for your note and the record of your conversations with Chou En-lai.² It will naturally take me some time to read this detailed record. I should like to read it of course and I am glad you sent it to me.

I am surprised to read your note. How did you manage to get the idea that I considered your visit to Peking a partial failure? I think you have done an extraordinarily fine piece of work with very far-reaching consequences.

When you showed me your draft telegrams,³ I said that those particular drafts might not give a full impression to those people. That was inevitable because you could not go into greater detail in those drafts. Also I thought that some of the other matters you had mentioned, such as Americans being allowed to visit China, etc., would rather take away from the main results achieved. These main results are very considerable.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. In his note of 28 May, Menon wrote, "I have myself, as you will see from the notes, had the awareness of my poor powers of negotiation and advocacy which must account, from the impression I gained of your reactions, for the failure to obtain the release of all the prisoners. I mention this item because except for this, all the advance that is possible and indeed required has been obtained."

3. The reference is to the drafts of messages sent to Washington, London and Ottawa. See the preceding item.

III. INDO-CHINA

1. Talks with Norodom Sihanouk¹

Welcoming His Royal Highness the Prime Minister said that India and Cambodia had ancient ties going back for nearly 2,000 years. However, it was necessary now to look, not merely to the past but the present and, even more, to the future.

2. HRH replied that he and his people had always regarded India with admiration and felt that their hope for their future lay in the pursuit of the ideals placed by India before Asia. While he was King his Government had responded to India's call for Asian freedom and Asian unity and even though he has now abdicated he could assure the Prime Minister that there was to be no change in the position adopted by Cambodia.

3. The Prime Minister then explained India's domestic and foreign policies which, he said, in their totality constituted a positive policy of peace with independence. India's major domestic concern was the economic and social betterment of the people and this objective, apart from any other consideration, dictated a foreign policy directed to the maintenance of peace. The pursuit of this policy had brought India to a position where she was respected. Her voice in international affairs was heard and sometimes influenced the course of events. Since, however, India's foreign policy was not always understood, the Prime Minister wished to explain it clearly. The broad bases of India's foreign policy were described in what was now known as the Panchsheel. Broadly speaking, these meant respect among countries for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other and a policy of non-interference and non-aggression. It further implied equality between them. The Prime Minister was happy that a number of countries—China, Burma, Indonesia and Yugoslavia—had declared their adherence to these principles.

4. HRH expressed his approval and understanding of these principles.

5. The Prime Minister continued that after 200 to 250 years of foreign rule countries in Asia were now free, but they had to protect their freedom from renewed encroachments in future. India had maintained her independence and had not succumbed to any pressure from whatever countries it might have come.

1. Record of talks held at New Delhi, 17 March 1955. File No. 3(1) IC/55-MEA. Extracts.

6. India sought the friendship of all countries and was prepared to enter into treaties of friendship with them—in fact, a number of such treaties had been signed. India was not, however, prepared to enter into military alliances, because these implied hostility to some country or countries and thus increased the danger of war generally. Furthermore, such alliances made a country liable to aggression by the enemies of its allies: for example, the Prime Minister said that Pakistan which had entered into military liaison, if not alliance, with the USA, may in the event of war between the latter and the USSR find itself attacked by the Soviet Union.

7. Internally, the acceptance of foreign military assistance weakened a country; this was true of our neighbour Pakistan, whose acceptance of a military alliance had made for her dependence on the USA.

8. The Prime Minister said that he was most anxious that the Geneva Agreement be fully implemented. This agreement had averted the danger of the local war in Indo-China developing into a general world war. It was important to realise that the Geneva Agreement had been reached because the USA and the UK on the one side and China on the other feared that the Indo-China area might fall into the hands of the other side and thus constitute a threat to their own security. It was, therefore, decided to guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of the Indo-China countries. Clearly the safety of these countries lay in scrupulously maintaining their sovereignty and independence which might be compromised by the acceptance of foreign military aid or alliance.

9. HRH said he fully agreed with the Prime Minister on the dangers of foreign military alliances and the advisability of a policy of non-involvement. Cambodia did and would cooperate fully to carry out the Geneva Agreement.

10. The Prime Minister referred to the statement made by HRH during his brief halt in Calcutta and said he thought that without saying so HRH had implied that there was a tussle between the Americans and the French in Cambodia with regard to the training of the Cambodian army.

11. HRH confirming this said that his Government was greatly embarrassed by this tussle and in fact found itself in great difficulties.

12. The Prime Minister commented that the French were a retiring colonial power; the USA, however, was a rich, powerful and advancing country. One feared, he said, that through her aid the USA might acquire too strong a foothold and might gradually entrench herself strongly in countries to which she gave military aid. The Prime Minister referred to similar developments as a result of US aid in Turkey, Thailand and even in England. He said that it was important that underdeveloped countries in Asia did not come under the domination of any other country, whether communist or non-communist.

13. The Prime Minister then referred to the imminent Asian-African

Conference as an historic event. The meeting of different types of countries would bring them nearer each other and would make clear to other countries that Asian and African countries wanted freedom and social progress. He said he did not know whether Cambodia was going to attend the Conference, but hoped that it would do so.

14. HRH replied that Cambodia would attend the Conference and that he himself was considering leading the Cambodian delegation. The Prime Minister expressed great pleasure at this decision and said that he was looking forward to meeting HRH the Prince at Bandung.

15. The Prime Minister asked HRH if he had any particular problems he wished to discuss. HRH said that Cambodia had no major problem except one. This is that the Cambodian Government found it impossible to balance its budget and to maintain its army and, therefore, it was forced to seek economic assistance which was being offered by the USA.

16. The Prime Minister said that economic assistance by itself was neither bad nor undesirable. It became so if:

- (a) it was subject to conditions—implicit or explicit—infringing upon the country's sovereignty and independence;
- (b) the amount of foreign aid was so large in proportion to the country's own economic capacity as to make the receiving country's economy subsidiary or secondary to that of the donor country.

India herself had accepted economic aid but without any strings attached to it and amounting to only a very small percentage of her own economic capacity and programme. The Prime Minister here stressed the importance of self-reliance because he said that like an individual a country that always leaned on crutches could never stand on its own feet and march forward.

17. The Prime Minister then briefly referred to India's domestic policy. The objective, he said, was economic and social development of the country and the Government had been directing its full energies to drawing up plans towards this end. Politically India had fully accepted the democratic form of government.

18. HRH said that he fully appreciated the importance of a progressive economic and social programme, as well as that of political freedom. In fact, he said, he had tried to follow India's example. In proof of this he said that although he had now abdicated, he had advised the present government that in the next elections in Cambodia the opposition groups should be allowed to exercise the vote like anyone else. He went on to say that just before his abdication and after the recent referendum, the people of Cambodia had come in their thousands to request him that he should set up an absolute monarchy

which they preferred to the kind of democracy they had suffered hitherto. Under the existing form of government the power rested with the privileged classes whose corruption continued to grow. HRH said that while he was convinced that there must be true democracy in Cambodia, he had to condemn the powers and privileges of the existing ruling classes. He said he wanted the franchise to go to masses so that they could judge their rulers.

19. The Prime Minister said that democracy was always a risk. In India some people were still very backward and we had primitive people, even head-hunters. Nevertheless, we had gone forward with democracy. We had also not been afraid of communist subversion. In South India, the communists were strong, but in the recent Andhra elections government faced them in the open. They were free to campaign, make speeches and criticise the Government. On both sides there was full freedom to try and win the hearts of the people. The result was that it was the government party who succeeded in winning the hearts of the people, as the people recognised that the government's policies were for their benefit and furthermore they were impressed by the fairness of the elections in which the communists enjoyed, equally with others, the full exercise of their fundamental rights of franchise and free speech.

20. As regards the internal situation in Cambodia the Prime Minister said that it would not be proper for him to make any comments. He would, however, touch on some broad aspects. There were today powerful internal forces in Asia: Firstly, there was the urge for freedom from colonial rule; secondly, there was the urge for social reform and betterment. In short there was ferment everywhere. We must understand and direct these forces. If we failed, others would control them. In China the communists assumed the direction of these forces. In India, the Congress, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, managed to canalise and direct those forces in a different direction.

21. In Cambodia so long as the French were there the communists could pose as liberators, but if a nationalist movement took control of the freedom forces, the wind would be taken out of the communists' sails. HRH pointed out that in Cambodia it was the royal government and not the communists who had fought the colonial rule of the French.

22. The Prime Minister replied that the position of HRH in Cambodia was so strong because HRH led the struggle for freedom against the French. That struggle, however, was now over; the new struggle would be on the social plane and the the extent HRH took the lead in social democracy also, his position would be even stronger. HRH said that he fully agreed with the necessity of a progressive social and economic programme in order to fight the communists and he had advised the present government accordingly. HRH emphasised that in all such matters his country would follow India's example.

The Prime Minister stated that India had no desire to lead other countries but only to be their colleague and friend.

2. Non-military Assistance to Cambodia¹

.... We sent a message to Phnom Penh, Cambodia, yesterday in which we vaguely said that we would be prepared to help to the best of our capacity. The more I think of this, the more alarmed I feel at the prospect of undertaking these responsibilities. In particular, I am quite clear that we cannot undertake any military burden, that is, giving help to the military budget. Apart from the sums² involved, on principle we should not do it. I have mentioned our sending a military mission. That we might perhaps do. But if we are asked to give money for military equipment, we cannot do so.

4. We are likely to have these demands from other countries in Indo-China. We must, therefore, be very careful about our first step. It is dangerous to get entangled in this way in financial as well as political commitments, not to mention military.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 29 March 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Referring to Cambodia's requirement of \$ 30 million annually for the defence budget and an equivalent amount for new equipment, Nehru, in a note to Commonwealth Secretary on 28 March, said, "These are sums completely beyond one's ken. We can neither give these sums nor supply equipment."

3. Talks with Pham Van Dong¹

The Prime Minister said that he had received reports from various quarters that arms and ammunition, as well as other warlike material was being supplied to the two northern provinces.² This had created the impression that forces in this area were inclined to or meant for aggression. He had received one such report from Mr Eden, and although the latter's impression and facts might

1. Summary of talks with Pham Van Dong, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, New Delhi, 9 April 1955. File No. 2(2)-IC/56, Vol. 1, MEA.
2. Under the Geneva Agreement, Pathet Lao was given the two north-eastern provinces of Phongsaly and Sam-Neua.

be exaggerated, the fact remained that an undesirable impression had been created.

2. He felt that the position adopted by Katay was wrong, as were certain statements made by him. Katay had gone to Bangkok before the SEATO conference, but had not met Mr Eden who had never had any desire to meet the head of the Laos Government. The Prime Minister continued that he knew that there was American interference in and pressure on Laos, and also that neither the Americans nor some elements in Laos favoured the Geneva Agreement. Nevertheless, they, that is the US, had accepted the Geneva Agreement, and could not publicly disavow it; nor could the Government of Laos. Therefore, no opportunity should be given to them for alleging violations of the agreement in the northern provinces.

3. Regarding Vietnam, Prime Minister said that since the North Vietnam Democratic Republic wanted to fulfil the Geneva Agreement, and to have elections, the initiative should come from them. The best way would be to have direct talks with the South Vietnam Government, and make reasonable proposals to them. They could not afford to refuse them. The Prime Minister added that his information was that the USA was more and more inclined to fulfil the Geneva Agreement.

4. India's policy of non-alignment had brought about fairly widespread recognition of her impartiality. This had a two-fold result: first, India could use her influence with certain countries such as the UK, Canada and sometimes even the USA; secondly, more and more countries appreciated India's policy and its worth.

5. So far as Indo-China was concerned, India was anxious to see the early and complete fulfilment of the Geneva Agreement; she had used her influence to this end, and would continue to do so. She could, however, not do so effectively in an atmosphere full of fear and suspicion created by incidents, however small and paltry. She could not do so when one side could allege foreign alignments and entanglements of the other. We know there was US pressure in Laos, which created fear in the northern provinces; but, there were also suggestions that the northern provinces inclined towards China, and this made the South apprehensive.

6. Recently a Cambodian delegation had visited India,³ and had expressed its appreciation of India's policy of non-alignment. It had told us that Cambodia would try and follow a similar policy but that it was hindered in so doing by reason of foreign pressure. Similar views had been expressed by some other governments; and even the Government of Laos. This all showed that

3. A Cambodian delegation headed by Norodom Sihanouk and Prime Minister M. Leng Ngeta was in Delhi from 16 to 24 March 1955 on a goodwill visit.

people who saw the right path, were prevented from taking it due to circumstances.

7. The North Vietnam Democratic Republic could help itself and India in her efforts, by ensuring that circumstances in the northern provinces were such that no one could say that there were breaches of the Geneva Agreement by the rearming of forces in the northern provinces, and by using their good offices with the Pathet Lao⁴ not to give any ground for suspicion that they were under Chinese influence. India herself had no misgivings regarding China with whom she had the friendliest relations.

8. Mr Pham Van Dong said that he agreed with the policy and suggestions made by the Prime Minister. He had already made clear to Mr Krishna Menon that his Government fully accepted the Geneva Agreement.

9. India had a vital and definite role to play in Indo-China where she must counterbalance and neutralise American influence.

10. The Prime Minister welcomed Mr Pham Van Dong's plan to have direct talks with the Katay government, and added that he had received a message from the leader of the Pathet Lao that he wished to come to Bandung as an observer and meet the Prime Minister there. The Prime Minister had expressed his willingness to meet him in Bandung, but had pointed out that there are to be no observers at the Conference.

11. Mr Pham Van Dong expressed his pleasure at this, and made the suggestion that perhaps he and Katay should meet in Bandung in the presence of the Prime Minister; the Prime Minister said he had no objection to this.

Vietnam

1. The Prime Minister said the main problem was that of elections. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam wanted the elections, whereas there was not the same desire in the South. If the Democratic Republic of Vietnam took the initiative, and made reasonable proposals, he felt that the southern government could not refuse them. If it did so, it would be publicly exposed as the party in the wrong. He, therefore, advised Mr Pham Van Dong to initiate direct talks with the South Vietnam.

2. Mr Pham Van Dong expressed his agreement with this view, but reiterated the necessity of a desire for agreement from the other side. He said that the difficulty was not so much of accepting certain general principles, but in working out the details which would allow these principles to be put into practice. These details, he said, he would discuss with Mr Krishna Menon.

4. Forces opposed to the Royal Government in Laos, and headed by Prince Souphonau Wong.

4. To R.G. Casey¹

New Delhi
April 13, 1955

My dear Mr Casey,²

Thank you for your letter of April 6, which I have read with interest.

I entirely agree with you that it is important that the states of Indo-China should maintain their integrity and independence. In fact that was the basis of the Geneva Agreement. The only way to maintain this basis is for no external party to interfere, because if one does so, the other makes this an excuse for its own interference.

We have got a Minister now at Phnom Penh and Consuls General at Hanoi, Saigon and Vientiane.

It is rather difficult for me to say what is going to happen at the Bandung Conference, because there are no precedents to guide us and the countries represented there are of all shades of opinion. My own personal view is that we should consider broad issues and general principles rather than specific controversial matters.

Obviously there can be no question of our giving military aid to any of the Indo-China countries. We are not in a position to do so. But, apart from that, it would be odd for us to give military aid to any country, having regard to our general policy. But it might be possible for us to give aid in some other ways, more especially in certain technical or administrative personnel, if required.

The future of Indo-China appears to rest on the fulfilment of the Geneva Agreement. If this is implemented, then avenues of settlement open out. If, however, this is not done, then a dangerous situation might face us again. Every party concerned expresses its adherence to the Geneva Agreement and its desire to implement it. But I cannot say if there are any mental reservations about this.

I had a visit from the ex-King of Cambodia and also the Foreign Minister of North Vietnam.³ Both of them assured me with some vigour that they would try their utmost to implement the Geneva Agreement. The Foreign Minister of South Vietnam Government was also going to come to Delhi, but owing to the outbreak of internal troubles at Saigon, he could not come. In fact, he is no longer Foreign Minister now. I am afraid the state of affairs in South Vietnam is deplorable. There is no cohesion and no one quite knows what authority governs the place. I must say that I cannot get over the fact that a man like

1. JN Collection.

2. (1890-1976); Minister for External Affairs, Australia, 1951-60.

3. Norodom Sihanouk and Pham Van Dong respectively.

Bao Dai⁴ is supposed to be the head of the state and that he functions from the Riviera. How such a person can inspire any confidence in his people, is more than I can understand.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. (b. 1913); President of North Vietnam, 1949-55.

5. Talks with Chou En-lai and U Nu¹

I had a talk with Premier Chou En-lai and Premier U Nu this afternoon. This was at the instance of U Nu who specially wanted to discuss Laos and Cambodia.

2. When Mr Dulles visited Rangoon, after the Bangkok conference² I think, U Nu had a talk with him and suggested that it would be far better if any kind of aid, civil or military, that might be given to Laos and Cambodia should be organised by India and not by the US or France. If either the US or France sent their personnel, this would no doubt be objected to by the other parties. So also if China gave the aid. Mr Dulles had agreed with this proposal. U Nu had pointed out to him that India could not be invited to give this aid in personnel or otherwise unless the Americans and the French completely withdrew. He had also pointed out that India could not afford to spend much money over it. He appears to have hinted that the money could come from the US provided India was in charge of it.

3. I said that India was reluctant to get entangled in these matters which were very embarrassing. But if circumstances required India's association, we would not say 'no' provided always that all the parties concerned were agreeable to this and invited India, and provided also that no great burden fell on India. We could send some technical personnel or administrative personnel. We would rather not have anything to do with military matters but again, if necessary, we could send a small mission for training purposes as we had done in Nepal. We would not like to give any arms free on principle. We had sold some arms and equipment to other countries in the normal course, but to supply arms free had

1. Minutes of talks, Bandung, 25 April 1955. JN Collection.

2. Dulles visited Yangon (Rangoon) for a day on 26 February 1955.

another significance and I did not like it. Also, I did not like at all the idea that we should merely be the agents to spend money provided by America for this purpose. This would be an embarrassing position.

4. Premier Chou said that he quite agreed that to provide arms free would be embarrassing. He added that whatever arms and equipment they had got from the Soviet Union, had been paid for by them or was being paid for. In fact, this had been a large drain on them and they were still in debt, paying every year.

5. U Nu said they must have spent a large sum of money in the Korean war. Premier Chou agreed that it was a huge sum but it was far less than what the US spent there, probably about one-seventh of the US expenditure in Korea. He added that, according to US official reports, they had spent about twenty billion dollars in Korea. (According to this calculation, China spent about three billion dollars, which is a very large sum).

6. Premier Chou said that, according to the Geneva Agreement, Cambodia was permitted to import arms, equipment and personnel from abroad, but it was not specified to what extent they could do so. He had, therefore, suggested to Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia to assess how much Cambodia would require and to send this information to the Indian Chairman³ of the International Commission. He would like the Chairman to keep China informed of this. Indeed, all the concerned countries should be informed, that is, presumably, the nine countries. The quantity required should be for self-defence purposes only, and this should be the test applied.

7. I said that this procedure might be employed by Cambodia in regard to other kinds of help required by it.

8. Premier Chou said that after the Bangkok conference, he had sent an aide memoire to Sir Anthony Eden. In his reply, Eden had mentioned three points: (1) there should be no attempt to build foreign bases in Indo-China, (2) there should be no military alliance of any outside power with any of these states, and (3) in South Vietnam, military training must not result in bringing in additional arms, equipment or military personnel.

9. Premier Chou said that the statement of Eden was important but he had some doubts about the introduction of military personnel from outside. Also,

3. G. Parthasarathi (1912-1995); diplomat and statesman; assistant editor, *The Hindu*, 1936-49; chief editor of PTI, Mumbai, 1952-54; Chairman, International Commission for Supervision and Control, Cambodia and later Vietnam, 1954-57 and 1961-62; Ambassador, to Indonesia, 1957-58, and to China, 1958-61; High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1962-65; Permanent Representative to the UN, 1965-69; founding Vice-Chancellor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1969-74; Chairman, Policy Planning Committee, MEA, 1975-77 and 1984; Chairman, ICSSR, 1980-90; Political adviser to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, 1981; Chairman, Policy Advisory Committee, Cabinet Secretariat, 1986.

he would like to know if in replacement of equipment, heavy weapons were being given instead of light weapons. Could the Indian Chairman of the Commission enquire about this?

10. In Laos, the position was somewhat different and, according to the Geneva Agreement, one French base was allowed, and also training by the French might continue. It was not possible to do away with this, but it was made perfectly clear that no other base should be allowed. The Prime Minister of Laos had told Premier Chou that he had no intention of allowing any other base and, further, that he would not join in any military alliance. He would abide by the Geneva Agreement. He was, however, dependent on French aid.

11. It was mentioned by me that the Americans and the French in Indo-China were pulling in different directions, and the Americans were trying to push out the French and take their place. Premier Chou said that replacement of French by Americans would be against the Geneva Agreement. Even in Laos, though a French base could continue, no Americans should have a base or should replace the French. If the US gave help in any way to Cambodia, or to Laos, this would lead, later, to greater intervention and difficulties.

12. He added that he was anxious that Cambodia and Laos should remain peaceful and neutral on the same lines as India and Burma. He would have liked to see Thailand in the same position but this was not possible under the present circumstances as it was tied up with the US. Nevertheless, the new contacts with Thailand were helpful.

13. U Nu said that we should ask the French to withdraw from Laos. I pointed out that this might well produce difficulties and, if the French withdrew, the Americans might help in. Besides, it was not for us to ask the French. It was for the Laos Government.

14. Premier Chou agreed with me and said that the first thing to be done was for some agreement to be arrived at between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao. Once this was done, the internal conflicts would be removed, and the Laos Government could ask the French to withdraw.

15. I said that I had had a visit from Pham Van Dong this morning, and he had told me that he was going to meet Premier Katay of Laos, to discuss these matters further, and he would try to meet the head of the Pathet Lao, and that he hoped that there would be an agreement.

16. Premier Chou said that the statement made by U Nu to Dulles was very good, but he would like to have further details and to be sure what Dulles meant.

17. I pointed out that it would not be desirable for us to take the initiative in this matter of India coming into the picture in regard to aid. This would appear as if we were pushing ourselves in. If the matter came to us through the proper channel, we could consider it within the limitations I have suggested.

6. Talks with Chou En-lai and U Nu¹

I had a further talk with Premier Chou En-lai and U Nu this afternoon about Laos and Cambodia. I said that what Dulles had said to U Nu, he had also said to Shri Krishna Menon, that is, about India helping Laos and Cambodia. Eden had said something to that effect to me also. It seemed to me, however, that both the USA and the UK were not quite clear in their minds on this subject and it was possible that they might not be so eager now to put forward their proposal as they were previously. Anyhow, I said that the initiative must come from Cambodia or Laos. India had already explained its position.

2. U Nu said that the proposal had come from Dulles himself. He (U Nu) had not suggested it and Dulles was quite clear on the subject at the time. In fact, U Nu had not yet sent a reply to Dulles and he wanted to do so now.

3. Premier Chou agreed that probably the USA and the UK were vacillating but it might be desirable for China, India and Burma to address them on this subject so as to clarify matters.

4. I said that this kind of a joint or separate approach of the three to the USA and the UK might not be suitable. It was easy for me to communicate with Sir Anthony Eden and make our position clear. I could also write to Cambodia and confirm what I had orally told them. U Nu could send an answer to Dulles on similar lines.

5. I added that there should be no misunderstanding of the position so far as India was concerned. India was reluctant to take any additional responsibilities in foreign countries but, in the interest of peace, she was prepared to help to the extent of her ability but there could be no question of India being able to spend large sums of money and certainly she could not undertake to cover the deficits of the Cambodian budget. The most she could do was to send some technical or administrative personnel to help Cambodia. In regard to the military aspect, if she was asked to do so by all parties concerned, she might agree to send a team of about two hundred officers and men to train the Cambodian army. This was the utmost we could do and we would only undertake this if Cambodia asked us to do so and the other powers concerned were agreeable.

6. Premier Chou was not much concerned with the economic side or the sending of technical personnel. He was chiefly interested in the military aspect because he did not want American or French military teams to be sent to Cambodia or Laos. He agreed to the suggestion I had made. So did U Nu....

8. One point that U Nu wished to mention especially in his letter to Dulles

1. Minutes of talks, Bandung, 26 April 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

was that if India undertook this work, there would be no apprehension in the minds of others.

9. While Laos was mentioned to begin with, the real talk was about Cambodia. I pointed out that the Americans have already made an offer to the Cambodian Government about helping in various ways including military. Cambodia had not agreed to this because of various political strings attached and had made a counter-suggestion. This had been sent to the US Government and Cambodia was awaiting a reply. Probably the reply would come soon if it had not already come.

7. Message to Anthony Eden¹

... You will remember that when you came to Delhi you discussed with me the position in Cambodia and suggested that India might assist Cambodia in various ways. This would probably be acceptable to other countries concerned and might relieve tension in that area.

3. Subsequently the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, told me that Mr Dulles had made the same suggestion to him. U Nu had replied that he would consult me about it, but he had added that India could hardly accept any responsibility in Cambodia unless the American and French forces withdrew.

4. U Nu has spoken to me about this as he wished to send an answer to Mr Dulles. I have told him that India is reluctant to assume any further responsibilities in foreign countries. Our resources and capacity are limited and such obligations abroad often prove very embarrassing. However, I said that if the wider interest of peace so required it, the Government of India might be prepared to help, within the limits of their capacity, provided Cambodia asked for such help and the powers concerned were agreeable to it. In particular, I mentioned the USA, the UK, the Soviet Union and China.

5. As for India's capacity to help, I made it clear that India was not in a position to give any financial help. India could, however, send some technical or administrative personnel. India could also undertake, if so invited to do so, and with the consent of the others concerned, to send a military mission or team of about two hundred officers and men for the purpose of training the Cambodian army.

6. This was mentioned to the Prime Minister of China and he expressed his opinion to the proposal that India might help Cambodia in the way indicated.

1. New Delhi, 29 April 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

He said that this would remove apprehensions on both sides. U Nu mentioned this also to Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia. He said that he would gladly welcome any help from India. He added, however, that he was carrying on some correspondence with the US authorities on the subject of aid. The matter was not pursued any further by U Nu.

7. I am sending this message to you merely for your personal information to clarify India's attitude in this matter. It is likely that U Nu will communicate with Mr Dulles on the subject on the lines indicated above.

8. Message to U Nu¹

You will remember our talk about India offering some help to Cambodia....

4. Regarding our sending military mission for training, Cambodian Government, after thanking me, say that French military mission is already there and no other country has thus far sent any military instructors to Cambodia. United States are giving them military aid in materials with small military personnel attached to their diplomatic mission for purpose of controlling use of this material. Cambodian Government is reluctant to have any other country, except the French, who are already there, to send military personnel. If, however, later necessity arises, they would consider our offer.

5. This in brief is their reply. It appears that Cambodian Government have already signed American military aid agreement. We have not seen terms of this agreement and it is being kept confidential for the present.²

6. You will appreciate that in these circumstances we cannot take any further step at present.

1. New Delhi, 19 May 1955. JN Collection. The message was sent through the Indian Ambassador in Yangon, Myanmar. Extracts.
2. The Indian Mission in Phnom Penh cabled New Delhi on 14 May that Cambodia-US agreement was likely to cover budgetary grants and additional weapons and equipment and would stipulate an assessment mission of 35 US Army officers. The Mission further cabled New Delhi on 19 May that the aim of the forthcoming American Military aid to Cambodia was stated to be the preservation of independence of Cambodia and her defence and security. For this purpose US would give Cambodia an unspecified amount of equipment and war materials. Also the US would provide military assistance and an advisory group of officers attached to US Embassy at Phnom Penh.

IV. NUCLEAR POLICY

1. The Need for Non-proliferation¹

Mr Nehru said that Sir Winston Churchill had given an impressive account of the possibilities and horrors of the thermonuclear weapon. He had not, however, suggested any positive means of preventing those horrors from coming about. Must the world hover always on the brink of disaster? Or was there not something that could be done to prevent it? He had heard it said that even the experimental explosion of hydrogen bombs could release enough radioactive material to affect the atmosphere over a large part of the world. If it came to war and many of these bombs were exploded, the question of parity of power would be of little moment if, as seemed likely, so much radioactive material was released that people all over the world would be gravely affected by it. The value of such a weapon as a deterrent should be weighed against these terrible consequences.

Though he had no detailed knowledge of Soviet achievements in this field, his general information suggested that the Russians had great numbers of scientists at work on it and had made great progress. However that might be, the difference between the two sides was not now very great, and to this extent saturation might perhaps be said to have been reached already. He recognised that no great country could take the risk of leaving herself powerless in the face of such a threat, and it had to be assumed that, if major war occurred, any country would use all the weapons available to it. The conclusions to which this reasoning led him were, first, that we should seek to ban the use of such weapons, and even experimental explosions; and, secondly, that we must seek to ban the occasion for their use in war—we must, in fact, try to outlaw war altogether.

In the past wars had been fought and risks taken of which the results could not be foreseen; now the terrible results of war were known in advance. As nuclear bombs became relatively easier and cheaper to make, the danger would increase that smaller countries might possess them, and we should

1. Minutes of the third meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 2 February 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

then live in constant apprehension that some irresponsible country would be in a position to set fire to the world. It was therefore necessary to develop and mobilise a strong world opinion against the possibility of war and the use of nuclear weapons. The growth of the knowledge that the use of nuclear weapons would not achieve the results desired by an aggressor would greatly help.

It would be neither practicable nor right to limit the progress of scientific research, but atomic research should be steered as far as possible towards peaceful uses. In this direction, the United Kingdom had probably gone further than any other country. Countries like India with small resources were trying to develop reactors for peaceful purposes, and on the whole were making good progress. In the undeveloped countries the production of additional sources of power was of even more importance than it was in the United Kingdom....

Mr Nehru said that he had not advocated unilateral disarmament. But recent developments had made the need for disarmament so great that despite all its difficulties it must be tackled; for the consequences of a nuclear war were worse than any of these difficulties. He understood that no thermo-nuclear explosion could take place without it being possible for scientists throughout the world to record it. Would not this furnish an opportunity for providing a suitable measure of control which might make disarmament possible? While conventional systems of control were needed for conventional weapons, might not the hydrogen bomb be susceptible to new methods of controls?...

2. Consequences of Nuclear Warfare¹

For many months past, Lord Bertrand Russell² has been suggesting that India should take the lead in having an objective analysis made of the consequences of the use of nuclear, thermonuclear and other weapons of mass

1. Note to Cabinet, 2 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. (1872-1970); philosopher, mathematician and writer; and an energetic campaigner for nuclear disarmament.

destruction.³ As a matter of fact, a suggestion of this kind was made on behalf of India in the United Nations more than a year ago.⁴

2. I think that it will be desirable for us to take some steps quite independently of Lord Russell's proposal. It is obvious that such a step can only be taken by some neutral country and India is best suited for this task. It is true that an adequate report on this subject can only be made by those who have actually manufactured or are manufacturing thermonuclear weapons, and there is no one in India who has that direct knowledge. We can, therefore, only proceed not on that direct knowledge, but on such indirect knowledge and information as is available. I think that in this task we will be helped by some at least of those who have direct knowledge, though we cannot expect to be given any information which is of a secret nature.

3. I suggest, therefore, that we might agree to the appointment of a commission on behalf of the Government of India with this purpose in view. I enclose a draft of the statement⁵ that might be issued on behalf of the Government of India in this connection. This is a rough draft which can be carefully revised, if this is considered necessary. I should like Cabinet to approve of this proposal so that we can then consider the personnel of such a commission as well as other details.

4. I do not think that this commission should take more than about four or five months at the most to report. Most of this time will be spent in correspondence and in collection of material. Once the material is collected, the actual writing of the report should not take more than a few weeks. I do not think, however, that any time limit need be fixed.

5. As for the personnel, I think that we should have a very prominent public figure as chairman. We would inevitably have one of our leading nuclear scientists, Dr Homi Bhabha.⁶ In addition, we should have, perhaps, a bacteriologist, a chemist and a person with knowledge of air warfare.

3. During Nehru's visit to London in February 1955, Russell had suggested that a commission appointed by an uncommitted nation, preferably India, and consisting of experts in the fields of atomic energy, genetics, agronomy, air warfare, etc., should undertake such a study. The commission should submit a report of its findings, based on published and non-classified evidence, to its own government which should publish it for the general benefit of mankind.

4. Asking S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, to be chairman of an investigatory commission that he contemplated forming, Nehru wrote to him on 22 February, "This matter has been before us for over a year. I did not at first attach much importance to it, but I think there might be something in the proposal."

5. See the next page.

6. (1909-1966): Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, Government of India, 1949-66, and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, 1954-66. On 22 February 1955 Nehru asked Bhabha to organise the proposed commission.

Draft Statement

Much concern is felt in our country, and in the world as a whole, about the consequences of war, in which weapons of mass destruction would be employed, to population and countries, and indeed to the human race and civilisation. It is, therefore, desirable and reasonable that the people of our country and the world should have available to them a truthful account and an objective estimate of such consequences, in so far as it is possible with the knowledge available at present, in order that their opinions and judgement may be instructed by truth and knowledge and their sentiments may become directed to these problems as well as to the alternatives to war as a method of settling and resolving international disputes and differences.

2. These instruments of mass destruction include the nuclear and thermonuclear, biological, chemical and guided weapons. Their range, quantity and potency increase day by day. The tensions in the world and armed preparedness as the means to resolve them remain the basic factor of world politics. The danger that war can break out, despite desires to avoid it, cannot therefore be excluded from our realistic considerations.

3. The Government of India consider that an objective and factual survey of this problem in its several aspects and based on all the available material and such information as may be obtained from reliable sources, would assist to form world opinion and thus make a contribution to world peace and cooperation.

4. Such study must be essentially scientific in approach, without any desire or attempt to allocate or apportion blame or responsibility or to prescribe remedial policies in respect of governments. It must follow the dictates of truth and objectivity without deviation and be free from bias and propaganda.

5. The Government of India have, therefore, decided to appoint a commission consisting of ... to carry out this examination and study and report to the Government as soon as possible, having due regard to the urgency of matter and the time required to collect and assess the data.

6. The task of the commission is set out in general in the preceding paragraph, but it is enjoined to consider more specifically:

- (a) The consequences of modern war, including the effect of the utilisation of nuclear, thermonuclear, biological, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction;
- (b) the consequences of experiments and tests of the weapons of mass destruction to human and other forms of life;
- (c) the effect on our civilisation, particularly on children and adolescents, of the conditions and consequences of the present state of war preparedness in the modern world.

3. To Homi J. Bhabha¹

New Delhi
March 11, 1955

My dear Homi,

Your letter of March 8 about the proposal to have a commission to investigate the consequences of modern war, etc.² I have read it carefully. I am much impressed by what you say about yourself and I certainly do not want to add to your burdens or to delay setting up of the research reactor by the end of this year and a second large reactor by the end of 1956.³

This is so. On the other hand, from the larger point of view, I am becoming more and more convinced that it would not only be a desirable thing but a big thing from the point of view of world peace, for us to have some such commission. I realise fully that it cannot produce anything wonderful. But even what it can do will have a marked effect.

If we have such a commission, it will be a very noticeable gap if you are not in it. People will think that we do not attach enough importance to this work. Otherwise why should we leave out our leading nuclear scientist?

What then are we to do? I consulted Dr Radhakrishnan who was of the same opinion. He wrote to me: "I understand his difficulties. But without him the commission would lose a great deal of its importance. He should be included." I sent for Kothari.⁴ He was perfectly willing and even enthusiastic about this matter. In fact I have asked him to start collecting material. He told me very positively that such a commission without you was not worth having.

1. JN Collection.
2. Bhabha wrote that an international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy to be held in Geneva in August 1955 under his chairmanship would be considering scientifically some of the problems which the proposed commission was intended to consider. Therefore Government might wait for its results before appointing the commission. Although he found the task well worth doing, he thought that a commission of the type envisaged would not be in a position to accomplish much as those possessing the required information would be prepared to share it only to a limited extent. He added that his own views coincided with the views of the British scientists, Blackett and Oliphant, with whom he had discussed Russell's proposal. Bhabha further stated that much of the information that was necessary was not yet known to any one in the world.
3. Bhabha begged to be excused from being a member of the commission as he was so overburdened, though he would be available for discussion whenever the commission desired to consult him.
4. Daulat Singh Kothari (1906-1993); Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence, Government of India, 1948-61.

I repeat, then what are we to do. I think that there is a way out. We need not think in terms of finishing this work quickly. It may go on for some time and in fact it may go beyond your August conference in Geneva. You need not give much time to it. You have already suggested that you would be available for consultation. Give that much time to it and ask other people to work under your general directions. Our Defence Science Department aided by some of your young men will take it in hand. This will save you time and trouble. Later when all this material has been collected and classified, you can be consulted again for further directions.⁵

You would be coming here soon and I expect to see you then. But you are coming when the ex-King of Cambodia is going to descend upon us. I understand that Oliphant⁶ would be coming with you. I should like to meet him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Bhabha also expressed the view, in his letter of 8 March, that a ban on the use of atomic and thermonuclear weapons would not conjure these weapons away and might even lead to a sense of false security, increasing the chance of a nation embarking on a conventional or local war. There was, however, a strong case for banning the use of tactical atomic weapons to prevent the chance of a local war developing into an all out war. Bhabha further stated that the development of technology would inevitably lead to and compel the eventual establishment of peace, and law and order over the entire world, and all that might remain would be local wars or disorders. He added that the development of thermonuclear weapons "has already brought us to the stage where no great power would consider an all out war as an instrument of policy. What is, therefore, necessary is not the banning of weapons of mass destruction, but making known to all the full implications of their use, so that the peoples of the world everywhere may be moved to press their governments to come to an agreement leading to the abolition of all war."
6. Mark Laurence Elwin Oliphant (1901-2000); Director, Department of Physics, Birmingham University, 1937-50; worked on Manhattan project in the US, 1943-45; Director, post-graduate Research School of Physical Sciences, Australian National University, 1950-63; first President, Australian Academy of Science, 1954-56; Professor of Physics of Ionised Gases, Institute for Advanced Studies, ANU, 1964-67 and 1968-71; Governor of South Australia, 1971-76. Oliphant, in the post World War II years, strongly argued against US monopoly of atomic secrets and designed a proton-synchrotron for the Australian government.

4. Appointment of an Investigatory Committee¹

For some time past we have been considering the advisability of setting up a commission on behalf of the Government of India which might undertake an objective analysis of the consequences of the use of nuclear, thermonuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In fact, I had prepared a draft statement² which might be issued by Government if this proposal was agreed to.

2. On subsequent consideration of this problem, it was felt that it would be desirable to have a private investigation on the lines indicated and not a public commission. It may be that later we might appoint a formal commission for the purpose.

3. For the present, however, it is proposed to have this enquiry conducted quietly and without fuss and, as far as possible, avoiding any publicity. This would mean, the collection of such available knowledge and information in books and periodicals, etc., and also such as can be obtained from leading scientists who have been dealing with these questions. It will obviously be not possible to get secret information. But I think that there is enough information available for us to be able to form some picture of these consequences of modern war.

4. Cabinet have authorised me to take such steps as I consider necessary to have this private enquiry made. This would include the appointment of any staff which may be required.

5. It seems to me that the Defence Science Department is particularly suited for this purpose. Dr Kothari should, therefore, be asked especially to undertake this work. I should like to associate two other leading scientists, namely Dr Homi Bhabha and Dr Khanolkar,³ head of the cancer institute in Bombay. Thus we can have a small committee consisting of Dr Homi Bhabha, Dr Khanolkar and Dr Kothari. Dr Kothari will be the Convenor. The Committee can meet from time to time for consultation and to direct this work. The principal burden will, however, fall on Dr Kothari and the Defence Science Department.

6. Dr Kothari will of course directly, or through others, consult scientists and others in India and abroad who might be able to help in the collection of this information.

7. Kothari can engage any special staff for this purpose. The matter can be referred to me and I shall sanction this staff.

1. Note to M.K.Vellodi, the Defence Secretary, 21 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 201.

3. V.R. Khanolkar (1895-1978); Director, Indian Cancer Research Centre, 1952-63.

8. I suggest that Dr Kothari should get in touch with Homi Bhabha and Dr Khanolkar. We have already spoken to Dr Bhabha about this matter. In consulting others, some effort should be made to avoid publicity.

9. I am enclosing a note I had prepared for the Cabinet on this subject. With this was attached a draft statement. It is not now proposed to appoint the Commission. But this note and the draft statement will indicate the kind of work that is to be done.

10. I am sending a copy of this note to the Defence Minister⁴ and Dr Kothari. It is not necessary to circulate this further. You can discuss the matter of course with the Defence Minister.

11. I have collected a number of odd papers, newspaper cuttings, etc., bearing on this subject. I do not suppose they are of much importance. Nevertheless I am sending them to you. They can be handed over to Dr Kothari.

12. Among these papers is a note circulated at the time of the last meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London.

4. K.N. Katju (1887-1968); Union Minister for Defence, 1955-57.

5. International Control of Atomic Energy¹

I am sending you a hurriedly drafted note² on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This is based on Homi Bhabha's letters and notes....

2. You will notice that it is suggested that countries not invited to the Geneva conference³ should be invited. A small country need not perhaps make much difference but to leave out China is, from the scientific point of view, absurd because this huge gap will make it difficult to make any assessment even approximately correct. Thus far, the countries invited are those connected with the United Nations. Thus, probably, Formosa has been invited in place of China. Whatever political reasons for this there might be, this is manifestly absurd from any other point of view....

4. In making this proposal, it is not necessary to mention China to begin with, but there is no harm in your mentioning it if necessity arises. If any

1. Note written at Bandung on 18 April 1955 for B.K. Nehru, member of the Indian delegation to the Asian-African Conference. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See the next item.

3. The International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was convened at Geneva from 8 to 20 August 1955 under the presidency of Homi Bhabha.

objection is taken, you may point out that we cannot deal with this matter on the basis of political divisions or controversies but on a scientific and objective basis. As a matter of fact, several communist countries connected with the UN have been invited. We do not wish to leave out Formosa but rather to add other countries....

7. The note attached, properly vetted and touched up, can well form your draft for consideration in your Committee. I rather doubt if there will be much discussion on it because people do not know much about this subject. I see that Pakistan has presented a small working paper on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This is very thin and obviously they have got some odd facts from some publication. No doubt, Pakistan and some other countries will be very effusive about the help being promised by the United States. I do not think it is necessary to single out any country by name in this respect.

8. I see from a telegram which I enclose, that the US have expressed the hope to have an International Atomic Energy Agency³ established by mid-summer. As suggested, it appears that the Agency will consist of the US, the UK, Canada, France, Belgium, Australia, South Africa and Portugal. This Agency is supposed to have a pool of atomic materials and will be a clearing house for the purpose.⁴

9. This suggestion cannot be welcomed by us as it means handing over the control of such a pool to a few countries. In fact, it means the US trying to corner atomic materials in a large part of the world. Among the countries which are likely to be in the Agency will be Portugal and South Africa. Another undesirable feature of this will be the exploitation of atomic energy minerals by colonial powers for their own advantage no doubt. Thus, apart from the big countries, Portugal and Belgium will exploit regions of Africa. Thus, from every point of view, we cannot welcome this proposal, and we have no intention whatever of becoming a member of this pool if the conditions remain as indicated. It is not enough to say that we might be permitted to join the pool later. As usual, the US has suggested something in the crudest way to extend its own power over a great part of the world and to ensure that the control of atomic minerals and the development of atomic energy is going to be largely in its own hands or in the hands of its close allies and dependents.

3. The ninth session of the UN General Assembly (21 September to 17 December 1954) had recommended, on US initiative, the setting up of an International Atomic Energy Agency.
4. The proposed Agency would acquire ownership of all source material after its removal from its place of deposit, and would have the authority to determine in each case whether it would itself own and manage any source material refinery or would licence its operation. A thorough inspection of any part of the territory of any state unhindered by national or local laws was an integral part of the plan.

10. Quite apart from this being an extension to the atomic field of the so-called cold war, it is likely to make Asia and Africa even more dependent on some Western powers, which we cannot accept.

11. All this need not be mentioned by you unless this proposal to have an International Atomic Energy Agency is brought up. If it is brought up, you should say that in the interests of Asia and Africa, there should be adequate representation of these areas. Merely saying that atomic energy is not developed sufficiently in these regions is not enough. This will be a further means of exploiting these regions and confirming colonialism.⁵

5. Nehru wrote to B.K. Nehru on 19 April that he had changed his mind after receiving Bhabha's letter and that India should say something "definitely and fairly strongly" about the proposal to have an Agency. Giving his comments on the proposal, Bhabha had written to Nehru on 15 April, "If the Asian-African nations were to express their views strongly on the way in which the Atomic Energy Agency is being set up, it may perhaps have some effect before it is too late and cause the US and the other Western nations concerned to change their thinking on the subject. After all they are vitally dependent on Asia and Africa for many essential minerals...." See also the next item.

6. Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy¹

The application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is of great importance both for generating power and in the field of medicine and agriculture. It is of particular significance for the underdeveloped countries of the world because of their lack of power resources.

2. This Conference welcomes the initiative of the powers principally concerned in convening a conference at Geneva in August next on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and trusts that there will be a free exchange of existing knowledge on this subject, more especially the declassification and dissemination of the knowledge already possessed in the field of power technology and the processing of materials.

3. The Advisory Committee² of this Geneva conference has called for information from each country giving:

1. Note written at Bandung on 18 April 1955 for B.K. Nehru, member of the Indian delegation to the Asian-African Conference. JN Collection. This note was meant to be used during discussions at the Conference.
2. India was represented by Homi Bhabha at the Advisory Committee which met at New York from 17 to 28 January 1955 to draw up the topical agenda and rules of procedure for the Geneva conference scheduled to be held in August 1955.

- (i) its estimated requirements of power for industrial development during the next ten and twenty years, and rough estimates over a longer period;
- (ii) an estimate of its own resources of conventional energy sources such as coal, oil and hydroelectric power;
- (iii) estimates of its resources of atomic raw materials, namely, uranium and thorium;
- (iv) the extent to which its power requirements can be met from conventional sources and the extent to which atomic power could either fill the gap or facilitate requirements;
- (v) a discussion of special areas whose development might be facilitated by atomic power.

4. This Conference hopes that this information will be supplied to the Geneva conference not only by the nations participating in that conference but also by other countries in Asia and Africa, which have not thus far been invited to participate in the Geneva conference.

5. It is important from the point of view of world planning in this respect for as full information as possible to be obtained from all the countries. Any major gap in obtaining the information required will leave a lacuna which is undesirable from a scientific and objective point of view. Therefore this Conference recommends that even those countries in Asia and Africa which have not thus far been invited to the Geneva conference should be invited by it both to send the information and to participate in its deliberations.

6. Much of this information might not be available at present in many of these countries. But an attempt should be made to give such information as is possible. Steps should be taken forthwith to collect further information. This will necessitate large-scale mineral surveys, more especially, of atomic raw materials.

7. It is desirable that a full study be made about the way radioactivity from tests of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons spreads through the atmosphere and in the waters of the ocean. A proper study of this problem will require collaboration on a worldwide basis. A study, however, in the countries of the Asian African region can be begun so as to keep a continuous watch on radioactivity at different widely dispersed places on the earth's surface.⁴ For

4. On 17 March 1955, Nehru had turned down a suggestion from Arthur Lall, Adviser to the Indian delegation to the Advisory Committee for the Geneva conference, for setting up a joint organisation for promoting nuclear research in the Asian-African countries as he thought that it was "too big an undertaking without equipment or resources". Bhabha, who was subsequently consulted, agreed with Nehru but suggested that cooperation could, however, be established for monitoring of radioactivity from nuclear and thermonuclear weapons.

this purpose, a chain of stations should be established running from India through Burma and Ceylon, Malaya, Siam and Indonesia on to Australia and New Zealand. A second chain would run northward to Japan covering the countries in between. A third chain should extend to the Middle East and Africa. Such stations would supply very useful information. This work can be done by all the countries concerned in collaboration with each other. It might be possible for standard equipment to be supplied and some workers trained in countries in this region where there are such facilities for equipment and training.⁵

8. This Conference would welcome the establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency, but such an Agency would serve a useful purpose only if it is fully representative. To limit this Agency to a few powers would be undesirable and would bring an element of conflict even in regard to the peaceful use of atomic energy. In particular, there should be adequate representation of Asian countries in such an Agency.

The Conference has noted with surprise that some proposals are being made for an Agency to be established consisting of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Belgium, Australia, South Africa and Portugal. Such an Agency confined to these powers would not be representative. Some countries mentioned in this list are apparently included simply because they are colonial powers. There are other countries in Europe and Asia which are scientifically and technologically more advanced than these colonial powers. A political group of the kind suggested would have no relation to any scientific and objective approach to the problem and would tend to perpetuate colonial domination and the exploitation of large parts of Asia and Africa to the advantage of some great powers and some countries owning colonial territories. The peoples of these colonial and other territories would be deprived of any advantage from such exploitation, and the benefit of this great new source of wealth would be used outside and would not be used for the development of those countries.

This Conference is, therefore, strongly of opinion that the mineral deposits in Asia and Europe must only be used with the consultation of and for the benefit of the people of those countries.

5. After receiving Bhabha's letter (see *ante*, p. 207), Nehru asked B.K. Nehru on 19 April to add the following as paragraph 8 to this note.

7. Banning the Use of Nuclear Weapons¹

This Conference views with great concern the possibility of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons in war. The first use of the atomic bomb was made in Asia, resulting in terrible disasters in Japan. Since then, the scientific and technological improvements have led to the production not only of atomic bombs of far greater potency but also of the hydrogen bomb which is infinitely more destructive. The use of any such weapons in war can only result in ruin for large parts of the world, if not the entire world, and destruction of civilisation as we know it. It will be a crime against humanity and against life itself which has evolved through the ages. In view of the acknowledged possibility of the dispersal of radioactivity even to distant regions, the use of these nuclear and thermonuclear weapons is likely to affect vast areas which have nothing to do with the conflict or the objective aimed at. The sky and air will be contaminated, denying human beings the most fundamental right of all, that is, to enjoy the free, uncontaminated air.

In the opinion of this Conference, no apprehension of danger or fear can justify the use of these weapons in war. The Conference, therefore, earnestly appeals to all the great powers that they must resolve not to use these weapons in war and to stop the production of such weapons.

The Conference particularly pleads for stopping by mutual agreement all tests of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and experimental nuclear explosions. This proposal is scientifically and politically eminently feasible as such evasions could be certainly detected and all countries testing nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would be put roughly to equal disadvantage in developing newer and more effective types. Also, all countries in the world, including those carrying out the tests, would be secure against the unknown effects of radioactivity produced by the tests.

This Conference also strongly recommends that tactical atomic weapons should not be used as an instrument of war. Their use will certainly magnify the scale of a war and greatly increase the chance of the war developing and the use of the atomic and hydrogen bombs being made.

This Conference also recommends the banning of other methods of mass destruction, such as, by means of bacteriological warfare.

1. Draft note for discussions at the Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 18 April 1955. JN Collection.

8. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

Camp: Gopalpur
9th May, 1955

My dear Rajaji,²

Your letter of the 4th May in which you refer to our not taking the American aid. I have been following carefully your various statements made in public about the atomic and hydrogen bombs.³ I need not tell you how I admire your taking up this line. but I must confess that I was not happy at your references in a recent statement or article to the United States⁴ and to Ceylon.⁵ I do not say that those references were not justified. They are likely to create an impression in those countries which is probably the opposite of what you intend. There may well be a good deal of irritation there and minds which might have considered your proposals will become closed.

As you know, I have often spoken about these new and dreadful weapons and suggested strongly that they should not be manufactured and even that tests should not be made. The question is how best to convince the countries concerned.

At Bandung we had considerable difficulty in getting through what we did on this subject.⁶ The difficulty came from a number of countries which

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to U.N. Dhebar, the Congress President, G.B. Pant, the Union Home Minister, and Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Madras.
2. (1878-1972); Congress Chief Minister of Madras, 1952-54; later founded Swatantra Party.
3. C. Rajagopalachari had been pleading for an immediate moratorium on atomic test explosions. On 1 April 1955, he appealed to the Western nations to seize the opportunity for a world ban on atomic weapons offered by the Soviet proposal for destruction and prohibition of all nuclear weapons.
4. Recalling the Bandung decisions on nuclear weapons, Rajagopalachari, in an article published in the Tamil weekly, *Kalki*, in the last week of April, expressed the hope that, "by God's grace, wisdom will dawn on the US Government" and that "her friends will offer her the right advice to secure clarity of mind." He added that "if that grace is not available to them, Americans will kill themselves hugging the devil of a monster which they have created."
5. Rajagopalachari wrote that, "some of the representatives who met at Bandung were well-tutored students of the USA.... Full credit for this must go to the Ceylon Premier.... His words sounded like the desperate wails of one who had espied from far-off Colombo the Russian bear preparing to pounce on Ceylon and felt helpless." Rajagopalachari added that John Kotelawala "behaved like the jackdaw which imagined that it had the plumage of the peacock."
6. The final communique issued at Bandung on 24 April called upon all states to "cooperate, especially through the UN, in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control." It also appealed "to all concerned speedily to bring about the regulation, limitation, control and reduction of all armed forces and armaments, including the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of all weapons of mass destruction, and to establish effective international control to this end."

represented 100% the American line. This line is to tie up disarmament with the banning of nuclear weapons. You know the reason for this. The United States is afraid that minus the nuclear weapons it will be much weaker in the military sense than the Soviet Union. I do not believe in that approach and I think that atomic weapons should certainly be banned and not manufactured. Also I feel that if this big step was taken by America or Russia it would have very powerful effect in removing present tensions and would actually lead to disarmament in other fields. However, I could not get the pro-American countries at the Bandung Conference to agree to this wholly. We went as far as we could.

Thus what we said at Bandung has created some consternation in the United States. Mrs Roosevelt,⁷ who would very much like to put an end to these nuclear weapons, has written to me about her concern. She repeats the American argument.

But what we have to consider now is your suggestion that we should refuse American aid because they continue to make nuclear weapons.⁸ For my part, I am not at all anxious to get any aid from America. In fact, quite apart from nuclear weapons, I would rather that we did not get it even though this might add to our burdens greatly.

It is not, therefore, the necessity or desirability of American aid that comes in my way, but other reasons. Our relations with the United States are far from happy because our policies are at variance with one another. The Americans, excellent as they are in many ways, do not like India come in the way of their policies. At present an organised and widespread propaganda is being carried on in the United States and in other countries through US agencies against India and partly against me.

I might mention that we have at no time asked for American aid. We have accepted it when it has come. I have stated publicly that we want to rely on ourselves and not depend too much on foreign aid. I have further said that if the United States stops this aid because of policy differences or other reasons, we would not complain at all and would understand this.⁹ We would still continue to be friendly with the US.

7. Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1963); wife of erstwhile US President, Franklin Roosevelt.

8. Rajagopalachari argued that the US aid was "insignificant" compared to what Indians were spending on development of their country. If India was to influence the US Government over nuclear testing, she would have to say she did not want the US aid. In his article in *Kalki*, he had written that the only answer to the obdurate nuclear weapon policy of the US was non-cooperation on the part of the developing countries.

9. For Nehru's reaction to attempts by the US to compel India to restrict the export of strategic materials to China in 1953, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 490-493.

In the present context, for us to declare that we would not take any American aid because they are manufacturing nuclear weapons would put a severe strain on our relations with the United States. It would not affect the nuclear weapons situation, but it would certainly make the Americans and their government very hostile to us. Our action will not be understood at all either in America or in other countries.

In these circumstances, it seems to me unwise for us to take the step that you have suggested. In fact, this would actually come in the way of your objective. I repeat I do not want the American aid. But I do not wish our relations with the United States to become even worse than they are now. Any action taken by us in this respect, as you suggest, would not be understood by any country in Europe or in America or Asia for the matter of that, and all kinds of wrong inferences would be drawn and allegations made.

I think that we are moving towards some effective control of these weapons and possibly putting an end to their manufacture. If we take a step which is interpreted as hostile by the US, this process would not lead to the objective we aim at. It would have a contrary effect.

You refer to the moral aspect.¹⁰ I consider this important. But I do not think that there is any lack of morality in the policy we are pursuing openly today. Because of that strong policy in foreign affairs, we have become non-grata to the US and a problem for many other countries. Will it help from any moral or other point of view for us to take up a line which makes us appear to be actually hostile to the US and not to be understood or appreciated by any country? An act must bear some relation to the existing circumstances.

I have written to you frankly what I feel about this matter and I might mention that I have consulted members of the Working Committee and they all agreed with what I have said above.¹¹

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

10. Speaking at Chennai on 1 May 1955, C. Rajagopalachari stressed the need for public opinion to give a lead to governments if they were to take sides on moral issues like the nuclear weapon policy. He also said that the moral effect of aid was "stronger than the effect of strings, silk or steel."
11. Rajagopalachari replied on 14 May: "I am glad you basically agree with me and feel disturbed only by my suggestion about refusing American aid. Even there, I think it is good they know that people like me feel so strongly and that you alone hold the foot.... What I say or do will surely help and not hinder you. And you can understand how angry I feel about it all! You are growing more and more patient in spite of all you appear to be, and I feel less and less able to tolerate these reckless and swollen-headed people, in spite of my reputed patience."

9. To Eleanor Roosevelt¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1955

My dear Mrs Roosevelt,

Thank you for your letter of April 26, 1955. I am glad you wrote to me and expressed yourself frankly about some of the decisions of the Bandung Conference.

You will no doubt appreciate that at a conference like the Bandung Conference where 29 nations were represented the decisions represent a common measure of agreement. They need not represent the exact viewpoint of any one delegation. Considering this aspect, I think that the unanimity achieved at Bandung was remarkable.

In regard to the banning of atomic weapons, you will observe that this has been tied up with general disarmament.² Therefore, there is no need for your apprehension in this matter. Apart from this, it is clear that there must be some basis of international inspection.

I should like this broad aspect of disarmament to be considered at the same time as the banning of atomic weapons. But I must confess that personally I feel that no nuclear weapons should be used at all. Such weapons appear to me so evil in every way that their use can only result in greater evil. I do not think that this would mean handing the world over to the communists. There are many ways of protecting against this.

In regard to this decision about disarmament and atomic weapons, there was no question of any of us trying to please the delegation of China. In fact, Chou En-lai hardly said anything on this subject.

I agree with you that it would have been better to invite Israel to the Bandung Conference. But our views³ did not prevail. The resolution⁴ that was passed was, on the whole, rather moderate, considering the views expressed by the Arab states there. You will observe that it refers to the United Nations.

I have no hostility at all for the Jews or Israel and I have admired some of their achievements. But I also feel that the Arabs have been treated very badly

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 109-110, 119-120, 129 and 566.

4. The final communique stated: "In view of the existing tension in the Middle East, caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question."

by some of the big countries. Recently Israel has been very aggressive and in fact the UN Commission has criticised it on this account.

I fully realise that the question of the Arabs and Israel must be settled peacefully and cannot be settled by strong language or aggressive action by either party. In our own way we have tried to work for such a peaceful settlement.

With kind regards and good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

V. NORTH AFRICA AND WEST ASIA

1. Syria and the Baghdad Pact¹

The Syrian Minister came to see me this afternoon. In the course of our conversation he mentioned an interesting fact.

2. He said that after the conclusion of the military pact between Turkey and Iraq,² the then Government of Syria was inclined to join that pact. Popular opinion, however, was against this. The then Prime Minister³ even hinted that Syria might join the pact. He defended Iraq entering into that pact and said that Iraq was an independent country and why shouldn't it do so. A good deal of pressure was exercised by the US and the UK on Syria at the time to join the pact. However, the Syrian Government then was a little afraid of going against their public opinion.

3. Just about this time I passed through Cairo and made a forthright

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 28 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. Agreement on a mutual defence pact between Iraq and Turkey was reached during the talks the Prime Ministers of the two countries had at Baghdad from 6 to 14 January 1955. The treaty of alliance, known as the Baghdad Pact, was eventually signed on 24 February 1955.

3. Faris el-Khoury.

declaration against military pacts.⁴ This statement of mine had a great effect in Syria and there were demonstrations immediately against the Government which was suspected of joining the pact. The Government fell as a consequence⁵ and a new Government was established which is functioning today. This Government is very much opposed to the pact between Turkey and Iraq.

4. The Syrian Minister pointed out that this development was largely due to the statement I had made in Cairo on my way back from England. He added that very great pressure was still being brought to bear on the Syrian Government by the US and UK to join the pact. But Syria, in common with Egypt, Saudi Arabia, etc., were definitely opposed to this and were thinking of having a mutual security pact a clause of which would be that they should not join military pacts with other countries.

4. Addressing a press conference at Cairo on 16 February, Nehru pointed out that it was well known that he was completely opposed to military alliances as an approach to international problems. Such arrangements in the atomic age, whether in West Asia or South-East Asia, caused irritation and suspicion and added to general insecurity instead of ensuring security. He added, "We must think not in terms of war but prepare for peace. If the world is foolish enough to have war, I wonder what good alliances can be."
5. The Cabinet headed by Faris el-Khoury resigned on 6 February 1955 after the National Party (which held three ministerial portfolios) had decided to withdraw from the Government.

2. Conversation with Gamal Abdel Nasser¹

This morning I had a long interview with the Prime Minister of Egypt and Dr Fawzi.² They were supposed to spend half an hour with me but they spent an hour and three quarters. All this time was spent in a long account by the Prime Minister of Egypt of the Palestine-Israel situation as well as the position in the Middle East. I give a very brief account of what he said during this long talk.

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, 14 April 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. The Egyptian Premier, Nasser, arrived in New Delhi on 12 April on his way to Bandung.
2. Mahmoud Fawzi (1900-1981); Egyptian diplomat and politician; permanent representative of Egypt to the UN for several years; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1952-58; Minister of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Republic, 1958-64; member, Presidency Council, 1962-64; Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1964-67; President's Assistant for Foreign Affairs and Vice President, 1967-68; Prime Minister, 1970-72; Vice President of Egypt, 1972-74.

2. He was obviously very much exercised over the existing situation vis-a-vis Israel and he thought it dangerous. In fact he was very apprehensive of actual military aggression by Israel in the near future. Because of this situation, many of his colleagues had advised him not to leave Egypt. Even now he was receiving telegrams to the effect that the situation was very bad....³

10. The Prime Minister was anxious to know how far we could help them in getting military supplies, aeroplanes, 25 pounder ammunition and the like. They said they had heard that we could make these 25 pounder ammunition but we had closed production because we did not want it.

11. In regard to this matter, I told him that anything that we produced we might be prepared to sell but we could not possibly get aeroplanes for them or anything else from outside. In fact, we were short of these ourselves. This point was not pursued.

12. This in brief is what he said. His statement of the position in the Middle East was definite and clear and did indicate the possibility of Israel's aggression just to present an accomplished fact to the world and the inability of Egypt to stop it if it came. Also the policy of the US and UK to bring great pressure on Egypt in various ways and even undermine the present government.

13. The Prime Minister referred to Sudan also which, because of various circumstances and pressures, was drifting away from Egypt. This also in future would create great difficulties for Egypt.

3. According to Nasser, Israel was very much stronger in the armed forces than the Arab states, which were all weak and split up. Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan as well as Turkey were pulling in a different direction from Egypt. Saudi Arabia and Syria. The Syrian Government was under tremendous pressure, and Saudi Arabia had no common frontier with Israel; the whole burden of dealing with Israel, therefore, fell on Egypt. The Gaza strip was totally indefensible and Israel could take it easily. Nasser added that ever since Ben Gurion's come back, Israel had become more and more aggressive.

3. Conversation with the Prime Minister of Sudan¹

I had a fairly long talk with the Prime Minister of the Sudan and his two Minister colleagues² day before yesterday. Much of the talking was in fact

1. Minutes of talks held in New Delhi on 30 April 1955 and recorded by Nehru on 2 May 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Sayed Ismail el-Azhari, the Sudanese Premier, accompanied by Sayed Mubarak Zarroug, Minister of Communications and leader of the House of Representatives, and Sayed Hassan Awadalla, Minister of Agriculture, arrived in New Delhi from Bandung on 28 April.

done by the Sudanese Minister of Communications, who appeared to be the brightest of the lot.

2. They began by telling me of their decision to make the Sudan completely independent. Their party was originally in favour of some kind of a loose union with Egypt, but now they had decided in favour of independence. They were prepared, however, to cooperate with Egypt in many matters. Thus they could have a joint commission for the Nile waters and joint committees for foreign affairs and defence.

3. The Egyptian Government did not like this and wanted some kind of a Union, however loose it might be. They had suggested a common head of the state. But, as the Sudanese Prime Minister pointed out, how can we have a common head if that head is removed in five minutes' notice by the Egyptian Government as was done in the case of General Nguib?³ Anyhow the Sudanese said that they were quite clear on this point and they wanted to proclaim a Republic of the Sudan when the time came for this.

4. In this connection there was some talk about the position of India in the Commonwealth. I pointed out to them that the Republic of India was completely independent and no one here owed any allegiance to a foreign king or authority. There was no reference even in our Constitution to the Commonwealth, but we had agreed to be associated with the Commonwealth because we thought it advantageous in some ways. This had not come in the way of our independence at all. In fact it was a less binding association than even an alliance.

5. I pointed out to them that inevitably there would be many common interests as between Egypt and the Sudan and it was obviously desirable for friendly relations between the two countries. There appeared to be no reason why even an independent Sudan could not have the closest relations with Egypt. I welcomed the idea of joint commissions for Nile waters as well as for defence and foreign affairs....⁴

9. The Sudanese Prime Minister also talked to me about his need for trained personnel, etc. I told him that in so far as possible, we would try to help.

10. He raised the question of the elections to be held, next year I think. He was thinking in terms of avoiding these elections by agreement between the different parties. The idea was that the different parties should agree to keep the present proportion of members in the legislature and nominate them. This

3. The Egyptian President, Mohammed Nguib, who was known to be opposed to many aspects of his government's policy, was relieved of his office on 14 November 1954 by a joint decision of the Cabinet and the Council of the Revolution, and was removed on the same day to a villa eight miles from Cairo, where he was held under surveillance.
4. The Sudanese then told Nehru about their difficulties with Egypt in regard to the division of the Nile waters.

could only be done by agreement of those concerned, but the Sudanese PM seemed to think that this agreement could be obtained. Having elections in a country unused to them like the Sudan, might lead to bitterness and trouble and so he was anxious to avoid them if possible. The main difference between the parties had been about the future status of the Sudan. Now that even his party had agreed to independence, this difference had disappeared. The Sudanese PM asked me for my advice.

11. I told him that it was difficult for me to advise in such matters without much greater knowledge of the local conditions. I could very well understand the difficulty of having full-scale elections for the constituent assembly. If these were contested elections, there might well be trouble and conflict. At the same time I did not quite understand how he could avoid the elections because these had been laid down in the agreement. Even if the present parties came to some agreement among themselves, it would be open to anyone or any group or Egypt to bring the charge that the agreement had been brokered. Therefore it would probably be better not to give a chance to anyone to say that a solemn agreement had been deliberately put aside. It might well be possible to have elections formally but come to an agreement between the parties about candidates. This might result in agreed and uncontested elections, at least for a large number of constituencies. This would be in keeping with the agreement and would avoid the difficulty of contested elections over a large field.

12. There was some reference to African problems as a whole. I pointed out that the Sudan would inevitably have to think not only in terms of North Africa but more and more in terms of African Africa. The Prime Minister of the Sudan agreed. There was also some reference to Ethiopia. Something was said about the Christian Church and the Ethiopians wanting to have the overlordship of it. But I do not remember what this was....

4. Conversation with Gamal Abdel Nasser¹

Last night I had a talk with Colonel Nasser after dinner. The talk was a frank one and he told me of his difficulties. He started by discussing "democracy".

1. Minutes of talks held in New Delhi on 1 May 1955 and recorded by Nehru on 2 May 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. Nasser arrived in New Delhi from Bandung on 28 April and left for Cairo on 2 May. In the meantime he visited Kabul from 29 to 30 April.

What exactly was this democracy? In most of the Arab countries where there were parliaments and the like, there was complete corruption....

2. Something had been done in Egypt to stop this corruption. But if any kind of democratic regime came in with elections and the like, he had no doubt that this corruption in high places as well as low would come in again. What then was he to do? It was perfectly true that at present the Government of Egypt consisted of ten members of the revolutionary group. They could do what they liked, within reason of course, because the army was supporting them. He realised that this was not a satisfactory state of affairs and he would like to change it. But he just did not see what change he could bring about without a reversion to all the evils of the past.

3. If he had elections, these elections would be largely controlled by undesirable elements.... The choice before him was:

- (i) to have no elections at all for another period of five years or so and to carry on more or less as they were carrying on;
- (ii) to have elections on one party basis;
- (iii) to have elections without any party, that is, not allowing any party as such to function and independent candidates to be set up;
- (iv) normal party elections.

4. He ruled out the last because that would bring all the evils of the past. He asked me what would be better—one party elections or no party elections, that is, (ii) and (iii) above? I told him that it was difficult for me to advise. A

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- (iv) normal party elections.

because that would bring all the evils of the past. He asked me what would be better—one party elections or no party elections, that is, (ii) and (iii) above? I told him that it was difficult for me to advise. A complicated situation had existed in Egypt. It was all very well to talk of democracy, and I firmly believed in it, but there must be the basis for a democracy to function properly. It could not function with widespread corruption. At the same time I said that this business of having one party elections had no meaning to me. It simply meant nominating a number of persons. Why not allow parties to function and independent candidates to run for the elections? Possibly his other proposal of election at election time but allowing independent candidates to run for the elections might be suitable. But I really could not

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/ DELHI, 8 APRIL 1955





WITH GAMAL ABDEL NASSER, CAIRO, 15 FEBRUARY 1955

the time being. Nevertheless, in the modern world it was a little difficult to carry on for long with a military dictatorship, unless one was prepared for complete authoritarian rule as in the communist countries. But even there the authoritarian rule was based on a powerful party organisation and continuous propaganda and consultation of the people in many ways. The large party was supposed to be democratic within itself. In Egypt there was no such party and therefore no real contacts with the people. They may try to build up a party and they should, but this takes time and anyhow there must be a political and economic content to the party and to the government's programme.

7. Colonel Nasser referred to the difficult situation in the Arab countries. Syria was obviously unstable and nobody quite knew what might happen there. Egypt had suggested a pact between Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt for self-defence. One of the terms of this pact was that no one member country should have a military pact with another country unless two-thirds agreed to it. This of course meant that one other country agreed to it in this. He said that Saudi Arabia would never agree. Thus it really meant that Egypt should agree in case Syria wanted to join such a pact. Syria had laid down some extraordinary conditions for joining this pact of self-defence. They wanted joint forces and a joint command and the basis of contribution suggested put the heaviest burden on Egypt. This amounted to, I think, about 20 million pounds which Egypt could ill-afford.

8. I said that I did not quite see why it was necessary to copy the NATO parallel and have a joint command and all that. Each country could build up its defence forces to the best of its ability and there could be constant consultation between them for defence and like purposes. After all, what was the defence pact aimed against? It could be either against Israel or against some major invasion by a great power. Personally I did not think that there was any danger of such an invasion. If there was a world war, then of course all kinds of things would happen. Therefore, in effect they were thinking in terms of Israel. It was clear that in the unfortunate event of a war with Israel, the burden would fall on Egypt. Saudi Arabia did not even have a common frontier with Israel. Syria would do little. Therefore giving large sums of money to Syria would have no advantage from the military point of view and much less from any other. Probably the money would be wasted.

9. Also these demands for large sums of money did not seem to me at all desirable or worthy of encouragement. The demands grew and there was seldom satisfaction unless there was some honest policy behind it. One could never compete with the great powers in money.

10. Colonel Nasser briefly referred to the new situation in the Sudan. Even the Union Party claimed independence. He also referred to the controversy about Nile waters and how his big project was held up on account of this. I did

not say anything about these controversies with the Sudan except to say that it was desirable that there should be close and cooperative relations between the two countries....²

2. On 2 May, Nehru wrote to Homi Bhabha, who was leaving for Europe on 6 May and proposed to stop at Cairo: "I think you should try to see the Prime Minister of Egypt as well as the Minister who might be in charge of such things as atomic energy. etc.... You must remember that Egypt is passing through a difficult period. Practically speaking, it is governed by a small military group with the support of the army. It so happens that this group is a good group, honest and seeking the welfare of Egypt. The whole record of the Middle-Eastern countries is one of corruption and being bought up by foreign powers.... This is, perhaps, relatively less in Egypt than in some of the West Asian countries. Colonel Nasser... is a good man and trying his best to face and overcome these evils." Nehru added, "I suggest that you might take a box of Alfonso mangoes and send them to the Prime Minister there on my behalf."

5. Conversation with Amir Faisal¹

During the Amir Faisal's² three days' stay here,³ I have had four talks with him, altogether extending to about three and a half hours. As most of these talks took place through an interpreter, the time was really less than indicated.

2. The Amir Faisal was anxious to understand many things about India and to have my views about various international matters. I told him something about what we were doing in India. He had obviously been much impressed by what little he had seen round about Delhi, and his talks with me grew more and more personal and intimate. In fact, he was almost sentimental when he was leaving, when he referred to his visit here and said that he would like to come again. To Shri Chopra,⁴ I believe, he said that he would like his brother, the King⁵ of Saudi Arabia, to come to India on an "educational tour". I am rather sorry that I said nothing to him about the possibility of the King coming to India. This did not strike me at the time. But we should convey our invitation to the King, in general terms, to visit India. Naturally this would have to be

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 5 May 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Malik Faisal ibn Abdel Aziz, Crown Prince and Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia.
3. Amir Faisal visited New Delhi from 2 to 5 May 1955.
4. I.S. Chopra (b. 1909); Joint Secretary and Chief of Protocol, MEA. 1950-55.
5. Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia, 1953-64.

some time during the winter months. No time need be fixed. If the general invitation is accepted, the dates might be considered later. We should, therefore, ask our representative at Jeddah first of all to convey personally to the Amir Faisal our great pleasure at and appreciation of his visit to India and our happiness that this has led to a greater understanding and friendship between our two countries. Further that we hope that he will be able to come here again on a longer visit to see more of India and of our work. We shall welcome his visit. An invitation on our Government's behalf to the King of Saudi Arabia should also be extended and it should be said that we would be very happy if the King could accept our invitation and visit India at a time convenient to him and to us.⁶

3. The Amir Faisal created a favourable impression upon me. He was intelligent, friendly and striving to understand and learn. We talked about many matters. I am mentioning a few here.

4. He asked me what I thought of the recognition of the new China by his country. He seemed really to be talking more in terms of other Arab countries also. He asked whether such a recognition would lead to any communist infiltration.

5. I told him that, as he knew, we had recognised the new China many years ago and we had pleaded for its recognition by other countries and by the UN. We were convinced that this was the right course to adopt, partly because it seemed to us wrong not to recognise a basic fact. China was the biggest country in Asia and was undoubtedly going to play an important role. It was better to deal with it directly and in a friendly way rather than to keep away. I did not think that the recognition of China was likely to encourage communism in the country concerned. I was sure that the Chinese Government would not try to do so. In fact, friendly relations with China were more likely to act as a deterrent to internal communism than otherwise. I told him also that China was full of her own internal problems and, apart from Formosa, there was no question of seeking expansion. China was more and more thinking in terms of Asia and we should encourage this thought. Because of the policy of some Western powers, China had been largely isolated and driven into the arms of the Soviet Union. If she developed relations with Asian countries, this feeling of isolation would lessen and a normal development would take place. This would be good for China as well as for the countries of Asia. I also said

6. Nehru, in a message sent to Amir Faisal on 7 May in reply to the latter's message of appreciation and thanks, said inter alia, "We would be very happy indeed if His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia would do us the honour of visiting India. I hope it will be possible for him to do so at some time convenient to him during the next winter season."

that it was quite wrong to imagine that China was under the thumb of the Soviet Union. China was very Chinese and there was no chance of her becoming just a camp follower of the Soviet or any other country. Indeed, although China was obviously very friendly to the Soviet Union, there was a certain potential rivalry between them. I was not sure at all that the Soviet Union was very anxious for the new China to be in the UN.

6. On a later occasion, the Amir Faisal spoke to me about India's policy. He apologised and said that he had no doubt about what we stood for, but he wanted to be quite frank with me and to tell me what other people sometimes said. These other people evidently included some representatives of foreign powers. This was to the effect that India was communistically inclined and, by her policy, was encouraging the spread of communism. The Arab countries, the Amir Faisal said, were religious and did not approve of communist atheism. He further said that it was alleged that India was after the leadership of Asia and that India was opposed to the Arabs and their interests. In saying so, he made it quite clear that he did not believe all this, but as these allegations were brought forward, he repeated them as a friend so that I could explain the situation fully to him.

7. I gave him rather a long answer. To begin with, I gave him a background of our struggle for independence. I told him that our national organisation started seventy years ago at first in a small way and then growing bigger and bigger. Under Mahatma Gandhi it became a powerful and well organised movement representing the Indian people. I was not aware of any other country where the national movement was so strong, widespread and with so much strength. That strength had nothing to do with armed strength, because we had no arms, and our policy was definitely a peaceful one. Our organisation, the Congress, because of its large membership, was something more than a purely political organisation. It had to think in terms of the people. In fact, Gandhiji always thought in terms of the poorest and sought their welfare. He was not against any group and he made friends with all, but his test always was what was good for the people as a whole. When he came into all-India politics, he told us to adhere to peaceful methods, to be united and to shed fear. This seemed simple enough to say, but his whole approach was dynamic. His peaceful methods included retaining goodwill even for his opponents. The result was that even at the height of our movements when our people were shot down and tens of thousands were imprisoned, an Englishman could pass through an Indian crowd without any bodily harm. During the last thirty-five years or so, we and indeed the people of India were conditioned by Gandhiji. Hundreds of thousands went to prison, many were shot down or suffered in other ways greatly. In this way we were disciplined and became a little tough. We developed self-reliance. No outside country helped us in our struggle, though we had the goodwill of many. We never thought of asking any other country to help because we felt that our

people must achieve their objective through their own organised strength. That would enable us not only to win our freedom but to maintain it and to build for the future.

8. I said that Gandhiji laid the greatest stress on unity of all peoples in India. There was a great variety in India. There were many religions, the chief being Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. India could only be a strong united nation if there was unity among these various groups and religions and each had freedom to function and an equal place in the country. I referred to Gandhiji's evening prayer meetings in public where there were recitations from the Gita, the Koran and the Christian hymns. Also something from the Buddhist scriptures.

9. I said also that Gandhiji was not in favour of tall talk and extravagant demands. He advised us always not to surrender on principles but otherwise to be prepared to compromise and to leave the door open for compromise, provided always that on a basic principle we stood firm. His approach, therefore, to the opponent was firm and friendly at the same time.

10. Having given this background, I told him that our present preoccupation was to build up India, to make the country strong. Strength for us did not mean military strength, though we had a good army, etc. Strength meant unity and economic and industrial development. We had had our five-year plan, we had built great scientific laboratories, because science was the basis of modern progress. We had great river valley schemes and we are producing locomotives and railway coaches and ships and were beginning to produce small aeroplanes. We wanted to build up the economy of India and make the people prosperous. This was a tremendous task requiring all our labour. We wanted at least twenty years of peaceful progress to build up India. We did not wish anything to interfere with this. We were in favour of peace of course for the world for obvious reasons, but in addition to these general reasons, we wanted peace to build up India and were entirely opposed to war because of that policy.

11. In the present context of atom and hydrogen bombs, war had become still more objectionable and the old armies were not much good. We objected to the military pacts in East and West Asia because those pacts were a projection of some old conception which had no relevance today. They did not even add to the military potential of the area or assure security. In fact, they did the reverse and made a country hostile to some other country and thereby increased its insecurity. Also this dependence on pacts and on other countries lessened the feeling of self-reliance and actually, therefore, reduced the strength of the country.

12. I reminded the Amir Faisal of the speech that the Prime Minister of Burma delivered in the Political Committee at Bandung. He gave a short account of Burma's troubles since independence. They had to face two rebellions—the communist and the Karen. They had the Kuomintang army on their north-

eastern border, occupying a part of their territory and looting and harassing people. At one time the Government of Burma's writ hardly ran outside the city of Rangoon. Their army was small and chiefly consisted of volunteers and the like. Practically the whole of the Cabinet was at one time shot down by terrorists. In spite of this amazing combination of misfortune and disaster, the Burmese Government had faced their enemies boldly. They had of course faced them on the field of battle, but they concentrated much more on carrying out a policy of winning over the people and strengthening them. Gradually this policy succeeded and they recovered nearly the whole of Burma. Practically no foreign help was given to them during this period. I pointed out that this was a remarkable instance of self-reliance and self-help.

13. As for the allegation that India wanted to be the leader of Asia, I said that I had often contradicted this. Of course one could do no more than contradict. Ultimately deeds and what we did would prove or disprove this allegation. Any idea of seeking leadership or of committing aggression was completely removed from our thoughts not only today but for many years past. In Africa the European settlers were accusing us of having designs to build an Indian empire. This was manifestly absurd. We had told our people abroad that they were there as guests and they must claim no special privileges, wherever they might be. In Africa, we were anxious to befriend the Africans and this had annoyed the European settlers.

14. It was natural, however, for us to wish other countries to approve of our international policies and to cooperate with us. These policies had little to do with India's advancement or leadership. We wanted them to be joint policies for the preservation of peace and the freedom of Asian and African countries.

15. As for our attitude towards Arab countries, there was our record in the UN and elsewhere for the last seven or eight years. We had consistently befriended them and their cause. In fact, some of the people who talked rather aggressively at Bandung had a different record in the UN. I also pointed out that so far as India was concerned, there were no points of conflict of interest with the Arab countries. But past associations, history, culture and geography had all brought us near each other and we wished to develop closer association with them to our mutual advantage.

16. As regards Israel, India has been associated in some UN committees in the past and we had tried to help in the solution of this problem. Our sympathies had been and were now with the Arabs, who had suffered so greatly. But we were anxious for some settlement of this difficult problem. We did not see how vigorous speeches would settle it. Time seemed to be running in favour of Israel and rather against the Arabs. Israel was likely to become stronger in a military sense. It must be remembered that Israel would never have been formed or would have continued for long but for the support of the USA and the UK. It was these great powers that had helped Israel in many ways. Now the

Turko-Iraqi pact had rather split up the Arab countries and made them weaker. If unfortunately there was war in Palestine, the burden of this would fall on Egypt. Saudi Arabia had no common frontier with Israel. The other Arab countries were not likely to do much.

17. The Amir Faisal said that he agreed with our general foreign policy of keeping free from entanglements. They had to deal with Americans and the United States was anxious to help them in various ways. He had no objection to accepting help, just as India had accepted it. But this must be without strings. American offers of help for Saudi Arabia had political strings attached to them and therefore they had refused them. He referred in this connection to the Point Four programme.

18. I mentioned India's connection with the Commonwealth. We had maintained it in spite of our becoming a republic and owing no allegiance to the British Crown or to anyone else. This did not tie us down at all and in fact it was even a less commitment than even an alliance. It was advantageous to us in some ways and had enabled us to influence to some extent the policies of the Commonwealth countries and, through them, even the US policies a little. This connection with the Commonwealth had not interfered in the slightest with our continuing our policies within India or outside.

19. I mentioned that before independence there were about 8,000 British officers in the Indian Army. They had all to go and had been replaced by Indian officers. At present there were no British officers in our Army or Air Force. There were one or two in the Navy, including an Admiral,⁷ because we did not have any trained men for the purpose yet. Even these would go soon. The Amir Faisal said that it was quite right to take this kind of help to get training provided the persons came for a fixed period and went away.

20. The Amir Faisal thanked me with considerable earnestness for the frank talk we had had and again repeated that he had not believed in the allegations made against India. He had repeated them to me because he felt that I should know what was being said. Our talk had cleared up many matters and he was glad of that....

7. Charles Thomas Pizey.

6. Anti-India Propaganda in West Asia¹

This is a very interesting letter² from our Ambassador in Cairo. Please have it acknowledged.

2. It is clear that there is deliberate and widespread propaganda in various parts of the world, and more especially in Asian and Middle Eastern countries, against India and sometimes partly against me as representing India. I have read with considerable interest and some astonishment of comments in American papers about the Bandung Conference and India's part in it. The talks³ I have had with the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia also led me to this conclusion. The line of propaganda adopted is:

- i. that India is pro-communist,
- ii. that India seeks to become the leader and boss of these countries,
- iii. that India is arrogant, and more especially the Prime Minister of India, and
- iv. that India is trying to develop into a strong dominating power. Even the film of our Republic Day Parade was referred to as an exhibition of our military prowess.

3. There are some variations in this technique so as to fit in individual countries. An attempt is made to rouse their jealousies against India. It is often not difficult to do so.

4. Oddly enough the very progress we are making becomes a theme to incite other people's fear.

5. I spoke briefly to the Prime Minister of the Sudan about their future relations with Egypt. It was difficult for me to lay down the law for him in any way. His attitude at Bandung itself had rather warned me. I told him, however, that whatever the constitutional status of the Sudan might be vis-a-vis Egypt and even if it was fully independent, it was obvious that it would be necessary

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 7 May 1955. JN Collection.

2. Sending a note on some of the secret activities of the American and British Missions in Cairo, and the technique of rumour-mongering adopted by them, Ali Yavar Jung, India's Ambassador in Cairo, wrote to Nehru on 5 May, "Most of these rumours are intended to discredit the Government and to create lack of confidence in it and some of them are directed against India and the Indian Embassy." He added that the Egyptian Government was aware of this campaign, and they also had "reliable information that, in Nasser's absence, the Americans and British had negotiated with Ali Maher... for heading a civilian government to be formed by a coup d'etat."

3. See the preceding item.

for them to have the closest relations with Egypt in defence, foreign affairs and economic affairs. I mentioned the Commonwealth relationship.

6. I am glad that Col Nasser realised that the Pakistanis were bent not on reconciliation with Afghanistan, but in humiliation of the Afghans.

7. Cable to Ali Yavar Jung¹

Your telegram 111 to Jha.² There are many misrepresentations in report you have mentioned. Nasser will know the facts. My attitude to begin with was to avoid controversial issues generally according to our policy laid down. I suggested that they should read what we had said about Palestine at Colombo or Bogor conference. I did not oppose Afghan proposal, but suggested that this and other proposals should be sent to subcommittee which was later done. We accepted unanimously recommendation of subcommittee. In the course of discussion I pointed out that Israel had certainly been aggressive. It could not take up that attitude unless it was supported by some big powers. Therefore the big powers were to blame. I further said as a matter of historical record that there had been much sympathy in Europe and America for Jews because of Hitler's treatment of them. That had nothing to do with present situation. I added that mere reiteration of the UN resolutions would not achieve a practical solution of the problem. I wanted to suggest that the parties concerned should try to reach an understanding direct.

2. U Nu took up stronger line in favour of Israel and said that Burma had close relations with Israel and could not join in any condemnation in the absence of Israel's representative at Conference.

3. It is not desirable to have a controversy with Pakistan on this issue, but you may point out informally that their incorrect reporting of private meetings is not honourable.

1. New Delhi, 12 May 1955. JN Collection.

2. Ali Yavar Jung (1905-1976); India's Ambassador to Egypt (1954-58), reported to C.S. Jha, Joint Secretary, MEA, on 11 May that an article published in a Pakistani magazine in Cairo had stated that India strove explicitly to prevent a Pakistan-Arab resolution on Palestine from coming up for discussion at Bandung and the Arabs were deeply angered by India's attitude. The article also quoted a report from an Egyptian newspaper that Nehru had opposed an Afghan proposal calling for support to the rights of the Arabs in Palestine, and that U Nu had supported Nehru's views.

VI. PAKISTAN

1. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
18th February, 1955

My dear CPN,²

I see from a report of your speech delivered at Jullundur yesterday that you criticised severely what was reported to be preferential treatment given to the Sikhs when they recently visited Lahore to see the test match. I must confess that I have read this report with great surprise and some distress. You were certainly right in your warning against communalism but to pick out this visit to the test match and say that the Sikhs were treated better was surely a very unwise thing to do. Apart from encouraging the very communalism that we are against, this was bound to have a bad effect in Pakistan. In fact, I have actually received an official protest from the Pakistan High Commissioner,³ and we could say little in reply.

I have read long reports of the visit of our people to Lahore on the occasion of the test match. All these reports have testified to the goodwill shown to all Indians. It is probably true that the Sikhs were specially welcomed because this was the first time that a large number of Sikhs went there and also because Sikhs are supposed to be very anti-Muslim.

We have enough trouble with Pakistan. Just when relations between the peoples of the two countries are improving, it is very wrong to say anything which comes in the way. I do not personally think that there was any evil motive behind the treatment of the Sikhs in Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. C.P.N. Singh (1901-1993); Governor of Punjab, 1953-58.

3. Ghazanfar Ali Khan (1895-1963); High Commissioner of Pakistan to India, 1953-56.

2. To Ghulam Mohammed¹

New Delhi
February 27, 1955

My dear Governor General,²

As you were leaving Palam airfield in Delhi on the morning of the 28th January, you handed me an envelope which contained a small piece of paper. This paper contained four points relating to the plebiscite in the Jammu and Kashmir state and like matters. Within an hour after you left Delhi, I left also on my long journey to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference there. In London, I heard that you had gone to Switzerland for medical treatment. When I was on my way back to India, you were still, I believe, in Switzerland.

2. I wanted to write to you about the paper you had given me but, owing to your movements and mine, this was somewhat delayed. Since my return here I have been rather overwhelmed with arrears of work.

3. I need not tell you, because you know it, that I am at least as eager as you are for a full settlement of all matters in dispute between Pakistan and India. It has always seemed to me unnatural and improper for these two countries to be wrapped up with suspicion and ill will against each other. For both, this was harmful and it affected, to some extent, both our internal and external policies. I have been happy to note, more especially during the last few months, that, so far as our peoples are concerned, there is very little ill will. Indeed, there appears to have been some reaction against these past years of lack of goodwill, and recent instances of friendliness between our respective peoples have been remarkable and most cheering. Thus, an atmosphere has been created which is all to the good.

4. Yet, the problems remain. Those problems have already lasted for these seven years and more, and during this period much has happened to add to their complexity. They are obviously difficult problems or else we would have solved them long ago. It is not for lack of goodwill on either side that they have remained unsolved thus far. We made repeated attempts in the past and came up against solid difficulties which we were unable to surmount at the time. We have, therefore, to examine these difficulties and obstacles, and find out how we can proceed about this matter. Mere goodwill, which is obviously necessary and is undoubtedly present on both sides, is not enough. And we have to take particular care that, in attempting to solve one problem, we do not create new and more difficult ones.

1. JN Collection. Nehru wrote two drafts of this letter both of which he sent to Abul Kalam Azad for his suggestions. The second draft was sent on 25 February and Azad replied on 27 February 1955.
2. (1895-1956); Governor General of Pakistan. 1951-55.

5. The Kashmir problem is undoubtedly the most difficult of all. That is no reason why we should bypass it. But we have often suggested that we might go ahead meanwhile with the other problems which have embittered our relations. Any success in regard to them is not only good in itself but would also take us a long step forward towards the solution of any remaining problem. Unfortunately, very little progress has been made even in regard to these other problems.

6. Among these other problems, the most important are those relating to canal waters and evacuee property. There are a large number of others also. So far as the canal waters question is concerned, we have gone a long way with the cooperation of the World Bank, and I see no reason why we should not come to a final agreement on that basis before long. In regard to evacuee property, we are where we were or rather we have gone further away from any settlement.

7. Some of our officers have gone to Karachi to consider some of the relatively minor problems. I wish them success. But I rather doubt if much progress can be made by them at this stage.

8. The major problem, that of Kashmir, remains. When I read the paper you gave me on the eve of your departure from Delhi, I had mixed reactions. I liked your approach to this question in the sense that you wanted to leave out outside interference in this problem, casting the burden of solution on ourselves. I liked the approach of mutual trust. All this is to be welcomed. At the same time, the four points that your paper contained seemed to me not to be very helpful as they were and appeared removed from present facts. They did not bear much relation to what had happened thus far and the suggestions made in them did not seem to be feasible.³

9. You will remember that, after numerous talks and consultations, we had arrived at a certain stage. That stage itself merely meant getting over the initial hurdle. Many other difficult hurdles remained. But even that first step was checked by certain developments.⁴ I need not go into these developments except to say that they did, in fact, create new problems for us. I have not, at any time, and cannot now presume to challenge Pakistan's right to adopt any policy

3. Azad wrote to Nehru on 27 February: "I saw draft of your letter..... you have made changes in para 8, but the words 'very unrealistic' about Ghulam Mohammed's four points are still there.... I do not think they should be called unrealistic. It may create misunderstanding. Please delete it." He also wanted Nehru to conclude the letter by saying: "I trust if we ponder over our differences in this spirit of mutual confidence, there could be no reason why we may not reach an agreed solution."

4. The reference is to positive talks with Mohammad Ali immediately followed by Pakistan decision to accept military aid from US. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 344-46.

but, inevitably, we have to consider the consequences of that policy on us as well as on the Kashmir problem.

10. Unfortunately, subsequent happenings in the region of foreign policy have taken Pakistan and India further away from each other. Normally, this would not matter much but, in this world of great power blocs and when we stand in near danger of world war because of the conflicts in the Far East of Asia, this does make a vital difference. All of us stand on the edge of a precipice, and we have to think carefully and with all the wisdom that we possess about these world developments and how they affect us now and might affect us in the future.

11. I mention this because it is the context in which we move and frame our policies. We cannot get out of it. Any false step taken at this stage might have far-reaching and most unfortunate consequences. Anything that brings about an upset might well be dangerous to both our two countries.

12. I do not propose to repeat here the past history of seven and a half years in regard to Kashmir. But that history conditions the present, and cannot be set aside. You and I have different approaches to this problem. You have a grievance against India and consider the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir state to India as improper. I have a grievance against Pakistan for committing aggression on the Jammu and Kashmir state. According to us, Pakistan's armies are in illegal and improper possession of a good part of the territory of the state.

13. So far as the state itself is concerned, it functions, as you know, under its own government and assembly. The state is not only autonomous but somewhat more autonomous than any of our other states. By reason of our formal agreement with the state and according to our Constitution, we cannot ignore the views of the state in any matter relating to it. This is not merely a legal or constitutional position. It is something more and, in effect, we cannot override it. We can advise, of course.

14. But, apart from all this, what exactly are we to do which will bring a peaceful and happy end to this dispute and this problem? You suggest, in your four points, that the plebiscite should be held by the middle of October at the latest. That appears to me to be wholly impractical. Previously, we got stuck up completely in regard to prerequisites for such a plebiscite, and there we are still. The position has indeed considerably worsened by developments in the foreign field.

15. But, apart from the timing and other like matters, we have to consider what we have to do now to help in solving this problem. Obviously, we should rule out any intervention by armed forces to decide the future of the state. That can only bring disaster to the state as well as to Pakistan and India as a whole. Any other course which increases tension and ill will will also be bad. While I fully appreciate your new approach, I am unable to see how far our attempt to act up to your suggestions will be helpful at this stage. It is likely to raise great

excitement and passion, and the atmosphere of conflict will dominate us. Whatever the result, there is likely to be trouble on a much bigger scale than we have to face now. This upset in the Jammu and Kashmir state will have its reactions in India as well as in Pakistan. Instead, therefore, of the settlement and friendly relations that we so ardently desire, both our countries and our peoples will be in a much worse position. Apart from conflicts, there might be large-scale migrations and the like, spreading poison in both countries.

16. Fortunately, there is peace in the state at present. I know this is so in our part of the state, where much progress has been made and economic conditions have improved considerably. To upset this is to invite trouble and possibly disaster.

17. I have written to you frankly and explained my difficulties to you because I am anxious that this problem should be tackled in a friendly and realistic way. Your friendly approach and what you have often said in this matter moves me and leads me to think that, whatever the difficulties, we shall be able to find some way out. I earnestly trust that if we consider these matters and differences in this spirit of mutual confidence, there should be no reason why we may not ultimately reach an agreed solution. But the approach we make should be realistic and in accordance with the facts of the situation. It is no longer any good for us merely to talk to each other in terms of slogans. Mohammad Ali will be coming here at the end of March. I very much wish that we should then be in a position to deal with this problem more concretely. It will serve little purpose if we do not understand the present position with all its limitations and consequences.

I hope that your stay in Switzerland benefited your health.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To C.C. Desai¹

New Delhi
February 27, 1955

My dear C.C.,²

I enclose a letter addressed by me to the Governor General of Pakistan. This is in a sealed cover. Please have this delivered immediately by safe hand.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1900-1972): High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1955-58.

A copy of this letter is enclosed for your information.

I might inform you that the drafting of this letter has given me a good deal of trouble. I recognise and feel that Ghulam Mohammed is anxious to have a settlement and is prepared to go some distance for it. That is a welcome approach. But to suggest that a plebiscite should be held in Jammu and Kashmir state in the autumn of this year is manifestly not possible. The other suggestion which he made about my representing Pakistan's interests and Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali,³ Finance Minister, representing India's interests is also rather odd. I realise both his desire for a settlement and his own difficulties.

At the same time there are obvious difficulties on our side. Personally I really see no way out except a recognition by both parties of the status quo, subject to minor modifications. Also of course, if there is an agreement, many mutual privileges might follow. At the same time, I am very reluctant naturally to say that we will not have a plebiscite. That might appear as a breach of faith and I do not want to be guilty of that.

As a matter of fact, impartial observers like the London *Times* correspondent in Srinagar have come to the same conclusion. About the beginning of February there appeared an article in the London *Times* from their correspondent in Srinagar. In this, after analysing the situation fully, he came to the conclusion that the only satisfactory settlement possible now was on the basis of the status quo.

There is the question of the present Jammu and Kashmir Government agreeing to any step that we take. We cannot ignore them and we cannot just go ahead without their consent. So far as they are concerned, they have said very forcibly and rather aggressively that they will have no plebiscite and the problem is settled so far as they are concerned.

Then there is the international situation which has a direct bearing on the Kashmir issue. I am afraid that this situation is deteriorating very fast indeed in the Far East. In fact, for the first time I have to think of the possibility of war breaking out. Obviously, if such a contingency occurs we cannot think of anything that would upset Kashmir. Also there is not only the possibility, but something much more, of American bases in Azad Kashmir. Possibly Gilgit has already been chosen.

I am pointing out to you the various considerations that have been influencing me. The matter is so important that I have fully consulted some of my colleagues here, more especially Maulana Azad⁴ and Pandit Govind Ballabh

3. (1905-1980); Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs, Pakistan, 1951-55.

5. Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958); Union Minister for Education, 1947-58.

Pant.⁵ I do not want you to speak to Ghulam Mohammed about all that I have written above. But I want you to know how our mind is working.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. (1887-1961); Union Home Minister, 1955-61.

4. Cable to C.C. Desai¹

Your personal telegrams 128 and 130.

2. I entirely agree² that meeting between Mohammad Ali or Ghulam Mohammed and me should take place only after broad agreement has been reached. To meet and talk in the air and then separate is bound to lead to frustration and disappointment all round. It is clear to me that no such fruitful meeting can take place this month. We are not ready for it yet. At the same time, obviously, I do not wish it to appear that I do not want the meeting. If, however, because dates do not suit or for any other adequate reason, the meeting is postponed, I would welcome it.

3. Meanwhile, I agree that we should go ahead to relax tension on all fronts. This will certainly create better climate. But it must be remembered that Kashmir issue is not merely question of tension but of basic national conflicts. Hence, separate private approach will have to be made in regard to it before any result is achieved. As I have told you, I see no possibility of settlement in foreseeable future except on basis of recognition of status quo with such minor changes as many be considered necessary. Again, I do not wish to put this forward as it would mean my going back on idea of plebiscite. You should, however, keep all this in mind.

4. Ghulam Mohammed coming here rather suddenly would obviously raise all kinds of expectations, and it would be unfortunate if this was followed by

1. New Delhi, 3 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. Desai cabled to Nehru that Pakistan Minister of Interior, Iskandar Mirza, had told Ghulam Mohammed that there was no use in his going to Delhi unless "substantial progress" was made in discussions and time was ripe for signature for which he (Ghulam Mohammed) should go personally. Mirza also said that he was not in favour of the two Prime Ministers holding discussions towards the end of March until definite ground was prepared and there was some chance of success.



ADDRESSING THE FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FARMERS, NEW DELHI, 3 APRIL 1955



SPEAKING AT A MEETING OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL, NEW DELHI, 6 MAY 1955

disappointment. After all, mere appeals to each other do not take us very far, and we have to come to grips with the subject.

5. So far as I am concerned, I have heavy programme in March and many distinguished foreign statesmen are visiting us. I shall be in Delhi, however, except on 12th, 13th, 22nd and 23rd March. I shall be absent again on 6th and 7th April. On morning 15th April, I leave for Djakarta.

6. One question which is agitating us greatly is great influx of migrants from East Pakistan to West Bengal.³ This is creating serious situation and West Bengal Government is greatly worked up about it. In fact, Chief Minister⁴ is coming here on Saturday and will discuss this problem with me.

3. There had been a sharp increase in migration from East Pakistan to India during the six months of September 1954-February 1955, with about 65,000 persons crossing the border during the last four months of 1954.
4. B.C. Roy.

5. Cable to C.C. Desai¹

Your telegram 141 March 7. It was not my idea that you should suggest any postponement of my meeting with Mohammad Ali, but rather to point out that meeting without prior preparation was not likely to lead to any satisfactory result.² This applied even more to Ghulam Mohammed's coming here. There is no particular difficulty about my suggesting postponement of meeting, but there is no point in such postponement unless something is to happen in between. Indeed postponement at our request will cast burden on us to produce something before next meeting. I would rather therefore not have any postponement and face the meeting now even though that leads to no result. At least we shall come to some kind of grips with present situation.

2. I had expressed my views with some frankness in my letter to Ghulam Mohammed and I expected some reply from him.³ You must remember that it is Ghulam Mohammed who counts in Pakistan much more than Mohammad Ali.

1. New Delhi, 8 March 1955. JN Collection.
2. Desai cabled on 8 March saying he had told Mohammad Ali that while a visit from Pakistan leadership was welcome, "it was desirable that some ground should be prepared for bringing two viewpoints as near as possible before such high level meeting is held when their intention is that it should if possible be last and successful meeting."
3. Ghulam Mohammed replied on 8 March but his letter was delivered to Nehru much later. See *post*, pp. 241-242.

3. I might point out that in April we shall be going to Indonesia. Early in June I shall go to Soviet Union. In May I shall be in Delhi for part of the time. We are likely to have some Ministers from Egypt here then as well as possibly from other countries. However, it is possible to have meeting in May on some suitable date provided ground is cleared before then. Otherwise it is far better to allow present programme to stand.

4. You should, therefore, meet Ghulam Mohammed and Mohammad Ali and tell them that it is not my desire to postpone meeting or delay talks. But that I had pointed out in my letter certain obvious difficulties of present situation and the necessity of some fresh approach to this problem. I should like their reactions to this. Unless in all these circumstances they decide otherwise, meeting on 28th March in Delhi will hold good. You should not refer to question of plebiscite in your talks.

5. Regarding foreign policy, questions relating to Tunisia, Morocco, etc., offer no difficulty. But there is a wide divergence of our foreign policies in basic matters. Just as American aid for Pakistan created new situation for us, so also extension of Middle East pacts involving both Pakistan and UK would create another new situation. We are pointing this out to UK. International situation is very serious at present and all these moves on either side likely to make it worse. We are intimately concerned with these matters as they affect us as well as question of war and peace. This paragraph is for your personal information.

6. Cable to C.C. Desai¹

Your telegram 143 March 11th.² I have just returned to Delhi.³

2. I am agreeable that in the circumstances there should be a postponement of the Prime Ministers' meeting fixed for 28th March. This postponement should be announced in identical language from Karachi and Delhi. It is not desirable that different reasons should be given. We suggest, therefore, that following communique be issued by both Governments at a time to be fixed.

1. New Delhi, 13 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. Desai reported that Mohammad Ali had told him "that he was convinced that unless there was good hope of some real advance towards solution, merely meeting and parting this month would create more bitterness and jeopardise existing atmosphere of goodwill. He was therefore of the view that postponement was lesser of the two evils." Mohammad Ali also suggested the idea of secret representatives of the two Prime Ministers meeting to explore possibilities under a fresh approach.

3. Nehru had gone for a day to Nagpur.

3. *Begins.* On the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, the Prime Minister of Pakistan had agreed to visit New Delhi on March 28th in order to discuss pending questions between India and Pakistan. It appears now that owing to heavy pressure of engagements of both Prime Ministers and the visit of eminent statesmen from foreign countries to Karachi and Delhi, it will not be possible to have full talks during this period before the Asian-African Conference meets at Bandung in Indonesia.⁴ It has been decided therefore to postpone this meeting of the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India in Delhi to sometime after the Bandung Conference. *Ends.*

4. Please consult Premier Mohammad Ali about this draft communique and inform us immediately if he agrees to it and time of release.

5. I entirely agree that meanwhile our approach should be entirely private. I think that instead of two persons selected by either Government meeting together, it would be better if some private representative of Pakistan came here quietly for talks and later someone on our behalf went equally quietly to Karachi for talks. The order may be reversed if necessary.

6. It is desirable for both High Commissioners not to participate directly in these talks as this is likely to prove embarrassing. Also, if two other representatives meet each other, this will lead to publicity.

7. Please let us know immediately (1) about text of communique to be issued and (2) Mohammad Ali's reaction to method proposed for private approaches.

4. From 18 to 24 April 1955.

7. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
March 13, 1955

My dear Bakshi,²

I have just returned to Delhi and received your letter of March 12.

I had heard about the visit of the World Bank's representatives to India and Pakistan about the canal waters issue. But I knew no details about it. The matter was dealt with by our Irrigation & Power Ministry. Even our External Affairs Ministry did not know much about the details except the broad fact that such a mission was coming here. I think you are quite right in saying that before any decisions are taken, your government should have been consulted.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1919-1971); Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1953-63.

As it was, these decisions were practically taken in Washington by the engineers who were meeting there. This was unfortunate, but there it is.

I am enquiring more about this matter from the Irrigation and Power Ministry and shall let you know. But, I must confess, I do not know how we can tell these World Bank engineers at this stage that they must not visit Jammu and Kashmir. Obviously we can tell them still less that while they can go there, the Pakistan representatives cannot. The whole team has to function together. This consists of engineers of the World Bank and of Pakistan. The team is going all over Pakistan and then visiting some parts of India. They are going to many places where thus far Pakistan had not allowed our engineers to go and we had not allowed Pakistan engineers. But in the new circumstances we have agreed to this broad survey by both.

In this matter, after months and years of arguments and discussions, we have arrived at some broad conclusions and agreements. I must say that the World Bank has been very helpful to us in this matter, or rather they have been convinced by us of the correctness of our position. For us to tell them that the Jammu and Kashmir state is out of bounds for this team can only have undesirable repercussions not only on them but in the world generally, Pakistan will exploit it. As far as I can see, therefore, we have to take the risk, whatever it may be, of this team visiting Jammu and Kashmir. The team consists of engineers, but it is quite likely that Pakistan might send someone with it for other purposes.

Although the Kashmir state has not thus far been an important factor in these canal waters disputes, it has undoubtedly been in the picture. We have all along asked for a full consideration of the entire problem of the Indus Valley. We cannot say now that Kashmir has nothing to do with it.³

I might inform you that there is every chance of my meeting with Mohammad Ali not taking place on the 28th March as arranged. It is likely to be postponed to some time in May.

I shall write to you again about this engineer team after enquiring from the Irrigation & Power Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru again wrote to Bakshi on 14 March that "while detailed programmes have not be drawn up fully, everyone expects this engineers' party to go to Jammu and Kashmir. I think that it would be most embarrassing if they are told now that they should not go. In fact, this would be giving a big handle to Pakistan, and this whole enquiry into the resources and needs of the Indus basin might well collapse. The object of their going to Kashmir was to assess water requirements of the state. In the circumstances, it has become almost impossible to cancel this visit.... It is possible, however, to shorten the visit a little.... I do not think there is much room for reduction in Jammu.... It might be possible to reduce the stay in Srinagar and the Valley by a day or so."

8. Cable to C.C. Desai¹

High Commissioner of Pakistan saw me this morning and delivered letter dated March 8th from Governor General, Pakistan. High Commissioner was much excited about postponement of Prime Ministers' meeting and indicated that neither Mohammad Ali nor Ghulam Mohammed wanted this postponement.² He hinted that your information on this subject was not correct. He further referred, and Governor General has also referred, to your mentioning to latter about fate of forty million Muslims in India if any reopening of Kashmir question.³ I do not think your stress on this aspect was wise. Also, as I have emphasised previously, we were not anxious for postponement of meeting. We only wished to point out certain difficulties of problems which had to be dealt with realistically.

2. I find that Pakistan Radio announced this morning that postponement of Prime Ministers' meeting has been done at India's instance. All this is rather unfortunate. I want you to be particularly careful in dealing with Pakistan authorities and not make any statements which might embarrass us.

1. New Delhi, 15 March 1955. JN Collection.
2. The same day Desai had cabled to Nehru that Mohammad Ali was in favour of postponement of talks and sought a simultaneous announcement to this effect. The Pakistan Prime Minister also wanted the announcement to say that the meeting would now be held in early May.
3. Desai had cabled to Nehru on 2 March, "Myself propose pursuing the line in discussion that plebiscite (in Kashmir) is against the best interests of Pakistan which should not make position of forty million Muslims in India difficult by raising fresh slogans on post-partition model and that Kashmir territory, population or resources not worth that risk."

9. To Ghulam Mohammed¹

New Delhi
March 17, 1955

My dear Governor General,
Your letter of the 8th March was handed over to me by your High Commissioner

1. JN Collection.

in Delhi yesterday, March 16th.² Thank you for it. Since you wrote to me, some developments have taken place, as you must know, and Mohammad Ali's visit to Delhi has been postponed.³

2. I suppose that in the circumstances it became necessary to postpone this meeting. But I confess I am not very happy about it. I am particularly unhappy because there appears to be some misunderstanding on the subject. Your High Commissioner here told me quite definitely that some messages I had received from our High Commissioner could not be correct.

3. I think it is important that if there is any misunderstanding of this kind, it should be removed. We can hardly proceed to discuss any matter seriously if there is any thought in our minds that we are not dealing fairly with each other.

4. When I wrote to you my letter of the 27th February,⁴ I tried to convey to you my thoughts and feelings in so far as I could do so. There was my anxiety for India and Pakistan to solve their differences as speedily as possible. There was at the same time an apprehension that our pursuing the old path might not yield that satisfactory result and might even have a contrary effect. I unburdened myself, therefore, to you. I waited for your answer. That written answer came only yesterday. But meanwhile, C.C. Desai reported some conversations with you and with Mohammad Ali and I sent him my reactions which presumably he conveyed to you and Mohammad Ali. Naturally I pointed out that the meeting we were going to have on the 28th March might not yield fruitful results, partly because we had not previously explored the situation adequately and partly because we would be meeting in a rush with all kinds of pressing engagements facing us. I was having a visit from U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, just about that time. Within a few days I was having a visit from the Foreign Minister of North Vietnam, and there was heavy parliamentary work all the time in which I was particularly involved because I am in charge of some important legislation. Mohammad Ali also appeared to be very fully occupied. In fact he had asked me to change the date by two or three days, as the 28th March did not suit him. I had not been able to change the date because

2. See previous item wherein Nehru informed Desai that Ghulam Mohammed's letter was delivered to him on 15 March.
3. Ghulam Mohammed had opined that if Nehru were to write to Mohammad Ali, "there is every chance of his agreeing to a definite postponement of (the) meeting...." Nehru in a note to Commonwealth Secretary on 17 March said, "It is clear that question of postponement had been discussed with Mohammad Ali as well as the Governor General and had been agreed to. The only question was as to how they should say it and they wanted to lay stress on India asking for it. I do not particularly mind this because in a way it might be said that the original idea came from us."
4. See *ante* pp. 231-234.

just then U Nu would be here. I knew also that Mohammad Ali and you were facing serious constitutional difficulties which were taking much of your time.

5. Because of all these factors, I asked C.C. Desai to explain the position to Mohammad Ali. I was not at all anxious that the meeting should be postponed because we might have to face the same difficulty later.

6. C.C. Desai reported to me that Mohammad Ali also felt that in the circumstances it might be desirable to postpone the meeting. Thereupon I asked C.C. Desai to make it quite clear that mere postponement might not be desirable and therefore I was not keen on it. The reply to this came that Mohammad Ali thought that on the whole postponement was a lesser evil.

7. Thereupon I sent a message⁵ through C.C. Desai to the effect that I would agree to the postponement till after the Asian-African Conference. It was necessary, however, that a joint communique to this effect should be issued so that there might not be different statements from Karachi and Delhi. I sent a draft communique for this purpose.

8. The next evening we had a telephone message from C.C. Desai, followed by a telegram, stating that Mohammad Ali had agreed to the issue of that communique as it was and was anxious that this should be published the next morning as he was leaving Karachi. We issued it to the press. But no such communique was issued from Karachi and the statement made there was somewhat different.

9. When your High Commissioner in Delhi saw me a day after, he expressed his great surprise at all this and stated categorically that he could not believe that Mohammad Ali had agreed either to the postponement or to the joint communique. I really cannot understand all this and why this misunderstanding has arisen. I am again asking C.C. Desai about it.

10. I was looking forward to meeting Mohammad Ali in any event at Djakarta or Bandung in the course of the Asian-African Conference. I was returning to Delhi about the end of April. The next few days were the last few days of the Parliament session which were very heavy with work. I was then going to Berhampur in Orissa for a meeting of the All India Congress Committee. I suggested, therefore, that we might fix a date for the meeting about mid-May. I think I suggested the 14th or 15th May.

11. These are the facts, so far as I know them. If there is any mistake about them, I should like to know what it is.

12. I now come to your letter of March 8.⁶ I do not think it requires any

5. See *ante*, pp. 238-239.

6. Ghulam Mohammed in his reply of 8 March noted that "without settlement of Kashmir by mutual agreement, I feel that my work in the field of improving India-Pakistan relations cannot be sustained."

reaffirmation from me or you that a settlement of the problems that trouble us between India and Pakistan is a matter of great importance and the more speedily this is brought about, the better. Also that fortunately there is a very favourable atmosphere, so far as the people are concerned. Therefore, I am eager to do everything in my power to help in this settlement and I welcomed your own strong urge to do so. But I pointed out that a realistic approach to the situation was necessary and an understanding of the present position and the possible consequences of any action. It was not a question of India's difficulties or your difficulties but rather of the essential difficulties of the situation. We could not run away from the problem because of these difficulties. But we could only solve it if we appreciated them and not ignored them.

13. You tell me in your letter that Desai said to you that any reopening of the Kashmir question and any settlement that we might arrive at would jeopardise the position of Muslims in India. If Desai said this, he did not represent my mind correctly. If we are to deal with the Kashmir question, we have to reopen it with the intention of arriving at a settlement. Otherwise there is no question of dealing with the matter, nor was I thinking at any time of the position of the Muslims in India being jeopardised in the way that is suggested. The position, as you say, is entirely different from what it was in 1947.⁷ What I had said was of some wider import. That is, any step taken in Kashmir which, instead of giving a healing touch to our relations, might upset them, would be unfortunate. Therefore we had to be careful as to what step we take and how we take it.

14. I have no doubt that your presence in Delhi when we have any talks would be very helpful indeed, even though you might not formally associate yourself with those talks. You would be very welcome here.

15. I do not wish to discuss this whole question over again in this letter. But I wanted to write to you immediately, not only to thank you for your letter but to try to remove some misunderstandings.

With regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Ghulam Mohammed wrote to Nehru "that the conditions today are not the same in India and Pakistan as they were in 1947. The partition was immediate and minds were very disturbed. All I feel is that except for a section of the Indian people, who could be described as communalists and who rely on extreme opposition to you also, there should not be any such danger, and even if it should arise you have the proper means, both with your army and police, to deal with the situation. In Pakistan you can fully rely on me...."

10. To C.C. Desai¹

New Delhi
18 March, 1955

My dear C.C.,

The Prime Ministers' meeting on the 28th is off. But we appear to have been landed in some kind of a muddle. Ghazanfar Ali Khan makes all kinds of charges and practically says that you misled us about what his Prime Minister said or wanted done. This naturally is very annoying. Ghazanfar Ali Khan sent a telegram to Mohammad Ali at Dacca and got a reply which he is flaunting about. This whole matter must be cleared up. I dislike greatly any impression being created that we have tried to overreach anybody or backed out of any assurance. That is why I have been repeatedly telling you to be exceedingly careful. Do not proceed on inferences or impressions. The Governor-General becomes highly emotional in his talk and says many things which have no particular meaning. Mohammed Ali is vague. We cannot afford to be caught up in any way.

I have sent you a letter to the Governor-General today which I hope you will deliver immediately.

I was much surprised to learn that you visited that shrine of Deva Shariff in Bara Banki. No doubt, you did so so that this gesture might please the Governor General. But I think it was overdoing it and people who have heard about it do not like it at all. Even Maulana Saheb² was disturbed when he heard about this from Ghazanfar Ali.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Abul Kalam Azad.

11. Cable to C.C. Desai¹

Mulraj² came to see me yesterday and gave me some account of his talks in Karachi. I do not think these talks yield out much hope.

1. New Delhi, 3 May 1955. JN Collection.
2. Mulraj acted as an intermediary between Ghulam Mohammed and Nehru, at the instance of the former. He was known to Nehru. Nehru wrote to Desai on 17 March: "I know Mulraj well. He is a well meaning person but I cannot trust his judgement."

2. Mulraj told me that Governor General was anxious to meet me in Delhi or elsewhere. If he so wishes, I shall of course gladly meet him. You know my programme. I leave Delhi 8th morning for Orissa returning 12th May early afternoon.

3. Please inform Governor General that I have learnt that he wishes to meet me. I shall be very happy to meet him if he would be good enough to come to Delhi. This means that the earliest that I can meet him is 12th May afternoon. We shall be glad to have him as our guest here if he comes then.³

4. Please let me know his reaction.

3. In a subsequent telegram sent to C.C. Desai the same day, Nehru stated, "Further information received by me shows that there is big gap between Governor General's thinking and ours. I am worried at idea that Ghulam Mohammed should imagine that we are likely to proceed on lines suggested by him. There is no possibility of that if report received by me is correct. It seems that he changes his mind frequently under different pressures. If he wishes to come here, we shall of course welcome him...."

12. Talks with Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza—I¹

Mr Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, and General Iskander Mirza,² Minister of the Interior, came to my house at 11.35 am on 14th May. Maulana Azad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant were also present. Our talk lasted for about an hour and a half when we went to lunch. After lunch, Mr Mohammad Ali and General Iskander Mirza went away. It was decided that we should meet again tomorrow, 15th May, at 10.00 am in my house.

2. General Iskander Mirza began by expressing his deep regret for the incident at Nekowal village near the Jammu border.³ He said that Premier Mohammad Ali had expressed his deep regret already to the President. This incident was most unfortunate and effective steps should be taken to prevent a

1. Minutes of the talks held at New Delhi, 14 May 1955. JN Collection.
2. (1899-1969); Minister of the Interior, States and Frontier Regions, 1954-55; Governor General of Pakistan, 1955-56.
3. There was firing from within Pakistan on a party belonging to the Central Tractor Organisation on 7 May in the area of Nekowal village in Jammu district, resulting in the death of 12 persons.

recurrence of any such happening. Pantji said that this was not only very unfortunate in itself but the time when it occurred was still more unhappy. I said that all of us had been deeply distressed by this incident, and there was much public feeling. A large number of border incidents had been occurring during the past few years. They could be divided in two or three categories. One was a large category consisting of what might be called criminal acts, stealing, driving away cattle, dacoity, etc. Sometimes, there was a little shooting involved too. A border always attracted such criminal elements. Then there were other incidents which were not criminal and where there was a petty clash, sometimes involving shooting. This particular incident however at Nekowal was rather unique. Oddly enough, our military headquarters did not receive any news of it till almost twenty hours after it had occurred.⁴ The first news that came to us was through our Food Ministry which was running a farm there. A tractor had been sent there under one of our officers, Major Badwar, accompanied by a guard of six persons and some civilians. Previously, that is, a year or two ago, in order to avoid incidents, it had been agreed that none of our armed forces should go to the Nekowal village or within three hundred yards of it. On this occasion, Major Badwar was apparently demarcating a line some five hundred yards away. Suddenly, there was firing on him from across the Pakistan border. Major Badwar was immediately killed. Probably, the armed guard accompanying him returned the fire but they were also shot at and killed. The civilians accompanying them also suffered casualties. The Pakistanis took away these bodies as well as the tractor.

3. The UN observer came later, and the bodies were recovered as well as the tractor. The tractor was drilled with bullets on three sides. Two or three of the civilian bodies bore no trace of a bullet mark, but they had been mutilated with big gashes. The backs of some of these bodies were lacerated indicating that they had been dragged along the ground for a long distance.

4. I said all this had shocked us greatly and was deeply distressing. It was clear from this account that our people were peacefully engaged in ploughing. No one would commit aggression with a tractor.

5. Mr Mohammad Ali said that the account they had received was somewhat different but they would await the result of the enquiry and would certainly punish those who were found guilty. I said that General Shaikh who had come from Pakistan soon after the incident, had expressed his great regret and had spoken rather strongly to the villagers and others about condemning them for their misbehaviour. The next day, however, he appeared to have taken up a somewhat different attitude.

6. Both Mr Mohammad Ali and General Iskander Mirza said that the guilty must be punished whoever they were and steps must be taken to prevent any

4. For Nehru's note on the Nekowal incident, see *post*, p. 529.

such thing happening in future anywhere on the border. General Iskander Mirza said he would like to discuss these border problems separately with our Home Minister, Pantji. He said that it was absurd that both our countries should keep large forces facing each other on the border. We should gradually withdraw them. To begin with, they might withdraw on both sides to some distance. Later, they could be thinned out and, later still, only some police checkpoints need be kept on either side, as was becoming for friendly countries.

7. I said that we were quite willing to consider these matters in a friendly spirit. General Iskander Mirza fixed some time to meet Pantji tomorrow, 15th May, at his house. This was, I think, 3.00 pm, but I am not sure of the time.

8. Mr Mohammad Ali then referred to the Kashmir issue and said that we must settle this. He said that we, that is India, held the key, and he would like to know what we suggested about settling it. He spoke at some length about the necessity and desirability of settling this question, and having friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries.

9. I entirely agreed with him. I pointed out, however, that we had been discussing this matter for the last seven and a half years without having made much progress. Meanwhile, all kinds of developments had taken place, and the position had to some extent stabilised itself on either side of the ceasefire line. It was not much good our covering the old ground again and talking at each other. We knew the background and we must approach this question in a friendly and realistic manner.

10. I then referred to past history—how the first news came to us about the raid at Muzaffarabad, how we were agitated about it but could think of doing nothing at the time, how further news came of the destruction of the Mahora power house and the sack of villages, etc., en route by the raiders, ending up with the sack of Baramula, etc. All this alarmed us and we felt that if the raiders reached Srinagar and sacked that city, this would create a very dangerous situation, passions would be aroused and all this might lead to war between India and Pakistan. Just then, appeals for help came to us both from the Maharaja's⁵ government and the National Conference. Both suggested the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir state of India, presuming no doubt that this would enable us to help them in defending the country from the raiders.

11. We met in the Defence Committee and sat for long hours discussing this very difficult situation. Lord Mountbatten⁶ presided over that meeting. We did not think then that the Pakistan army was involved, although we felt that Pakistan had encouraged and helped the raiders. Ultimately, we came to the conclusion, late in the evening, in October 1947, that we must do something to

5. Hari Singh (1895-1961); Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, 1926-1949.

6. (1900-1979); First Sea Lord, 1955-59.

prevent the raiders reaching Srinagar. We made preparations overnight and sent a small force of about two hundred and twenty soldiers by air early next morning to Kashmir. These people arrived there just in time to prevent the airfield falling into the hands of the raiders. They went into action immediately and gradually pushed back the raiders. The next day, we sent another batch of two hundred and fifty or so by air. Gradually, we had over a thousand soldiers there, and they succeeded in driving the raiders out of the valley and right up to and beyond Uri. Our troops then found a wall of resistance facing them. This was the Pakistan army. The situation changed. We were no longer dealing with a number of raiders but with the Pakistan army. After that, these military operations developed and spread out.

12. In the early months of the Kashmir operations, I met the then Pakistan Premier, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan⁷ once, I think, in Delhi and once in Lahore. We discussed this matter and I felt that we were not very far from an agreement, although no agreement was arrived at. I had a feeling then also that some of the senior British officers in Pakistan, notably the then Governor⁸ of the Punjab, threw their weight against a settlement. I had had this experience in discussing other matters also in Lahore.

13. Some months later, I met Mr Liaquat Ali Khan in London at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and, later, in Paris⁹ where I had a long talk with him about Kashmir. I told him that I was deeply distressed at this war going on between our armies. All our background was against war but we had been compelled to resort to armed defence because we felt strongly about this invasion. All over India there was this strong feeling. I had no doubt that his view was different and there was possibly equally strong feeling in Pakistan. What, then, were we to do? I felt that, in the balance, the Indian army was stronger than the Pakistan army and we would win in the end, but it was obvious that the war would be a prolonged one and would deeply injure both India and Pakistan. Apart from this, I was anxious to put an end to this war. For us to try to impose each other's will on the other by armed might would bring disaster to both. I was anxious, therefore, to put an end to this as soon as possible. We had talked about a plebiscite, etc. I was prepared for that, but I had no doubt that we would have to face great difficulties and a long time would elapse before we could give effect to this, and even then it was by no means clear if there would be a satisfactory settlement. The only feasible and practical approach seemed to me to accept things as they were at that time and put an end to this war on that basis. Mr Liaquat Ali Khan did not agree to this, and there our talks ended. This was in the latter half of 1948.

7. (1895-1951): Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1947-51.

8. R.F. Mudie.

9. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 8, p. 43, for details of this meeting.

14. Since then, much had happened—the UN Commission, Mr Dixon,¹⁰ Dr Graham,¹¹ etc., etc. We had agreed to the UN resolution about a plebiscite, but it was clearly laid down in that resolution that certain things had to be done and certain conditions established before the plebiscite could take place. So, we started talking about these preconditions. There were many of them, but gradually talks centred round one aspect of this question. This was the question of the quantum of forces to be kept on the Indian side as well as on the other. We discussed this at length with Dr Graham without finally coming to a decision, although we seemed to approach each other. According to the UN Commission's resolution, the Pakistani forces had to be withdrawn completely and we had to withdraw the bulk of our forces. The Pakistan interpretation was somewhat different.

15. Thus, although we came rather near to the solution of this problem of the quantum of forces, we did not actually arrive at an agreement. The other important preconditions were not even discussed then. It was about this time that I met Mr Mohammad Ali for the first time¹² in this connection, and we arrived at an agreement about the future approach to this question.

16. A little later, new developments took place in the international field which changed the context of this problem. This was American military aid to Pakistan. Much later, indeed recently, Pakistan had got tied up with Western and Middle Eastern military blocs.¹³ This had changed the entire picture in this area and brought the prospect of world war right to our borders. I could not and did not challenge the right of Pakistan to make any decisions or any arrangements with other countries but I had to consider the consequences of those decisions in regard to ourselves and our own problems, more especially, the Kashmir problem. I did not wish to discuss our basic international policy which was nothing new for us. It flowed from our thinking in pre-independence days and, I was convinced, that it was the only policy that India could pursue both for herself and for the good of world peace. Anyhow, the Kashmir problem had to be seen in this context, and our previous discussions had to be revised accordingly.

17. Mr Mohammad Ali said that each country naturally had to decide for

10. Owen Dixon (1886-1972); Chief Justice, Australia, 1952-64; and UN mediator in the Kashmir dispute.
11. Frank P. Graham (1886-1972); UN mediator in the Kashmir dispute.
12. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 22, pp. 191, 194-195.
13. On 8 September 1954 Pakistan joined the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation along with US, UK, France, Philippines, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand. On 1 July 1955, Pakistan joined the Turko-Iraqi mutual Cooperation Treaty signed on 25 February 1955.

itself but even their alignments with foreign countries were partly the result of their conflict with India. If that conflict ceased, no doubt that would have some effect on their international policy. I said that I agreed with this to a considerable extent. There was action and interaction in regard to these matters and each influenced the other.

18. Mr Mohammad Ali said that if there was complete friendliness with India, Pakistan would not spend so much on its army and would devote its resources more to economic development which was so necessary. I agreed and added that we had ourselves been anxious about reducing our army. In fact, some years ago, we had reduced it by about fifty thousand and intended reducing it further. The difficulty however arose about providing employment to those persons discharged from the army. Some of them joined gangs of dacoits, specially in Rajasthan, and gave us many headaches. We, therefore, toned down our army reduction till we could make provision for those discharged. Even so, we were proceeding to reduce our army by about ten thousand a year.

19. I further pointed out that our whole mind in India was today directed towards economic development. We were not interested much in political matters or even in international matters, although we could not help participating in them. Above everything, we wanted economic and industrial progress, the raising of standards of our people and the reduction of the number of unemployed. Owing to the growth of population, we had eighteen lakhs of fresh employable persons every year, apart from the old reservoir of unemployed. This was a terrific problem and we were trying to face it in our Second Five Year Plan. A country was really strong only if it was economically and industrially advanced. As I had said at Bandung, I did not believe in a country or an individual being weak. The weak went to the wall. If there was no strength in a country, there was a power vacuum which others filled, as it happened when the British came here. I did not want any further power vacuums in India and that was the position of other Eastern countries too. Therefore, our absorption in economic matters. Nothing could please us so much as a settlement of problems which came in our way, like the Kashmir problem.

20. Mr Mohammad Ali asked me what then were we to do about Kashmir. I said that we had to face the situation as it was. During these seven and a half years, many changes had taken place. The position had stabilised itself somewhat on both sides of the ceasefire line. On our side in the Jammu and Kashmir state, considerable progress had been made. Economic conditions were better than for many years. Prices were lower. A big hydroelectric scheme had just been completed, and would supply light and power. Other schemes to prevent floods had also advanced greatly. The Banihal tunnel was also well on its way. By the end of this year, probably the tunnel would be pierced through. In another year's time, it ought to be working. This would make a difference in

the valley. There were many other small schemes and improvements in the J&K state. Altogether, the position had stabilised and was an improving one. Naturally, I could not say what was happening on the other side of the cease-fire line. Mr Mohammad Ali would know much better. In any event, a certain measure of stabilisation must have taken place there. Were we to upset all this? Anything which had that effect of upsetting, would not lead to the solution of the problem, but rather to the aggravation of our difficulties and, perhaps, more bitterness. If large numbers of refugees trooped out either to Pakistan or to India, they would bring trouble and discord and bitterness with them, and the relations of India and Pakistan would be poisoned afresh. All the good that had happened might be washed away. At present, fortunately, there was a good deal of goodwill among the people of India and Pakistan as we had seen in Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, etc. Therefore, I was anxious to avoid any step which had an upsetting result.

21. I wanted to stand by the commitments we had made but sometimes commitments overlapped or clashed with each other. There were the commitments about the plebiscite, etc. I wanted to stand by them, although I realised how progressively difficult this had become. Then, there were the commitments to the Kashmir Government and people. In fact, we were constitutionally bound in many ways to the Jammu and Kashmir Government. All our states were autonomous to a large extent, but the J&K state was more autonomous than others, and we could not interfere in most matters. We could advise, of course. Sometimes, things were done there by the Government, which were not to our liking, but we could not help that. Therefore, we could not bypass that Government. In fact, constitutionally and according to our agreement, we could not do so.

22. Keeping all these international and national matters in view, and having given the most earnest consideration to this problem, we had come to the conclusion that the only practical and safe way of dealing with it was to accept present conditions as they were, that is, the status quo, and then proceed on that basis. Having accepted that, one could consider what rectifications of the border, etc., could be made to suit both parties. But the main thing was an acceptance of the principle of the status quo.

23. Mr Mohammad Ali had listened patiently to all this. Occasionally, he said a sentence or two, and so did General Iskander Mirza. Maulana Azad and Pantji also occasionally made a remark. When I had finished, Mr Mohammad Ali said that he would like a further elucidation from me as to what I meant by these rectifications and the consequences of our proceeding on the basis I had mentioned. He said that we might consider this further tomorrow when he said we might have a map to help us.

24. We agreed to this, and we are meeting tomorrow at 10.00 am at the Prime Minister's House.

13. Talks with Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza—II'

We met at 10.00 am. Mr Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr Iskander Mirza, Maulana Azad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant were present, apart from me. The meeting lasted for about an hour and three quarters.

2. The map of the Jammu and Kashmir state was examined. I was asked by Premier Mohammad Ali to elucidate and follow up what I said yesterday. I replied that I had made our approach clear. I thought that there were only two courses open to us: (1) to aim at a final settlement now, leaving nothing over, (2) to try to prepare the ground for a final settlement at a much later stage, trying to work towards it.

3. It was not possible or desirable to settle a part of the problem finally now and leave another part for later decision. This would be unfair and would leave a feeling of uncertainty. Personally, I preferred the first alternative, that is, a final settlement if that was possible.

4. Mr Iskander Mirza pointed out the difficulty of his Government in accepting things as they were. How could they possibly put this across to their people? No government would last twenty-four hours in Pakistan on this basis. I said that a similar difficulty would arise on both sides. In addition, we had our constitutional difficulties. I read out the part of our Constitution referring to Kashmir as contained in the President's Order of the 14th May, 1954. This ran as follows:

“Provided further that no Bill providing for increasing or diminishing the area of the State of Jammu and Kashmir or altering the name or boundary of that State, shall be introduced in Parliament without the consent of the legislature of that State.”

5. I said that either party trying to make a major change in the status quo as at present, would not only produce violent reactions on the other side but would have a gravely upsetting effect. Therefore, there appeared to be no other way except to proceed on the present basis. Any major change would mean our facing the problem of migrations on a large scale.

6. Mr Iskander Mirza referred to the past talks, etc., and how they had been affected by American aid to Pakistan. That aid had nothing to do with Kashmir or India. It was merely in self-protection. He would like to have common defence with India. He pointed out the dangers of the Persian Gulf

1. Minutes of talks held at New Delhi on 15 May 1955 and recorded the same day. JN Collection.

being occupied by a hostile power and that the defence of the Persian Gulf depended upon Pakistan and India.

7. I said that we would like to coordinate our defence policies as well as other policies with Pakistan, but what exactly did common defence mean. Against whom was it intended? Presumably against the Soviet Union. I could not conceive of the Soviet Union attacking Pakistan or India. There was a possibility, in case of war, of the Persian Gulf being threatened. Even that was a contingency that would only arise in case of a world war when of course military and strategic conditions would be considered from a world point of view. The major theatres of war would be Europe and the Far East. The Middle East might be in danger but nothing much would depend upon it. The real issue would be determined elsewhere.

8. Also, that in existing circumstances no aggression by any party anywhere in the world could take place without provoking a major war. That in itself was a strong deterrent. We felt therefore that the best way to seek security was to make a different and a friendly approach to countries, at the same time of course keeping one's own country as strong as possible.

9. I referred to Sir Winston Churchill's idea of the next war—its instantaneous and terribly destructive character. Also to what Admiral Radford² of the US said recently. He had said that the Western powers were strong enough to defeat the Soviet Union, etc. He had added, however, that there would be no victor in the next war.

10. Because of all this, war had to be avoided and these local defence arrangements had no significance. I ventured to say to Mr Iskander Mirza that his analysis was out of date in the new atomic age.

11. Reference was made by Mr Iskander Mirza to some kind of negotiations that had been carried on informally with the Governor General of Pakistan. I said that there had been some vague and informal exchanges through Mr Mulraj and I understood that one Mr Wajid Ali, whom I had not met, was also involved. The broad proposals made on behalf of the Governor General were that a large piece of territory in Jammu, north of the Chenab, should be transferred to Pakistan. Also, that Kashmir proper should be under some kind of a joint control of a joint army.

12. I pointed out that these proposals were completely impractical. I could not conceive of any kind of joint control of Kashmir for practical reasons. From constitutional reasons also, it had to be ruled out. As for large tracts of territory north of Chenab being transferred, this was quite out of the question. No one on our side could possibly think of this. We could never get people to agree to it, and it would create enormous problems of migration, etc. I also

2. Arthur William Radford (1896-1973); served in the US Navy; Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1953-57.

pointed out that this would mean cutting off a small area of Jammu left with India, from Kashmir.

13. Mr Iskander Mirza said that he himself did not think this proposal of transfer of all these territories north of the Chenab, as practical. Mr Mohammad Ali and Mr Iskander Mirza again pointed out their difficulties with their people in accepting anything which completely ignored their wishes and demands. Something had to be done to make them feel that they had gained something. I was asked again to indicate our precise proposal. What was the least or the most that we would accept? I said that it was difficult for me to indicate precisely the variations in the present ceasefire line. That would depend on geographical, administrative and other factors. These would have to be considered carefully by people on both sides. I pointed out for instance that the northern ceasefire line was not a happy one. The Kishanganga was a suitable line but actually the ceasefire line was a few miles away. These considerations might apply to other places too on both sides. Apart from these minor alterations, I said that I thought it might be possible to consider the transfer of a certain part of the Poonch area which was on the Indian side. I was asked what part. I said I could not say definitely because I was not acquainted with the exact position but, roughly speaking, the Poonch area. Even this transfer, I added, might involve the migration of about fifty thousand persons from the areas transferred. That in itself would be a grave problem.

14. I added that one of the reasons which actuated me in suggesting this Poonch area was the fact that this was a major recruiting ground for the Pakistan army and many people in that army came from this area.

15. Mr Iskander Mirza said that he did not see why anyone should leave the Poonch area because it was transferred. These people would not only be allowed to stay on but would be given a fair treatment. I said that this might be so but conditions were created and forces began to work which could not be checked.

16. At this stage, our talks about the Kashmir issue were adjourned. Mr Mohammad Ali said that he would give us their reactions tomorrow after consulting their officers and experts.

17. Mr Iskander Mirza then asked what other matters there were for us to discuss. I mentioned the exodus from East Pakistan which was formidable and most embarrassing for us. He acknowledged that this was a serious matter and that the actual figures of the exodus had been examined and found to tally on both sides. The Pakistan Government had issued stringent orders on this subject to the East Pakistan Government. He would show us copies of the telegrams issued.

18. This question of the exodus from East Pakistan was further discussed—as to the causes underlying it. It was admitted generally that there were economic causes. Some reference was made to the Zamindari legislation by Mr

Mohammad Ali, which affected not only the zamindars but the considerable number of people who were dependent upon them in various ways.³

19. I said that I was quite sure that the Pakistan Government did not want this exodus. I could not say definitely about the East Pakistan Government, but the real difficulty came from hosts of minor officials in East Pakistan. I added that nothing was more surprising than the charge made in the Pakistan press that India was deliberately inciting these people to migrate from East Pakistan. We must be mad indeed to invite trouble in this way.

20. I then referred to the canal waters issue which was now being considered in consultation with the World Bank. I gave a brief summary of the old history of this issue and referred to our meeting on May 4, 1948, at which the present Governor General, Mr Ghulam Mohammed, was also present, and the agreement then arrived at. I pointed out that, so far as certain areas of East Punjab were concerned as well as Pepsu and Rajasthan, there was no hope for them at all except to get water from the Sutlej. The Bhakra-Nangal scheme had been thought of long before Partition in order to provide these waters. We realised, of course, that West Pakistan must not suffer and that had been our approach throughout, and the World Bank's approach. This might involve some big construction in West Pakistan involving an expenditure of sixty or seventy crores of rupees. India was prepared to share in this burden. Anyhow, I hoped that a settlement would be arrived at under the auspices of the World Bank.

21. I referred to the evacuee property question and said that this had been discussed by Mr Iskander Mirza and others with Shri Mehr Chand Khanna.⁴ Some satisfactory decisions had been arrived at, but a part of the problem still remained.

22. I then briefly referred to other questions like visas, etc., which Mr Iskander Mirza was going to discuss with our Home Minister. Mr Iskander Mirza said that we must get rid of these objectionable, humiliating provisions about reporting to the police, etc. I agreed.

23. As Mr Iskander Mirza was going away, he referred to the question of mosques and temples. He said that it was hardly possible for these innumerable mosques and temples to be looked after properly, when there was no one present in those areas who took interest in them. What should be done was to make a list of all important mosques, temples and gurdwaras on either side, and these should be properly looked after. The others should simply be allowed to decay.

3. Iskander Mirza, at a meeting on 9 April 1955 with M.C. Khanna, Rehabilitation Minister of India, told the latter that the abolition of zamindaris with its consequent unemployment of a large number of employees and a certain amount of communal trouble in the namasudra belt were responsible for the Hindus leaving their homes in East Pakistan.

4. (1897-1970); Union Minister for Rehabilitation, 1954-62.

Pantji suggested some kind of a joint Board to look after these places of religious worship.

24. The meeting terminated at 11.45 am. It was agreed that we should meet again tomorrow, Monday, the 16th May, at 10.00 am at the Prime Minister's House.

14. Talks with Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza—III¹

The talks began at 10.10 am and lasted till about 12.30 pm. The same persons were present as on the previous days.

2. Mr Mohammad Ali began by saying that if they accepted my proposals of the previous day, they would be blown sky-high in Pakistan. There was no possibility of their getting through with this in Pakistan. By accepting India's proposals they committed themselves to getting out of the Security Council and other foreign forums and thus save India from these entanglements. What did Pakistan get out of it? This had been suggested two years ago by the PM of India. Unless there was some major adjustments now, the only course was to continue with the Security Council, etc., and consider the question of the plebiscite and try to come to an arrangement about the conditions governing the plebiscite.

3. Maulana Azad laid stress on the great advantage of finishing this dispute between Pakistan and India. There was this difference now from the previous occasions when they met: there was undoubtedly a strong and new urge on both sides to come to a settlement. What India had suggested was a practical step in view of all the circumstances.

4. Mr Mohammad Ali said that India was a big country, the big sister of Pakistan. She was a great nation and there had been much progress in India. India should, therefore, be generous and magnanimous.

5. Mr Iskander Mirza said that his Government would fall if India's proposal was accepted.

6. Pantji pointed out that seven years had passed bringing many changes in their train. They could not ignore these changes, and they had to look at this question from practical point of view. Maulana Azad also emphasised that they must adopt a practical course and accept the status quo as a base.

1. Note of talks held at New Delhi on 16 May 1955 and recorded the same day. JN Collection.

7. Mr Iskander Mirza said the present proposals were not acceptable and so they had to go back to the old talks. They would consult their advisers about this matter.

8. I referred again to the tortuous history of the past seven and a half years and how repeatedly we had got deadlocked not so much because of Pakistan's or India's attitude, but because of the inherent difficulties of the situation. Those difficulties had become far greater now than they were previously. While we might not come to an agreement, events marched on and produced changes. We could not ignore these changes. There were changes internally in the Jammu and Kashmir state, there were changes in Pakistan and in India, and there were changes in our international relations with other countries. Pakistan's tie-up with the Western system of alliances brought Western Europe, in a military sense, to the borders of India. This fact was important and could not be ignored. Equally important was what had happened internally both on the Indian side of the ceasefire line and the Pakistan side. There had been a certain stabilisation. A large number of people had been settled there. To upset all this would be a serious affair, would not bring about a settlement but further troubles. Of course, we could discuss along the old lines but this had failed to produce any result previously and in the altered circumstances of today, the possibility of success was far more slender. Therefore, to talk in old terms was not helpful.

9. Mr Iskander Mirza said that they had come from Pakistan because the Governor General had given them to understand that there was a broad acceptance of a new base for negotiations. He was of the opinion that formal talks should only be held when privately and informally a broad agreement had been arrived at. Mr Mohammad Ali agreed with this and said that that had always been his opinion. In fact, he did not want to come here till some such broad agreement had been reached informally. Unfortunately, the Governor General's serious illness had upset plans. Mr Iskander Mirza said that he was coming here previously for this particular purpose. It was easy for ministers to come ostensibly for some other object and have private discussions. This had not happened and now it appeared that there was much misunderstanding about the negotiations with the Governor General.

10. I referred to these so-called negotiations and gave a brief account of them. I pointed out that I did not like this way of approaching each other as it was liable to create misunderstandings. Mr Mulraj was a good man whom I had known for long but obviously he did not understand this problem and had no political bent. He had been sent for by the Governor General through some intermediaries. He had then come to me with some vague proposals of the GG. In the main, these proposals were that a large area of the Jammu province including Poonch, Riyasi, Udhampur, etc., should be transferred to Pakistan, that Skardu might be transferred to India, and that Kargil area should be attached to Kashmir and should be governed by future decisions about Kashmir, and

that there should be some joint control by India and Pakistan, both political and military, of this Kashmir area. Some kind of a plebiscite of the Kashmir area, from five to twenty years hence, was envisaged.

11. I was much surprised to receive these proposals through Mr Mulraj. I had told him that I could not even consider them. It was quite impossible for us to transfer these large areas to Pakistan. No government in India could do it, apart from this involving huge political and social upheavals in these areas which were settled and progressing satisfactorily. We were not very much interested in the Skardu area which was very sparsely populated and mountainous. As for joint control of Kashmir, this was unthinkable, and such a thing had not happened anywhere before with success. I gave nothing in writing to Mr Mulraj.

12. Mr Mulraj returned, and came back about two months later. He told me that the Governor General realised that it was not feasible for the Udhampur area to be transferred. He did not think it would be difficult to come to an agreement about some other areas in the Jammu province when he met me as he proposed doing. About Kashmir proper it was said that no change in the present Government was desired, but some formal supervision jointly by the President of India and the Governor General of Pakistan. That is to say, in theory both had an equal share.

13. I pointed out that I could not, from any point of view, constitutional or other, imagine this kind of joint supervision. Kashmir was an autonomous area and we could not deal with it in this way. As for Jammu areas, I again pointed out that these large transfers were not at all feasible or desirable. It might be possible for us, as I had hinted, to consider the Poonch area in this connection.

14. This was the last talk I had with Mr Mulraj. It appeared to me that this way of doing business was most unsatisfactory and was bound to create misunderstandings as, in fact, it appeared to have done.

15. Mr Iskander Mirza agreed that this was very unsatisfactory and this had given rise to wrong notions in the mind of the Governor General. Anyhow, he said that there was no option now but to go back and report to the Governor General.

16. The map of the Jammu and Kashmir state was again examined. Mr Iskander Mirza said that while they could not at present accept my proposals, we should not break. The communique we would have to issue, should be very carefully drafted to avoid any impression being created that we had broken or ended negotiations. We should say that we would continue these negotiations but it was not desirable to meet formally in future till some basis of agreement had been arrived at by previous informal talks.

17. There was some talk then about the recent serious illness of the Pakistan Governor General when all hope of his recovery had been given up. But by some kind of a miracle, he pulled together again and recovered.

18. Mr Iskander Mirza referred to his talks with Pantji the day before about various matters and said that they hoped to issue a note or a communique on that subject soon. A joint committee was examining in detail those matters.

19. I referred briefly to another undecided issue between India and Pakistan. This was a financial arrangement between them. This had been discussed by the two Finance Ministers on two or three occasions but the matter was still pending. Mr Iskander Mirza said: "Do not ask us to pay any money because we have not got it." I said that we realised their difficulties and we did not propose to put any burden on them on this account at present. But it was desirable to settle this matter. I was not even sure as to what the net result of such a settlement would be. While the public debt had to be paid to India by Pakistan, there were other sums due to Pakistan from India.

20. The meeting then adjourned till the next day, 17th May, at 10.00 am.

15. Talks with Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza—IV¹

The meeting took place at 10.15 am and lasted till 12.15 pm. The same persons were present.

2. Mr Mohammad Ali said that as there was no agreement on any other basis, we had to go back to the old plebiscite idea and continue conversations that were broken off in 1953.²

3. Some reference was made to the Governor General's proposals. A map was produced by Mr Mohammad Ali, which had apparently been prepared by the UN people in Kashmir. This indicated what was supposed to be the Hindu and the Muslim areas in separate colours. The Hindu area in this, marked yellow, was just some districts round Jammu. The rest of the area from the ceasefire line on the left and below the northern ceasefire line was all green. Above the northern ceasefire line, there was no colouring; it was white.

4. Maulana Azad said that we had been aiming at a final settlement. We had stated clearly what we had to say and JN had mentioned that this settlement should be on the basis of the ceasefire line more or less, but, in addition, he had suggested the transfer of the area of Poonch and a bit of Mirpur, which

1. Minutes of talks held at New Delhi on 17 May 1955 and recorded the same day. JN Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 344-346.

were on the Indian side of the ceasefire line. (I had not mentioned Mirpur in this connection to the Pakistan Ministers previously but I had mentioned it to Maulana Sahib and Pantji. But Maulana Sahib had perhaps thought that I had mentioned this to the others also). Maulana Sahib continued and said: was the Pakistan picture this, that all these areas demanded, in the Jammu province, should go to Pakistan and, in addition, there should be a plebiscite in Kashmir, etc. There was no clear answer.

5. JN said the position appeared to be that we should give up all these vast areas involving a complete upsetting of the populations there and everything else, and still have a continuing dispute though this would be confined to a smaller area. What exactly did India gain by this? All the giving up was on India's side and the trouble still continued.

6. Mr Iskander Mirza said that they could not go against the Governor General's directive under which they had been functioning. There had been a grave misapprehension in Pakistan over this issue as they had thought that India had broadly accepted the suggestion made by the Governor General. If this was not acceptable and the gap between the two positions was wide, then there was no alternative left but to go back to the negotiations of 1953 and see what progress could be made that way.

7. JN said that India has gone as far as she could. He mentioned that Maulana Azad had referred to a part of Mirpur also. This had not been previously referred to by JN but since Maulana Sahib had mentioned it, he would include that too with Poonch as the area which might be transferred to Pakistan. But it must be clearly understood that there could be no transfer of Poonch, etc., except on the basis of a final settlement.

8. The map was again examined in an attempt to find out what exactly Pakistan wanted. Reference was made to the Governor General's proposals. Mr Iskander Mirza said that for his part he did not think it either feasible to have a joint control of the Kashmir Valley or for a transfer of territories in the Jammu province to Pakistan, so as to prevent access from Jammu to the Valley. Therefore, the Ramban area should for the present be attached to the Valley. If the Valley goes to Pakistan later, Ramban would also go.

9. Mr Iskander Mirza also referred to the fact that the Dogra ruling family came from Riasi and felt that the transfer of Riasi would thus give rise to much resentment. He said that his PM might put this aspect of the case to the Governor General.

10. Maulana Sahib said that there appeared to be a marked change in the approach to the problem today. On the previous two or three days, he had felt that there was a strong desire for a settlement. Now this was not so obvious.

11. JN said that they appeared to be millions of miles away in their respective approaches. In fact, they were apparently further away from each

other than they had been at any time during the last seven or eight years. Mr Iskander Mirza said that therefore it was better to continue the 1953 negotiations.

12. JN said that they could do so if they liked but he did not know where this would lead them.

13. JN further continued to say that so far as the Governor General's proposals were concerned, they were such as could never be agreed to by any government in India.

14. Mr Mohammad Ali referred back to the 1953 proposals and said that they had stopped at the appointment of a joint official committee which did not come to an agreement on the question of the quantum of forces and, later, of the US aid.

15. Maulana Sahib again referred to the change in the nature of the discussion after these three days. In regard to the Governor General's proposals, the Pakistan representatives had themselves pointed out that in two important matters, they were not feasible, that is, joint control over the Valley and the transfer of certain areas. What was the good of going back to 1953?

16. Mr Iskander Mirza said that he understood the difficulties from the Indian point of view about Riasi.

17. JN said that the terms put forward by the Governor General amounted to a surrender by India which might perhaps follow a complete defeat and a dictation of terms. Could any government agree to this? Mr Iskander Mirza said that all they could do was to report to Karachi.

18. Mr Mohammad Ali said 'yes' but the communique to be issued here should not be such as to create frustration in the minds of the people.

19. Mr Iskander Mirza again said that the Governor General had a firm impression that his suggestions had been favourably considered on the side of India. He confessed, however, that he was not quite clear about these so-called negotiations, and he had known little about this matter then. Mr Mohammad Ali said that the Governor General had kept him in touch to some extent.

20. It was decided that the communique to be issued should be a brief one, with a reference to full and friendly talks about Kashmir which would be continued later.³ In addition, the communique should include the

3. The joint communique issued on 18 May stated that the talks had been "cordial and full", that they had "covered a wide variety of subjects of common concern" and that both sides had "approached these subjects in a friendly spirit and with a desire to explore every avenue to reach settlements of pending problems." The Kashmir problem had been discussed "fully in all its aspects", and it had been decided "to continue these talks at a later stage after full consideration had been given by both governments to various points that had been discussed."

agreements arrived at between the two Home Ministers in regard to various matters.⁴

21. Maulana Azad referred to the question of the India Office Library⁵ and said that he was agreeable to what Mr Mohammad Ali had said the day before, to the effect that there should be a division where necessary on the basis of seventeen and a half per cent going to Pakistan. Mr Mohammad Ali said that it would be better to have a cultural division rather than a percentage division. What exactly was this, he was asked. Apparently, it meant that, broadly speaking, Arabic and Persian manuscripts should go to Pakistan.

22. Mr Mohammad Ali said that he did not claim any manuscript of which there was only one copy but, if there was more than one copy either in the India Office Library or in some other government library in India, one of these copies from the India Office should be given to Pakistan.

23. Maulana Azad referred to government record, and he said that those relating to the areas which are in Pakistan now might be handed over to Pakistan. There were coins also. Where there were duplicates, they would be handed over.

24. It was decided that this matter of the India Office Library should be considered this afternoon at 3.30 pm by representatives of the two Governments on the general basis of our talks.

25. The Home Ministers were also to finalise their report in the course of the afternoon.

26. In the course of the talks, Mr Iskander Mirza had referred to the Governor General's proposal about hydroelectric works on the bend of the Chenab river. Such works, if and when they were started, should be under the joint control of India and Pakistan. This presumed, of course, that Pakistan was on the other side of the river at that place.

27. It was decided to meet the next morning at 10.00 am to finalise the communique.

4. The communique on talks between the two Home Ministers issued on May 17 stated that on the question of border incidents, the Ministers agreed that demarcation of the boundary should be finalised as soon as possible. Pending final demarcation, certain arrangements were agreed upon with a view to avoiding possibilities of disputes and the danger of clashes between armed forces on both sides. As regards shrines and holy places, the Ministers agreed to appoint a joint committee to work out details of implementing the 1953 agreement on the subject.
5. The following communique on talks between ministers of education was issued on May 18: "The education ministers of India and Pakistan have considered the question of the India Office Library in London and have agreed that as the Library belongs to the present governments of India and Pakistan as successors to the government of undivided India, the question of the disposal of the Library is the concern of the two governments and will be settled by them."

VII. NEPAL

1. To the King of Nepal¹

London
February 11, 1955

My dear friend,²

P.N. Haksar³ has come back here and reported to me about his talk with Your Majesty. I entirely agree that your first consideration should be your health and, if this requires, you should stay on in Europe.

It seems to me quite essential from the point of view of your health that you should not be worried with problems of state. If you have this freedom from worry and responsibility, this would help greatly in giving you peace of mind and create conditions for recovery of health.

Apart from this, it is very difficult for you to deal with the complicated situation in Nepal from here. I would, therefore, suggest that you might be pleased to delegate full powers to the Crown Prince⁴ during your absence from Nepal. These powers should include the power to appoint or accept resignation of or dismiss any Ministers, including Prime Minister. The situation in Nepal is obviously a very complex one. Your Majesty knows that. Recent developments have made it still more complicated and it has to be dealt with on the spot. Delays in reference to Your Majesty may make the situation worse and, in fact, put a heavy and unnecessary burden on you here. You will not be able to take counsel with your Advisers here and to judge of the situation properly from this distance.

Therefore, both from the point of view of Your Majesty's health and for the good government of Nepal it seems desirable that you should delegate full powers to the Crown Prince. I am glad that the Crown Prince is visiting you in Nice and you can discuss this matter with him.

As Your Majesty knows, we have sent to Kathmandu one of our ablest officers as our Ambassador. He is Shri Bhagwan Sahay.⁵ His judgment is good and I rely upon it and I hope the Crown Prince also will consult him whenever

1. JN Collection.

2. Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah (1906-1955); King of Nepal, 1911-55.

3. (1913-1990); Director, External Publicity Division, MEA, 1955-58.

4. Mahendra Bir Bikram.

5. (1905-1986); joined ICS, 1929; Lieut-Governor, Himachal Pradesh, 1951-52; Ambassador to Nepal, 1954-59; Governor of Kerala, 1966-67, and of Jammu and Kashmir, May 1967-73.

necessary. Our Ambassador has also advised that it would be desirable to delegate full powers to the Crown Prince.

Several question have arisen and may arise in the immediate future in Nepal. The present Prime Minister, Shri M.P. Koirala,⁶ has submitted his resignation. He has also proposed that the Advisory Committee should be dissolved. It is rather difficult for me to advise in regard to these matters. I am inclined to think that it would be, perhaps, better at this stage not to dissolve the Advisory Committee. As for the acceptance or not of M.P. Koirala's resignation, this might be left to the judgment of the Crown Prince and your Advisers in Kathmandu. I am afraid M.P. Koirala has been unable to solve any of the major problems in Nepal and is perhaps unlikely to do so in future.

I earnestly hope that Your Majesty, freed from the cares of state, will make a rapid recovery. The point is that you should not worry too much about these affairs of state and the best way to do this is to entrust full responsibility, during your absence from Nepal, to the Crown Prince.

As regards the future, that can be considered on Your Majesty getting well and returning to Nepal. We can then discuss it and decide in accordance with your wishes at the time. For the present, it is enough to deal with the situation as it is.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. (b. 1912); Prime Minister of Nepal, 1951-52 and 1953-55.

2. Telegram to Bhagwan Sahay¹

I have been following your messages. It is clear that situation in Nepal requires urgent and effective handling. There is no longer any room for wait and see attitude. I have just had an interview with Nepalese Ambassador² here who painted very dark picture of present conditions in Nepal. He said there was utter confusion and absence of any leader. Nobody knew what was going to

1. New Delhi, 1 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. Mahendra Vikram Shah.

happen. Country was going towards financial chaos. There were rumours of some kind of police coup. If cracking up process starts it will spread rapidly. Terai area probably wanting to merge with India.

2. Therefore, it is clear that effective action must be taken soon. On the whole I agree with line you have taken with Crown Prince as mentioned in your telegram No. 10 of February 28.³ I appreciate that you should not appear to be overbearing towards Crown Prince but I think it is necessary that you should press on him correct line of action. That should help him to come to decisions himself.

3. Proposal to have government of Independents, whatever that might mean, seems to me to have no meaning at all at this stage. I agree also that Crown Prince should not appear to favour personal rule. But he is entitled to give definite lead. Present Government of M.P. Koirala has ceased to function and cannot continue. Another government must take its place and this should have as much popular basis as possible. Advisory Assembly should continue as representing in some way public opinion and new ministry should be closely associated with it. The Assembly might be added to to make it more representative.

4. Further very early step should be taken to clean up administration and institute some popular measures relating to land, etc. It would be wrong for Crown Prince to rely on few odd Independents. That will ultimately weaken his position. He must appear as leader of the nation relying on his people and formally committed to reform and democratic functioning.

5. Nepalese Ambassador informs me that King's condition worsening. This as well as present conditions in Nepal might well lead to aggressive action and coups by any strong person or group. Indeed this would have taken place but for presence of India. Therefore, instead of waiting for someone else to organise aggressive action, Crown Prince must take lead and call upon his people to help him. Every delay will weaken his position. Therefore, the sooner he acts the better.

6. You should see Crown Prince and tell him how I feel in the matter. You need not give any written message to him. Naturally you will say that we are deeply concerned at present state of Nepal and are anxious to help him.

3. Sahay had cabled New Delhi that he had "impressed upon the Crown Prince the urgent necessity of ending the suspense which was bad for administration and vitiating political administration."

3. Death of King Tribhuvan¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, with your permission, I should like to inform the House of the sad event that took place yesterday afternoon. This was the death of His Majesty the King of Nepal in Zurich in Switzerland where he had gone for treatment. Unfortunately, the treatment has ended in his death.

Any event connected with the Kingdom of Nepal is naturally of interest to us, because we are closely associated by friendly bonds. But this particular event moves us even more than otherwise because of what has happened during the last few years. I wonder how many in this House remember those rather unusual happenings that brought about a change in Nepal, a change from a hundred year old regime. The King who is dead was an unusual kind of a King, far from having even the restricted authority which Kings are supposed to possess today. He had no authority at all. All authority was concentrated in an authoritarian way in others. Another thing happened, namely, that this King, in a sense, became the leader of a liberal movement, which is unusual for Kings to do. As a result of this, it so happened that the King had to seek the hospitality of our embassy in Kathmandu and later he came to Delhi as our honoured guest and spent some months here. Fortunately, the leaders in Nepal were wise and it was our privilege also to some extent to advise them, and they arrived at an understanding, an agreement, and a compromise. That too was rather a remarkable event: that a change essentially of a revolutionary nature should be brought about in that relatively peaceful way by a compromise. It was obvious that that was not a permanent solution of the problems of Nepal.

Nepal had suddenly become really an independent country which, we might well remember, was not so when there was the British rule in India although it was styled as such. The people got a large measure of democratic freedom without the apparatus to exercise that freedom, or the machinery for it. They had many difficulties. But, always, His Majesty the late King was some kind of an anchor and he used his authority wisely in trying to soothe the people and bring them together.

So, during the last few years, Nepal has passed through this revolutionary period and it has been a troubled period. Even now many difficulties continue. During the last two months or so, the late King gave full authority to the Crown Prince to act on his behalf because he was away in Switzerland. The Crown Prince who is now the King and who will formally be declared King possibly in the course of the next hour or so in Kathmandu, has been exercising

1. Lok Sabha, 14 March 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 1955, cols. 1941-1943.

that authority in trying to bring about a strong and stable government. Both the old King and the present new King declared, and declared with sincerity, their desire to promote democratic institutions in Nepal and I have no doubt that the new King will persist in that desire and in trying to give effect to it.

So, on the passing of His Majesty King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah, the late King, I am sure this House would like to express its sorrow and would like it to be conveyed to his family. Also, at the same time, I am sure this House would like to send its greetings to the new King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah² and wish him all success in the difficult responsibilities and burdens that have come to him. Above all, we would send our good wishes to the people of Nepal in the great adventures in building up their country on a democratic and prosperous basis that they are indulging in.³

2. (1920-1971); King of Nepal, 1955-71; dismissed the ministry and assumed full powers in 1960.
3. Thereafter, M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, the Speaker observed: "On behalf of the House. I associate myself with what the honourable Leader of the House has said. We certainly send our greetings and all best wishes for the new King and for the people of Nepal. As a mark of respect and our sense of sorrow at the demise of the late King, the House will stand in silence for a minute."

4. To the King of Nepal¹

New Delhi

April 13, 1955

My dear friend,

I received your letter of the 12th March on the 24th March. Since you wrote that letter, however, important developments took place. His Majesty your father passed away and this cast a great responsibility on you. I did not, therefore, wish to write to you immediately.

I am glad to know that the people of Nepal are now looking up to you to bring about an improvement in the affairs of the country. I need not assure you that you will have our full support and sympathy in all measure that are designed to improve the lot of your countrymen and to bring about prosperity and stability in the country. Past experience has shown us that it is essential for Nepal to have a strong, stable and efficient government. I have no doubt that you must

1. JN Collection. Copy sent to Bhagwan Sahay, Ambassador of India in Nepal.

be considering this matter yourself. I earnestly trust that you will take some step at an early date to instal a representative, stable and efficient government.

I am glad that our Ambassador has been of some assistance to you. We have a high opinion of him and he is our trusted representative on whose help and advice you can always rely.

I am leaving for Bandung for the Asian-African Conference and hope to be back about the end of this month.

With kind regards and good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To the King of Nepal¹

New Delhi
May 1, 1955

My dear friend,

Thank you for your letter of April 24th, which was delivered to me by our Ambassador, Shri Bhagwan Sahay.

2. I agree with you that the question of diplomatic relations with China should not be postponed any longer. Your Government might inform the Chinese Government, in answer to their enquiry, that Nepal will gladly have formal relations with the People's Government of China. As in the case of France and the USA, it will be convenient for the Chinese Ambassador² in New Delhi to be accredited to Kathmandu. The formal text of the announcement might be discussed in Delhi by your Ambassador in Delhi with the Chinese Ambassador here or any other representative of the Chinese Government.

3. It will be necessary, of course, soon after, to consider certain common problems between Nepal and China in regard to Tibet. These can be discussed at a later stage or may be discussed at the same time. Perhaps, this fact need not be mentioned in your initial reply. But, in the announcement that will have to be made, there will be some reference to common problems being discussed between the two governments so as to bring about necessary adjustments in view of the developments that have taken place.

4. Whatever discussions take place between your Government and the Chinese Government, it will be desirable to have them in New Delhi. Peking will not be a very convenient venue for these discussions from your point of view.

1. JN Collection. Copy sent to the Foreign Secretary and the Ambassador in Nepal.

2. Yuan Chung-hsien (1906-1956); Ambassador to India, 1950-56.

5. I have had talks with our Ambassador, Shri Bhagwan Sahay, about the state of affairs in Nepal. I am not much concerned with some expressions of anti-Indian feeling in Nepal, though of course I regret it. I think this has no substantial basis and is largely due to certain political elements playing upon it. If the Government of India and the Nepal Government act rightly, as they should, this feeling will no doubt disappear. Both geography and history as well as recent developments, have brought Nepal and India close to one another, and this fact necessarily leads to close relations between the two countries. India's interest in Nepal is that of a friendly neighbour desirous of seeing a prosperous and independent Nepal, moving towards democratic institutions and higher standards of life.

6. The real problems in Nepal are internal, as Your Majesty is no doubt aware. I am glad to learn from our Ambassador that some progress has been made in dealing with certain internal matters. As this progress continues, people's attention will be diverted to it. The important matter, therefore, is to continue this progress and to associate the people with it. As you have said in your letter, this is the age of the common man and he has not only to progress but to have the sensation of being associated with this progress.

7. There is so much to be done in Nepal that it is sometimes difficult to decide as to what should come first. It is important, however, to put first things first, otherwise any attempt to tackle everything may well lead to difficulties and confusion. The first thing of course is to have a clean and effective administration. To change the administration completely is not an easy matter but the basis of change can be laid down and progress can be made step by step in that direction.

8. In all countries which are considered underdeveloped, like the countries of South and South-East Asia, the first problem to be tackled has always been the land problem. The elements of the old semi-feudal system have to be changed. Otherwise all progress is impeded. That is why in India we tackled the land problem first. Having partly solved it and laid the basis of a sound agricultural economy, we are now proceeding with the development of industry, both big and small. Nepal is even less developed than India, and many remains of the feudal order still continue. The annual revenue of Nepal is very small compared to the extent of its territory and the potential riches of the country. I am sure that with land reform as well as some other reforms, Nepal's revenue can be increased greatly. This will furnish the opportunity of doing constructive work on a much bigger scale.

9. Next year, in 1956, we shall be celebrating, in common with many other countries, the Buddha Jayanti which occurs 2,500 years after the Maha Nirvana of Gautama Buddha. In this connection, we have many proposals for the celebrations. Among these is a proposal to improve all the sacred places connected with the Gautama Buddha. His place of birth is at Lumbini in Nepal

across the Indian border. It has been suggested that a park might be laid out at Lumbini. I think this is a good suggestion, and we shall gladly do it if Your Majesty's Government is agreeable. We should like, therefore, to have your consent and help in this matter.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Return of K.I. Singh¹

... To the Chinese Ambassador we should say that we are glad his Government informed us of this subject as we are naturally interested in this matter. But it is, of course, for the Government of Nepal to decide what to do in regard to K.I. Singh.² As the Chinese Government must know, there are very serious charges of murder, etc., in Nepal against K.I. Singh. It would be for the Nepalese Government to decide, in all the circumstances, what they should do now in view of the Chinese Government having allowed him to return to Nepal.

(2) To the Nepalese Ambassador here: He should be told that the Chinese Government have also informed us of this matter. The return of K.I. Singh to Nepal certainly raises somewhat delicate problems. The decision will have to be taken by the King in all the circumstances as to how he should be treated in view of the fact that he has been charged with serious crimes, including murder, while in Nepal. The principal question to be considered is what arrangements should be made by the Nepalese Government for K.I. Singh to be met at the frontier when he enters Nepal. The Chinese Government have indicated the route and presumably the Chinese Government will see to it that K.I. Singh enters by the Rasua Pass sometime in July. It appears desirable that the Nepalese Government should arrange for K.I. Singh to be met by an officer with a small escort and brought to Kathmandu. To allow him to travel by himself across Nepal does not appear desirable. After his arrival in Kathmandu, the Nepalese

1. Note to the Secretary General and the Foreign Secretary, 17 May 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1906-1982); arrested in 1951 for indulging in violent activities in Nepal; escaped to China where he took political asylum, 1952-55.

Government will, no doubt, consider his case fully and the King will give such decisions as he thinks fit and proper.

(3) To our Ambassador: The Joint Secretary, T.N. Kaul's³ note might be sent to him for information. It is likely that the King will ask for his advice. In this matter the Ambassador should realise that we do not wish to assume any responsibility for a decision. Of course, the Ambassador can privately advise the King. The first question that arises is what to do with K.I. Singh when he steps into Nepal territory in July next via the Rasua Pass. There is plenty of time for the Government to consider this question. Normally speaking, the King would arrest him for the previous crimes committed. If there is some kind of a representation from K.I. Singh, Government would consider that and come to such decisions as it thinks proper.

It would be unwise to allow K.I. Singh to march across Nepal to Kathmandu independently. This might well become some kind of a triumphal procession. Apart from this, he is bound to excite curiosity and large numbers of people would learn of his return and gather to see him. It seems desirable, therefore, that an officer with a small escort should be present at the Nepal border to meet K.I. Singh. This escort should then take him to Kathmandu. Whether he is formally arrested or not is a matter for the Nepal Government to consider. But it would be advisable to treat him not as a normal prisoner and give ordinary courtesy to him. There is little likelihood of K.I. Singh trying to escape. If he does so, then he puts himself in the wrong again. His being accompanied by the escort would bring home to the people that the King's authority functions. At the same time, his being treated decently would be appreciated by the people and would not rouse any adverse reactions against the Government.

When K.I. Singh arrives in Kathmandu, he should be kept, to begin with and pending the King's decision, in some kind of preventive detention. Again, it would be better not to treat him as a normal prisoner.

At that stage representatives of the King could see him and find out what he has to say about the past and the future. On the basis of those talks and such representations as he might make to the King, the King would come to his decision.

It is difficult to decide at this stage, and before all these preliminaries are gone through, and the attitude of K.I. Singh is known, what should be done to him at that stage. But subject to any further information about him or from him being available, I am inclined to think that the second course in Joint Secretary T.N. Kaul's note, which he has recommended, might be suitable.

Our Ambassador, when called upon to do so, can discuss this case with the King or his officers. But this discussion should not be in the form of putting

3. (1913-2000); Joint Secretary, MEA, 1953-56.

across the Government of India's advice. It should take the form of discussing this question in all its aspects and then gradually, in the course of conversation, arriving at a certain course of action. The decision must be that of the Nepal Government....

VIII. SRI LANKA

1. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
April 2, 1955

My dear Prakasa,²

I have just been reading your letter to the President of April 1st and, more especially, your interesting account of Ceylon.

You mention your talks about people of Indian descent there³ and the breezy way⁴ in which Kotelawala dealt with the matter, blaming others. I have had some experience of him now. My own first impression was almost the same as yours. My subsequent impressions have been different and not at all favourable to him. I think he is largely responsible for what is happening, and he tried to pass it off in his hale and hearty manner. This applies to most others in the Ceylon Government. I think that they have not played straight at all. They do not seem to realise what their fate would be if we washed our hands of this business and left them to shift for themselves with this Indian population.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Commonwealth Secretary.
2. (1890-1971); Governor of Madras, 1952-56.
3. Sri Prakasa wrote. "Those in authority in Ceylon from the Governor General downwards, do not want our people to leave the island, for they fear that their economy will collapse ... if they left; but they have their electorates to face.... So they want some formula to be discovered which would enable them to tell everybody that the Indian immigrants have all been pushed out, even if they do not actually want to leave." Prakasa also quoted Governor General Oliver Goonetilleke as saying that any solution to the problem should be pushed through while Kotelawala was prime minister as "he is a courageous person and the only man in public life who can defy ... public opinion and get through a thing if once he is convinced that he is right."

2. To John Kotelawala¹

New Delhi
April 10, 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

I have received your letters of the 8th and 16th March 1955.

I regret the delay in replying to them, but I wanted the points mentioned by you to be carefully examined. The result of this examination is embodied in the attached note² which is self-explanatory.

2. As I told you before, I am greatly disturbed at the recent developments. I have no doubt that we shall not solve the problem which faces our two countries by mere exchange of notes or by arguments and counter-arguments. The agreement that I reached with you in January 1954³ and our subsequent understanding as a result of discussions in October 1954⁴ were, as you know, based on a recognition of each other's difficulties. The main problem is that of persons who are neither Indian citizens according to the Indian Constitution nor citizens of Ceylon until they have been registered as such under the appropriate provisions of the Ceylon law. Since I wrote to you last, I have received detailed information as to the disposal of applications for registration by authorities in Ceylon. I am greatly concerned to find that since October last year there has been a precipitous fall in the number of persons who have been registered as Ceylon citizens. This must have had an unsettling effect on those directly concerned. Since no scheme has yet been introduced in Ceylon for inducing persons of Indian origin to register themselves as Indian citizens, these persons are now faced with the decision whether to register themselves as Indian citizens or to remain stateless. So far as the Government of India are concerned, our position is clear. Our High Commissioner⁵ will register as Indian citizens

1. JN Collection.

2. Not printed.

3. Kotelawala and Nehru signed an agreement in Delhi on 18 January 1954, agreeing to take steps to stop illegal immigration. The Sri Lankan Government also agreed to prepare a register of all residents who were not already on the electoral register, and the registration was to be completed by the end of 1955; those who did not register their names would be encouraged to register themselves as Indian citizens.

4. On 10 October 1954 a joint statement was issued by the Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka and India according to which the process of consideration of applications by persons of Indian origin for Sri Lankan citizenship on the one hand and applications for registration as Indian citizens on the other should be undertaken in an expeditious and reasonable manner; no vindictiveness of any sort should be imported into these proceedings on either side and that the procedures would be simplified so as to complete the disposal of applications within two years.

5. B.N. Chakravarty (1904-1976); High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, 1955-56.

all those who voluntarily apply to him for registration and fulfil the prescribed qualifications. At the same time, if he is satisfied that an application has been made under duress, he will have to consider it carefully before he can accept it. It seems that we have gone back to the position we were in when you and I discussed the problem in January 1954. I do hope that the position is yet not irretrievable. Whatever our present difficulties, our two countries have to remain close neighbours and friends and nothing can contribute to this friendship more effectively than a fair handling of the problem which concerns the fate of hundreds of thousands of poor and innocent people, most of whom have been in your country for generations. The figures quoted in the attached note will, I hope, furnish a convincing reply to any suggestion that the Indian High Commission has not been cooperative in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Relations with Sri Lanka¹

I had a visit from the High Commissioner of Ceylon² this afternoon, and we had a fairly long talk. He said that things were not going well at all as between India and Ceylon, and he was distressed at this. While India's relations with other countries, even with Pakistan, were improving, they were deteriorating with Ceylon. India used to have big problems with Burma—the land question, etc.³ but they were all solved, and there was the greatest friendship between India and Burma. Why could not we achieve that friendship between India and Ceylon?

1. Note to the Secretary General and the Commonwealth Secretary, 25 May 1955. JN Collection.
2. Edwin Wijeyeratne.
3. For example, the problem of compensation payable in respect of lands owned by Indian nationals following the nationalisation of land by the Myanmar Government was amicably settled. Even the question of Myanmar's outstanding liabilities to India arising out of the separation of Myanmar from India in 1937 was also settled with India reducing the capital sum owed by Myanmar and renounced any claim to interest in March 1954.

2. He then said that in India there had been a continuity of leadership. In Ceylon, this had changed several times in recent years. I pointed out that the Prime Ministers had changed but the same party had been in control in Ceylon.

3. The High Commissioner then said that the background in Ceylon was different from that of India. India had gone through a great struggle, while Ceylon had no such experience. I agreed and pointed out how a struggle conditions a people as it had done in India, as to some extent it had done in Burma though their struggle started in wartime. In Pakistan, the people certainly were partly conditioned by the Indian struggle for freedom, but not so the leaders. In fact, they had opposed that struggle.

4. We discussed this matter broadly for sometime. I rather liked the approach of the High Commissioner. He said that, quite apart from the major problem, could we not make indirect approaches, unconnected with that problem, which would increase better feelings? I said I was all in favour of them, and I entirely agreed that such indirect methods were often more successful than direct ones.

5. I pointed out that the real difficulty was the fear of the Ceylonese that India might absorb them. This fear was wholly unjustified. Speaking for my part, I was completely against any such thing at any time. He said the other Indians were not, and he gave the instance of Shri Rajagopalachari who had rather casually told him that Ceylon should become a part of India. I discussed this matter for some time and pointed out to him that this kind of merger of one country to another had no meaning today, and I was wholly opposed to it. I could understand in the future some kind of a confederation of independent countries like India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan, etc., but this would only be some kind of an alliance of independent countries on common subjects.

6. The High Commissioner made three suggestions:

- (1) that we might appoint ten officers in various parts of Ceylon to receive applications for Indian citizenship. This would facilitate matters and save many people from the journey to Colombo.
- (2) that two Judges—one Indian and one Ceylonese—should be appointed to consider all rejected applications for Ceylon citizenship.
- (3) that one or more chairs of Buddhist philosophy might be instituted in India, and Ceylonese might be asked to fill them.

7. I told him that I would be happy to have such chairs of Buddhist philosophy. Also, that *prima facie* his proposal for two Judges to examine rejected applications appeared to me a desirable one.

8. The High Commissioner made it clear to me that his talk was entirely a personal one, and he was not speaking to me as an official.

4. People of Indian Origin¹

It would be logical, and in conformity, broadly speaking, with the attitude we have taken up elsewhere, to leave the decision of nationality to the people of Indian descent themselves now in Ceylon. Of course, the Ceylon question is different from that of others. There is no doubt that if this was carried through fairly, a very large number of Indians in Ceylon would opt for Ceylon nationality. The Ceylon Government therefore would have to agree to it. There is no harm, however, in this matter being mentioned by our High Commissioner in the course of talk, as you have suggested.

2. The second suggestion, i.e., of asking the Indians to come away en masse, is totally impracticable and likely to create as many difficulties for us as for the Ceylon Government. We cannot put it forward.

3. The only thing that remains, therefore, is for our High Commissioner to point out our firm desire to come to a friendly settlement about this problem in Ceylon because, firstly, it is a human problem and the human aspect should be borne in mind and human welfare in this matter can only be secured by a friendly approach of both governments, and, secondly, because it has always been our earnest desire to have friendly relations with Ceylon. This is necessary not only in the short but even more so in the long term.

4. We have absolutely no desire to interfere with the internal affairs of Ceylon. But in this particular matter we have been dragged in because of historical and other circumstances. In effect it is a Ceylon matter, but we are naturally concerned of the effects not only on those persons but on India. It was because of this reason that we came to agreements with the Ceylon Government. We on our part tried to give effect to them, but we feel strongly that the Ceylon Government has not done so and, for all practical purposes, those agreements are not functioning. In fact, the assurances that were given to us from time to time have, in our view, not been acted upon. The result of this has been to make the problem even more difficult than it was previously, and unless some other approach is made, the problem will remain intractable.

5. It is clear that we cannot supply our nationality papers and forms of application for them to the Ceylon Government, as asked. It is clear also that unless a proper register is made, as has been agreed upon, the other steps envisaged cannot be taken.

6. Our High Commissioner should briefly indicate these points in the so-called conference. He should, if he is given the chance, develop them in private.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 27 May 1955. JN Collection.

IX. AFGHANISTAN

1. Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations¹

In the course of my talks with the Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan this afternoon, mention was made of the recent incidents in Kabul, Peshawar and elsewhere involving conflict with the Pakistan Government.² According to them, the decision of the Pakistan Government to have one unit in Western Pakistan and various statements made by the Governor General and others, created a feeling of strong resentment among the people of Afghanistan and, more especially, among the tribes there. This one unit scheme³ was not only opposed to what Mr Jinnah⁴ had said previously but also to repeated statements and assurances of the Pakistan authorities. Some of these assurances were given to Afghanistan.

2. These speeches, etc., created a feeling of anger in Kabul and elsewhere, and there were demonstrations. Unfortunately, these demonstrations went much too far and some violence was indulged in. The Afghanistan Government was taken unawares by this but they immediately took full steps to give protection to the Pakistan Embassy and the Consulate at Jalalabad. The accounts published in Karachi about these incidents were greatly exaggerated, though it is admitted that the crowd's behaviour was bad.

3. Whatever had happened in Kabul or Jalalabad was due to the spontaneous

1. Note on talks with Mohammed Naim Khan, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, New Delhi, 13 April 1955. JN Collection.
2. Under an ordinance issued on 27 March 1955, Governor General Ghulam Mohammed assumed powers to constitute Pakistan as one unit, renamed East Bengal as East Pakistan and took steps to frame a constitution and approve the budget in absence of Parliament. On announcement of the one-unit scheme protests flared up in Afghanistan with a mob attacking the Pakistan embassy in Kabul on 31 March. This was followed by a raid on the Pakistan consulate in Jalalabad on 2 April 1955. The Karachi newspaper *Dawn* quoted Afghan Premier Sardar Daud Khan as urging his people to strongly protest against the one-unit scheme. This led to increased tensions and Pakistan alerted its troops along the Durand Line.
3. Under an ordinance issued on 27 March 1955, Governor General Ghulam Mohammed assumed powers to constitute Pakistan as one unit, renamed East Bengal as East Pakistan and took steps to frame a constitution and approve the budget in absence of Parliament.
4. M.A. Jinnah (1876-1948); President of the Muslim League; Governor General of Pakistan, 1947-48.

reaction and anger of the people there. Later, what happened in Peshawar was deliberately organised by the Government there, and the Afghan Consulate there and the Trade Agency were looted, the flag was pulled down and dishonoured, and the whole affair was very bad.

4. It was clear that the Afghan Government could not possibly agree to the extraordinary demands of the Pakistan Government about their putting up the Pakistan flag and saluting it and all that. They had expressed their regret fully and given protection. An attempt was made by the Egyptian Ambassador in Kabul to find a way out. In this the Egyptian Minister, Colonel Anwar Sadat⁵ also helped. The proposal was that the Egyptian Ambassador and a senior officer of the Kabul Government should jointly put up the Pakistan flag in the Embassy there. Later, the Egyptian Ambassador and a senior officer of the Pakistan Government put up the Afghanistan flag in the Consulate at Peshawar. Although the Afghanistan Government felt that the Kabul affair was entirely a people's affair while the Peshawar affair was a government-organised one, they agreed to this proposal. Mr Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, also agreed to begin with but later said his Government did not agree.

5. There the matter stood and the situation was very serious. Some troop movements had taken place on the Pakistan side and, as a result, precautionary troop movements had taken place on the Afghan side also. Speeches and threats were continually being uttered in Pakistan, and there was the fear that some aggression might take place resulting in conflict. Therefore, the situation is very serious.

6. So far as Afghanistan was concerned, they were of course anxious to preserve peace and to settle these differences. The basic difference about Pakhtoonistan will naturally remain till it was settled later. Meanwhile, the tribal people in Afghanistan were getting excited and it might be difficult to control them.

7. I was asked as to what we thought about all this. I told them that, naturally, we regretted all this very much and we hoped that peace would be preserved and no further untoward incident would happen. More I could not say because that depended on circumstances. I added that I did not think that the Pakistan Government would take any aggressive step, apart from speeches, etc., without the advice and concurrence of the American Ambassador there, which ultimately meant the US Government. I doubted very much if the US

5. Mohammed Anwar el-Sadat (1918-1981); member, Free Officers Underground Organisation, 1951; Editor-in-Chief, *Al-Gomhouria* newspaper, 1953; General Secretary, National Union (ruling party), 1957-61; President of Egypt, 1970-81; sought settlement of the conflict with Israel and was awarded Nobel Peace Prize (jointly with M. Begin), 1978; assassinated on 6 October 1981 by Islamic extremists; author of: *Unknown Pages* (1955), *The Secrets of the Egyptian Revolution* (1957) and *The Complete Story of the Revolution* (1961).

Government would advise any aggression. Therefore, the Afghanistan Government should carefully avoid any step which might give an excuse to Pakistan to justify an aggressive act. If Pakistan ultimately indulged in any aggression, the blame should be squarely and clearly on them.

2. Pakhtoon Autonomy¹

I do not think that our High Commissioner is quite correct. I have not clear recollection of what happened in 1947. But as far as I remember, both Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan² and Dr Khan Saheb³ accepted Pakistan. What they said was that Pakhtoonistan should be given autonomy. That is to say that Pakhtoonistan should have autonomy within Pakistan. This broad attitude was taken up on the advice of Gandhiji and more or less all of us. I do not exactly remember the words used.

This was after the decision had already been made about Pakistan and after the referendum there. Before that, of course, they were of view that the NWFP should remain with India. When this matter was decided against them, they accepted that decision, subject to this that the Pakhtoon area should have autonomy. Of course the referendum in the Frontier Province at the time was entirely bogus.

The stress certainly was on autonomy for the Pakhtoons. This is the present attitude of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He does not ask the Pakhtoons to go out of Pakistan.

The present statements of Dr Khan Saheb⁴ go much beyond this and are not all in keeping with his previous attitude.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 27 May 1955. JN Collection.
2. (1890-1988); detained by Pakistan Government for demanding Pakhtoonistan, 1947-55.
3. (1882-1958); Chief Minister of West Pakistan, 1955-57.
4. Khan Saheb said that if Afghan government were to allow a referendum to be held in the Pakhtoon areas of Afghanistan, "an overwhelming majority would vote in favour of joining Pakistan." He revealed that he had told Mountbatten at the time of the 1947 referendum in the NWFP that "no referendum was really necessary for we were all for Pakistan and considered our province an integral part of Pakistan." The statement was made in the context of the ongoing Pakistan-Afghan talks and Mohammed Naim Khan stating that the referendum of 1947 held to determine the views of NWFP on its accession to Pakistan was bogus, and that for this reason Afghanistan always demanded a fresh referendum under neutral auspices.

X. USA

1. Trade in Strategic Materials¹

Will you please read the note by Dr Bhabha? I do not like this additional article 15. Even if something like this was agreed to, it should be by exchange of letters. The US Government has strange ways of doing things and I see no reason why we should fall in line with them in such matters. It is obvious that secret and confidential matters are meant to be kept so and anyone who infringes against this is likely to be proceeded against, if there is adequate proof.

Further this proposed article 15 says that no information relating to the materials and obligations contracted for here under shall be disclosed. That would include even a reference to this agreement for sale of thorium nitrate. We have to inform our Parliament. We do not function in such matters in a secret chamber. We need not give them the other details.

After all, what business had the US Government to disclose the fact that they have agreed to sell us ten tons of heavy water.

The position is this that we are certainly agreeable not to disclose anything that is considered top secret, secret or confidential and if any such thing is disclosed, we shall punish the man who does so, if we have enough proof. But this kind of thing is agreed to separately by means of letters. Secondly that the fact of such an agreement for sale of thorium nitrate and the total tonnage of thorium nitrate involved in the sale will have to be mentioned to Parliament or elsewhere. Other facts need not be mentioned.

I think you might see the American Chargé and point this out to him.

You might also meanwhile ask our Law Ministry to advise us about this particular matter....

1. Note to the Secretary General, 11 March 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of this note was sent to Homi J. Bhabha.

2. Mushrooming of USIS Offices¹

I attach a note by DPIO² and another note by Shri M.O. Mathai.³ These notes relate to the various offices etc., of the USIS. The list of these offices is already formidable. I had no idea that it spread in this way all over the country and, what is more, are spreading further.⁴

I think this is a dangerous development which has to be checked. The suggestion made that such offices should only be confined to places where the foreign country has diplomatic or consular representation, appears to be a sound one.

Obviously if we allow the USIS to spread all over, how can we refuse a similar permission to any other foreign country? We must therefore take action about this matter soon. The action that suggests itself to me is that we should come to the decision that no foreign country should have its publicity office in any place other than the places where they have their diplomatic or consular representation. This should be a general rule to be adhered to strictly in future.

This obviously creates a difficulty in so far as the USIS is concerned, because they have already got many other publicity offices. If we have this rule, we should immediately tell them of it and ask them not to open any new office. As for the other offices, we may give them some time to wind them up.

I think this matter is important enough to be considered by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. We are having a meeting of it soon. Please have it put up then.⁵

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 5 April 1955. JN Collection.

2. V.R. Bhatt.

3. (1909-1981); member of Nehru's personal staff, 1946-59.

4. The USIS already had its offices established in Lucknow, Hyderabad, Guntur, Patna, Thiruvananthapuram and Bangalore and was planning to open new offices in Nagpur, Jalandhar, Jaipur, Cuttack, Banaras, Darjeeling and Ahmedabad.

5. Nehru again wrote to the Secretary General on 14 April 1955 that the information service offices of foreign countries in places where those countries did not have a diplomatic or consular representation should be closed down. This could be done gradually but at the same time there should not be great delay in giving effect to it fully.

3. Talks with the American Ambassador¹

I had an hour's talk with the American Ambassador, Mr Cooper,² tonight after dinner. We discussed the Bandung Conference, our talks with Chou En-lai there and with Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. I told him how these meetings at Bandung of representatives of the Indo-China states had been productive of some good results.

2. I spoke about the Geneva Conference and the part Krishna Menon had played there in quietly meeting people and helping them to see the others' point of view. In the same way, it might be possible to help slightly in creating a better atmosphere if talks on Formosa, etc., were carried on informally. This was rather a slow process. The other procedure of official notes to each other or of addressing the other country in public statements obviously did not take us anywhere. It was for this reason that I had gladly agreed to Chou En-lai's invitation to Krishna Menon to go to Peking. I could not say what good will result from this but I certainly hoped that it would remove some misapprehensions and fears and perhaps pave the way for other approaches in future.

3. I told Mr Cooper of how we had been conditioned in India by our struggle for freedom and by Mahatma Gandhi. Our policies today largely flowed from that conditioning.

4. I thought that too much talk of communism or anti-communism confused the issue although, no doubt, this was important. We must look upon this question as one of big dynamic powers inevitably trying to expand in various ways. This would have been so without communism or anti-communism. I had no doubt that, after some little time. If there was no great war, there would be adjustments and this persisting conflict would tone down. I was sure also that the Chinese Government wanted peace to develop their own country. What they or any other country might do in the distant future, I could not say. I was sure that they required another twenty years at least to develop their own country internally and they were anxious to avoid war.

5. Mr Cooper discussed Chou En-lai's statement agreeing to talks with the US. I gave him the background of this in Bandung and said that one could not

1. Note to the Secretary General and the Foreign Secretary, 5 May 1955. JN Collection.
2. John Sherman Cooper (1901-1991); American lawyer and politician; Senator from Kentucky, 1946-48, 1952-54 and 1956-73; Ambassador to India and Nepal, 1955-56; Ambassador to German Democratic Republic, 1974-76.

expect Chou En-lai at this stage to say more. He had said that he could say more only after he knew the reaction in America.

6. I referred to the American prisoners in China and said that they would probably have been released but for the air disaster. Even now I hoped that they would be released.

7. I assured Mr Cooper that there was no truth in what some people said that we were hostile to America. We were not at all hostile and we wanted to be friends, but I certainly felt that American policies had been wrong and encouraged the very tendencies which they sought to put an end to.

* 8. I told him also of my coming tour to the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

4. To Shriman Narayan¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1955

My dear Shriman,²

I am enclosing a paper called "Freedom First", which is issued by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. This Committee is an American-organised committee trying to put across the American viewpoint. I am drawing your attention to this because this committee has drawn into its fold a number of prominent members of the PSP. Masani³ has been a very important member of it. Jayaprakash⁴ once wrote to me in its favour. You will see that Jayaprakash is quoted in this in connection with our Second Five Year Plan.

Professor Mahalanobis's plan frame⁵ as well as our economists' note on it is severely criticised on this on the ground that all this savours of communism.

1. JN Collection. Also available in Shriman Narayan, *Letters from Gandhi-Nehru-Vinoba*. Bombay, 1968, pp. 61-62.
2. (1912-1978); General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, 1952-58; and member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.
3. M.R. Masani (1905-1998); a leader of the Praja Socialist Party.
4. Jayaprakash Narayan (1902-1974); prominent Socialist and Sarvodaya leader; after 1947, a leading member of the Socialist Party.
5. The draft outline of the Second Five Year Plan published by the Planning Commission in February 1956 was preceded, in March 1955, by Mahalanobis's draft plan frame and its consideration in April by the Planning Commission's panel of economists.

Jayaprakash is quoted as having said that "the seven authors of Pandit Nehru's Second Five Year Plan are all men from behind the Iron Curtain."

There were no seven authors of the Plan. There are about 25 plus the whole Economic Section of the Planning Commission. There were certainly some Russian planners of experience and note and a number of others who have nothing to do with Russia and communism, but everybody is dubbed a communist in this publication. According to American habit, anyone who does not fit in with the American pattern must be a communist.

You will see from various articles in this paper how much what we have been doing is criticised including the amendment of the Constitution. Dr J.C. Ghosh⁶ who has recently come to the Planning Commission is also dubbed a leftist. V.K.R.V. Rao⁷ is pro-communist and so on. The right to property is said to be one of the sacred rights which must not be touched.

What I am worried about is the attitude of many prominent socialists in this connection. In their antagonism to communism, they easily fall into the American trap. Instead of considering and criticising carefully the memorandum prepared by the panel of economists of the Planning Commission (which consisted of some of our best economists under the chairmanship of Professor D.R. Gadgil⁸), a scare is raised about communism and our socialist friends easily fall in line. They say that the Congress brand of socialism is not socialism at all. What exactly the PSP's brand is more than I know.

I am writing to you so that this aspect might be brought before Dhebar bhai and in a general way even before Vinobaji. In the international field today India's policy is well known to be of non-alignment. The socialists also talk of India having an independent policy, but in effect they incline towards the American group.

Vast sums of money are being spent in India by various organisations run by the Americans and quite a number of newspapers get help from them in various ways, more especially some of our communal papers.

It might interest you to know that *The People* which was originally started by Lala Lajpat Rai⁹ is now also being helped with American money. Naturally

6. (1893-1959); Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta, 1954-55.

7. (1908-1991); Founder-Director, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, 1942-57.

8. (1901-1971); Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune, 1930-66.

9. An English weekly newspaper *The People* was started in Lahore in 1925 by Lala Lajpat Rai who remained its editor till his death in 1928.

articles come out in it in praise of various things in America. There was a criticism in it of the steel plant we are putting up with Soviet help.

It would surprise many people to know how American money is being spread out all over the country.¹⁰

I should like you to show this to Dhebar bhai just for his information.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. On 24 May 1955 Nehru wrote to Shriman Narayan. "It might interest you to know that some little time ago I received definite information that the United States were looking for agents in the Congress Party in India."

XI. UK

1. An Exemplary Relationship¹

Coexistence does not signify, of course, that two people should be in agreement with each other. It is a state of existence between people who are not in agreement, but do not wish to pull each other and are anxious to tolerate each other. That shows their breeding and culture. Then there is the question always of the manner of approach. The manner of approach becomes very important, more specially when people and countries get excited and rather worked up, but try to face a difficult type of approach. I suppose, none of us in any country, is free from error and blame, either in our past history or in our present-day affairs. As individuals or as nations, we are always good and bad. Maybe, there maybe more of good in some and less of bad in others. The point is how

1. Speech at a banquet given in honour of Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 3 March 1955. From *National Herald* and *The Hindu*, 5 March 1955.

to draw out that good, the good approach and good actions. You will forgive me for repeating these platitudes, but I do feel very strongly that in our problems of today, it is of the highest importance how we approach and how far we try to understand others' viewpoints. We may not agree. It would be a dull world, indeed, if everyone agreed with everyone.

I suppose, an element of conflict is necessary to make the world a live world. The conflict need not go too far. Well, it need not result in the use of nuclear weapons. But, certainly there should be diversity, diversity of opinion, conflict of opinion and growth out of that, provided always that all that conflict of opinion and even action has a basis of friendliness, born out of a friendly approach.

Now, that is exemplified, if I may say so, in my country's relations with the United Kingdom. Naturally, we do not agree in everything; naturally, we put forward our different viewpoints, press on each other. Naturally, I say, because in dealing with these matters, political or any other like matters, we do not exactly deal as we would deal with a problem in higher mathematics. We deal with human beings, conditioned by all kinds of factors of geography, climate, history, tradition, ways of thinking, philosophy, education and so on. And where the conditioning is different, naturally, the result is difference in thinking. We should accept these differences and try to understand them. One talks about the great changes of this nuclear age, changes in weapons, in power of good or ill. But, perhaps, one of the biggest things in this age is the conflict or the changes that are taking place in the minds of men.

It is commonplace to say that we are passing through a period of transition. Nevertheless, somehow the pace of transition is quickened. In this period of transition, probably, the most important thing is not the atomic or the hydrogen bomb, but the minds of men from which the bomb has come—from the hearts of men. What will happen ultimately, I cannot say. But I have no doubt at all as to the manner of approach to all these problems, and that manner of approach I repeat again, is exemplified, I think, in this happy relationship that subsists between the United Kingdom and India.

We can meet—we do meet often—we discuss many problems; we agree often; we disagree sometimes, but that does not make a difference to our mutual regard for each other and our mutual respect for each others' bona fides which is the main thing, and so, in effect, we agree far more than we might disagree, and each has perfect freedom to continue along the line of his own choice and find some kind of fulfilment. Therefore, Sir Anthony Eden's visit here is doubly welcome at this particular juncture and I am sure it is good for our country that he has come, and I would like on my own behalf, on behalf of the Government of India and on behalf of you all who are here, to welcome him.

2. To Winston Churchill¹

New Delhi
April 8, 1955

My dear Sir Winston,

I am writing these few lines to you to send you my affectionate regards on your retirement from your high office.² I do not suppose that there can be any retirement from public affairs for a man of your vitality and deep interest in the shaping of world affairs. You have been and will continue to be something much more than the holder of any office, however high that might be. Nevertheless, your retirement from the Prime Ministership of the United Kingdom means the end of a great chapter in the history of our times and it is inevitable that the impact of it should be felt by all of us.

It has been my privilege during the past few years to come into more intimate contact with you and it has given me deep satisfaction that in spite of the past and in spite of some differences of opinion, there was no barrier between us. During this period, you have been invariably kind and generous to me and I shall remember that always.³

I earnestly hope that you will keep well and throw your great influence in the furtherance of the cause of peace which I know you have so much at heart.

I send my deep regards to Lady Churchill⁴ who was so gracious to me on the last occasion I visited England.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Churchill resigned as Prime Minister on 5 April 1955, after his decision to retire from public life.

3. In his reply of 30 June 1955, Churchill wrote, "I was much touched by what you said. One of the most agreeable memories of my last years in office is our association. At our conferences your contribution was a leading and constructive one, and I always admired your ardent wish for peace and the absence of bitterness in your consideration of the antagonisms that had in the past divided us." Churchill concluded: "Yours is indeed a heavy burden and responsibility, shaping the destiny of your many millions of countrymen, and playing your outstanding part in world affairs. I wish you well in your task. Remember 'The Light of Asia!'"

4. Clementine Churchill (1885-1977); married Winston Churchill in 1908; associated with the wartime appeal and hostels committee of YWCA and the Red Cross from 1939 to 1951.

3. Air India International Service for Prague¹

Please see attached telegram. This relates to the proposed Air India International service for Prague. Everything is ready for this, but the British Government opposes it. At first they raised some trivial objections which had no force. Now they come to the real reason, that is, their policy precludes direct communications with communist countries. To have that policy for themselves is one thing. To impose it on us is quite another.

I do not quite know why their agreement is necessary. But I suppose that this has to be obtained. Mr J.R.D. Tata² pointed out to me some days ago that the British Government was giving us a lot of trouble in this matter, although we had treated them very generously in regard to certain privileges. He suggested not only that we should give them no further privileges if they continued to prove obstructive, but we should hint to them that even some of existing privileges might have to be withdrawn, as they were denying us like privileges.

It does seem to me that this kind of imposition on us is very improper. The Communications Ministry is dealing with this matter and I do not wish to interfere. But they should know our viewpoint. I have broadly spoken already to the Communications Minister³ on this subject.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 21 April 1955. JN Collection.

2. (1904-1993); leading industrialist and Chairman, Air India International, 1948-78.

3. Jagjivan Ram (1908-1986), Union Minister for Communications, 1952-56.

XII. OTHER COUNTRIES

1. To G.V. Mavalankar¹

New Delhi
February 24, 1955

My dear Mr Speaker,²

Thank you for your letter of the 24th February, about the Parliamentary delegation to the Soviet Union.³

I have been thinking about this, and I feel that, perhaps, a delegation of twelve would be adequate, i.e., eight from the Lok Sabha and four from the Rajya Sabha. At any rate, I think we might suggest this at this stage. If necessary, this can be made fifteen later. In any event, I will not go beyond fifteen.

As for the composition, I think that, perhaps, it would be desirable to include one Communist Member in the Lok Sabha group of eight. This cannot do us any harm, and it would show that we do not differentiate. The eight may thus consist of perhaps, if you approve, one Communist, one Praja Socialist, one Independent, and five Congress Members. This is just a suggestion for your consideration. The persons to be sent will have to be carefully chosen.

I think the best time for them to go there would be May. I am likely to go the Soviet Union in June, probably in the early part. I think it would be better if our Parliamentary delegation did not overlap with my visit. There is no special importance about this but, on the whole, I think, it would probably be better.

There will, of course, be a secretary to the delegation, and the route to be taken should be by direct flight from India to Prague and then, presumably by Russian aircraft, to Moscow.

I might mention that I have discussed this matter with our Ambassador in Moscow, K.P.S. Menon,⁴ who is at present in Delhi.

I think that perhaps it will be better for our foreign office to have a talk with the Russian Ambassador⁵ here about this Parliamentary delegation before you send a reply. If you agree, I can ask our Foreign Secretary⁶ to send for the Soviet Ambassador.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1888-1956); Speaker of Lok Sabha, 1952-56.

3. The twelve-member Indian Parliamentary delegation led by S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao, Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, left New Delhi on 5 May 1955 for a three-week tour of the Soviet Union.

4. (1898-1982); Ambassador to the Soviet Union, 1952-61.

5. Mikhail A. Menshikov.

6. R.K. Nehru (b. 1902); Foreign Secretary, 1952-55.

It is possible that the Soviet Ambassador might suggest that our delegation should reach Moscow in time to see the May First Parade. This is a very big show and, in a sense, worth seeing. I have no particular objection to this except that this would mean the delegation leaving before the session is over. Perhaps, it will be better for them to go after the session.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Attitude Towards Bhutan¹

I agree that our general approach to Bhutan should continue as before. There is no question of our trying to rush or push things there. This will not help and, in a sense, there is no need for hurry. At the same time, of course, we should be alert and develop relations with Bhutan.

2. There is no question of my going to Bhutan for the inauguration of the new Constitution. In fact, it is exceedingly doubtful if I can go there for any purpose because of the time involved. If airfields, etc., are made, then it would be a different matter. Indira Gandhi also is not likely to go. She has not been keeping well and this long journey might be too much for her.

3. Apa Pant² should certainly go there, and it would be a good thing to have occasional visits of our people to Bhutan later.

4. So long as the Dorji family³ and Sardar D.K. Sen⁴ occupy positions of importance in Bhutan, we are likely to have to deal with hostile atmosphere. They are bound to think, and rightly, that any change in Bhutan will affect their personal and vested interests there.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 17 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. Apasaheb Balasaheb Pant (1912-1992); Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan with control over Indian Missions in Tibet, 1955-1961.

3. The Dorji family was in close familial collaboration with the Wangchuk dynasty, extending over a 75-year period. This alliance had provided the foundation for the creation of a stable and centralised monarchical polity after 1907.

4. (b. 1897); Adviser to the Bhutan Government.

5. The Maharaja⁵ and his wife⁶ are welcome to come to India but we must not overdo this kind of thing. I forget when he came here last but it was not long ago so far as I can remember.⁷

6. The question of appointing an Indian Agent should be kept open, but no undue pressure need be used. It may be mentioned whenever a suitable time for this arises.

7. I agree that it will not be right for Rustomji⁸ to be appointed an Indian Agent. The Dewan of Sikkim obviously cannot be Government of India's Agent for Bhutan.

8. The question of the Bhutanese asking for the appointment of an Agent in Delhi has not been previously raised. If it is raised, we can consider it. I have no particular objection.

9. We should certainly simplify the issue of permits, etc., to avoid unnecessary delay and inconvenience.

5. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk (1928-1972); ascended the throne of Bhutan on 27 October 1952 as the third King in line of the Wangchuk dynasty and ruled till his death in 1972.

6. Ashi Kesang Wangchuk.

7. The Maharaja and Maharani reached New Delhi on 11 January 1954 to have a tour of some cities in India and to participate in the Republic Day celebrations.

8. Nari Kaikhosru Rustomji (b. 1919); joined ICS, 1941; Adviser to Governor of Assam for Tribal areas and states of Manipur, Tripura and Cooch-Bihar, 1948-54; Dewan of Sikkim, 1954-59; Adviser to Governor of Assam for NEFA and Nagaland, 1959-63; Adviser to Bhutan Government, 1963-66; Chief Secretary to Assam Government, 1966-1971; Chief Secretary to Meghalaya, 1971-77; Publications: *Enchanted Frontiers: Sikkim, Bhutan and India's North-Eastern Borderlands* (1971); *Bhutan: The Dragon Kingdom in Crisis* (1978).

3. To R.R. Saksena¹

New Delhi
March 17, 1955

My dear Saksena,²

I have seen your letter of the 23rd February addressed to C.S. Jha. This letter

1. JN Collection.

2. Ramji Ram Saksena (b. 1897); High Commissioner to Canada, 1951-55, and Ambassador to Myanmar, 1955-56.

deals with the serious rice situation in Burma and the possible effect of it on Burma's general policies as well as, more particularly, on her relations with India, in case India cannot buy any rice from Burma.

We are well aware of our special relationship with Burma. Indeed, Burma is nearer to us than any foreign country and we have always given first priority to Burma in our thoughts and in our desire to be of help. But the proposition that we should give this help by buying rice from Burma has necessarily to be considered from a number of points of view. The chief of these is the possibility, by some means or other, of our being able to absorb or dispose of this rice.

You say that Raschid³ is doubtful about the rice position in India. This is a question of fact and can easily be verified by anyone. The present position was explained in the letter of our Minister for Food, Ajit Prasad Jain,⁴ dated December 13, addressed to Raschid. In this it was stated that our stocks of rice this year, including rice that is coming from Burma, amount to 18 lakhs tons. Apart from this, rice production has increased greatly in India. Prices have fallen very considerably and we may even have to take steps to bolster up prices to avoid too much distress among the agriculturists. Our total capacity is being used to the utmost.

There is every indication, unless some great catastrophe occurs, that we shall have plenty of surplus rice this year.

Last year, we had discussions with Raschid and others from Burma and, as a result, we went out to the utmost of our capacity to buy a large quantity of rice from Burma. This was not needed here and, in fact, has been a burden on us.⁵ But we were anxious to help Burma and so we made a deal and wrote off a good part of the debt. It has been difficult to absorb this and it is still a burden on us. Only recently severe criticism of this deal has again appeared in the press here. It was manifestly not a business deal and could not be justified on any normal basis. It was only due to our great desire to help Burma. The Burmese Ambassador⁶ here was worried about this criticism in the Indian press. We are trying to explain it as best as we can.

3. M.A. Raschid (b. 1912); Minister in Myanmar Government, 1952-58 and 1960-62. At this time he was Minister for Trade Development and Labour.

4. (1902-1977); Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, 1954-59.

5. In another letter of 17 March 1955 to R.R. Saksena, Nehru wrote that the rice India bought from Myanmar in 1954 at a special rate had now to be sold at a much lower rate, thus incurring a loss of forty-five crores of rupees.

6. Maha Throy Sithu U Kyin.

It is manifestly impossible for us to go on importing rice when we cannot dispose of what we have got. You suggest all kinds of economic expedients for us to raise rice consuming capacity of our people by giving them more purchasing power. Well, we are throwing in even this year several hundred crores of rupees in developmental work, etc., to add to their purchasing capacity. That does not mean that rice consumption goes up markedly even though rice is at the lowest level of price here.

I have repeatedly explained this to Raschid and others. I really cannot understand how this simple proposition is not understood and doubts are cast about our bona fides in regard to rice. It was because of some vague statements that we made about a year and a half ago, which led the Burmese to believe that we would buy a large quantity of rice from them, that we decided to purchase rice from Burma last year. It would be unfair to Burma to give them any kind of hope that we can purchase rice this year from them. That kind of thing creates ill will later. The fact is that we just cannot import rice this year. Even as regards future years, the great probability is that our rice production will go on increasing progressively. The new methods that we have introduced have borne remarkable results. Of course there is always a possibility of disasters like widespread drought, floods, or other which might affect the situation in the future. Our rice position is, however, so strong that even the floods of last year in Bihar did not materially affect it.

Therefore no hope can be given on our behalf to the Burmese Government that we will be able to purchase any rice this year. It is utterly beyond our capacity. This is a problem with Burma we have to face year after year. It is unfortunate that they have built up their economy, more especially during the post-war years, practically on rice alone and on high prices available. This position cannot be maintained nor can it be bolstered up by occasional purchases. No firm friendship between nations can subsist on an artificial basis which is difficult to justify. We have made it perfectly clear that whenever we want rice, we shall take it from Burma and no other country. But we cannot take it from Burma even when we just do not want and cannot absorb it in any way.

As for other methods of helping Burma, you are quite right in saying that gifts and loans produce undesirable results. If after examination we can find some way of helping Burma, we shall try to consider it.

U Nu will be coming here soon and I propose to make the position perfectly clear to him. Raschid is always welcome here but it would be wrong to give him any hope about our buying rice from Burma this year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Mahavir Tyagi¹

New Delhi
March 31, 1955

My dear Mahavir,²

Your letter of March 31st.³ The proposal to present an HT-2 (trainer) aircraft to Indonesia is worth consideration, but I should like to give a little more thought to it before we finally decide. I always hesitate to overdo any gesture. On the whole, I feel inclined to see things myself in Indonesia and then we can decide finally. Just at this juncture of the Conference, my making this announcement would not be properly timed. It will get mixed up with the Conference. At least, that is my present reaction.

You may get this formalised in a way so that I might be in a position to mention this, if necessity arises, in Indonesia. It is a ticklish matter when there are so many other countries present and we pick out one country. Many of the countries present at the Conference are poor and undeveloped countries, all requiring help of some kind or other. Therefore, on the whole, I hesitate even to mention it there. I shall give more thought to it...

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Mahavir Tyagi Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Papers. Extracts.
2. (1899-1980); Minister for Defence Organisation, 1953-57.
3. Tyagi sought Nehru's approval to a suggestion by Shrinagesh, General Manager of the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, that India should present one HT-2 (trainer) aircraft to Indonesia on the occasion of Nehru's forth-coming visit there. Such a gesture would go a long way in promoting mutual friendship as well as advertisement of the aircraft for which a market was needed Tyagi thought.

5. Japanese Offer of Help¹

Mr Tatsunosuke Takasaki,² Minister of State in Japan, is the leader of the

1. Note to the Finance Minister, Industry and Commerce Minister, Production Minister, Irrigation and Power Minister and Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Bandung, 19 April 1955. JN Collection.
2. (b. 1885); Executive Director, Toyo Seikan Kaisha Limited, 1917-35, Managing Director, 1935-38; Chairman, Toyo Steel Plate Company, 1938-40; Director, Manchuria Heavy Industries Development Company, 1940-47; President, Electric Power Development Company, 1952-54; Minister of State and Director General of the Economic Deliberations Board, March 1955.

Japanese delegation to the Bandung Conference. The Japanese have brought a large delegation consisting of 34 persons.

2. Mr Takasaki sought a special interview with me today and we had a fairly long talk. He is the man who was connected with the steel negotiations with Japan two years ago.

3. He referred to these steel negotiations and to our present plans for expansion in steel production in India, the German plant, the Soviet plant and the proposed British plant. He said that Japan would be happy to undertake to put up an additional plant of about one million capacity.

4. He said further that he had been the head of the organisation which industrialised Manchuria. Since the war there were large numbers of engineers of various grades from foremen upwards without employment in Japan and that it was his job to find them jobs. He would be happy if some of them could be usefully employed in India. Japan could also supply equipment of various kinds. It could put up not only a steel plant but a fertiliser factory, chemicals factory, etc.

5. I told him that it was obviously not possible for me to give any definite reply. It was conceivable however that we might be able to take advantage in some way or other of his offer. I suggested that he should give us full particulars about the trained personnel and the equipment that Japan could supply. Also about putting up any plant in India. He promised to send these particulars from Tokyo.

6. I referred him to B.K. Nehru for any further clarification that might be necessary. B.K. Nehru was present during these talks.

7. Mr Takasaki then referred to the admission of Japan to GATT. I told him I know very little about this and asked him to have a talk with K.B. Lall who is here.

8. We further discussed Japan's relations with China, which was a natural outlet for Japan's equipment, trained personnel, etc. He agreed, but said that political difficulties came in the way. These political difficulties were American objections. He asked me if we had any trade with China and if any such difficulties came in our way. I told him that we did not have much trade with China, but we were prepared to have it and we did not permit any objection from the United States to come in our way. We had made this clear to the US.

9. He then discussed the question of Japanese rearmament. He pointed out that under the Japanese Constitution this was forbidden and normally this could not be done without change of the Constitution. But the Americans were pressing for it. Public opinion was in general opposed to it and a difficult situation might arise if this change was attempted to be made.

10. I told Mr Takasaki that we would be happy to develop relations, political and economic, with Japan advantageous to both countries. He was much pleased at this.

11. I might add that he mentioned that a large number of engineers were

engaged in a big hydroelectric project at present. This would be completed in two years' time when all these persons would also be unemployed.

6. Friendship with Indonesia¹

I am seeing the Indonesian Ambassador, Dr Palar, tomorrow. He will be going to Peking soon to meet his Prime Minister there. I sent for him specially to explain to him the nature of Krishna Menon's visit to Peking and the fact that this was in no way an attempt at mediation on our part. In fact, that we do not wish to take up that role as we do not think that will be helpful at this stage. Of course, in a sense, every attempt to meet people concerned in this way is a kind of mediation.

I have read what Tyabji has written, and your own suggestion in this matter. I am disinclined to send a special message to the Prime Minister of Indonesia as suggested by Tyabji. This is not a question of our prestige at all. Our prestige must be pretty thin to suffer in this way. I hope we have a more solid foundation. I am also prepared to be as friendly and cooperative with the Indonesian Government and even to feed their self-esteem and amour propre but for us to take any step in this matter at this stage might well be used by Dr Sastroamidjojo in the wrong way. I cannot possibly tell him that I propose to act in close consultation with Indonesia in all matters connected with Formosa and the Far Eastern situation because I may not be able to pursue that course in future or even in the present. Any step that we might take in this delicate matter might well be upset by some kind of a statement of the Indonesian PM.

3. It is a poor kind of friendship that we can only retain in this way. I have every desire for Indonesian friendship but I cannot permit our policies to be sabotaged.

4. I am not favourably impressed by the behaviour of the Indonesian Government and press after the Bandung Conference. I think the best course for us now is to behave with friendship certainly but with dignity also and not to go out of our way to show that we are catering for the favour of Indonesia. The Indonesian Government will have to learn from experience. If we continue to be friendly and act correctly in spite of their behaviour, this will produce a more substantial result than any sudden and rather obvious moves to gain favour.

1. Note to the Secretary General and the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 15 May 1955. JN Collection.

XIII. GOA

1. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
March 8, 1955

My dear Morarji,²

We learnt some days ago that the American Consul General³ in Bombay was paying a visit to Goa. I did not like this and so we sent for the US Chargé d'Affaires⁴ here and told him that the Portuguese would exploit this visit for political purposes and that it would have undesirable repercussions in India. The Charge d'Affaires told us that the Consul General had already gone to Goa or was on his way there.⁵

Later we learnt that the US Consul General in Bombay had previously been accredited to Goa also. If we did not approve of this and cancelled the concurrent accreditation, the US Government would have to appoint a separate Consul in Goa.

We have thus been put in a quandary. Should we agree to this concurrent accreditation or should we leave it to the Government concerned to appoint a separate Consul in Goa? I am inclined to think that it is better to have concurrent accreditation rather than a separate Consul. A separate Consul would give a much greater idea of separation to Goa.⁶

I should like your views in this matter.⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1896-1995); Chief Minister of Bombay, 1952-56.
3. William T. Turner.
4. Donald Kennedy.
5. On 3 March, the Prime Minister ordered that the American Chargé d'Affaires should be advised that Turner should not go to Goa for the time being, and R.K. Nehru, the Foreign Secretary, subsequently informed Kennedy of this. Yet Turner visited Goa between 6 and 10 March under instructions from Washington.
6. Discussing the pros and cons of stopping concurrent accreditation, R.K. Nehru noted on 6 March, "On the whole, whatever the risks, I think it is desirable that facilities for concurrent accreditation should be discontinued."
7. Morarji Desai agreed with Nehru's views.

2. Diplomatic Relations with Portugal¹

I discussed the Goa situation² with the Chief Minister of Bombay. He was of opinion that we should not hesitate now or in the near future to sever diplomatic relations with the Portuguese Government. This would involve the withdrawal of their Minister from Delhi and the withdrawal of our respective Consuls General from Goa and Bombay.

The last time we discussed this matter in the Foreign Affairs Committee,³ we were, in the balance, of opinion that we should not sever these relations at present because we thought that the presence of our Consul General at Goa had some advantages. I feel however that the time is coming when we shall have to take this step to sever diplomatic relations. Shri Morarji Desai was clearly of this opinion and he felt that while we did not gain much from the presence of our representative at Goa, we certainly suffered harm from the presence of the Portuguese Consul General in Bombay. I am merely indicating how my mind is working in this matter. No immediate step need be taken, but if the satyagrahis are deported and sent abroad or any other major occurrence takes place, we should consider this matter immediately. It will naturally be necessary for a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee to be held then.

If we decide to sever relations, we shall also have to decide how much time to give, more especially to the Minister here.

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and the Commonwealth Secretary, 6 May 1955. JN Collection.
2. The satyagraha movement launched in August 1954 was gaining momentum and the Portuguese were reportedly deporting the peaceful satyagrahis. In January-February 1955 the Portuguese made 135 arrests and another 61 between 6-21 April 1955. In the end of April the Portuguese Military Tribunal sentenced 41 Goan satyagrahis arrested between August 1954 and September 1954 to deportation or rigorous imprisonment. The Portuguese administration also began to distrust Goan police and increasingly relied on the military to maintain law and order.
3. 8 April 1955.

3. Policy Towards Goa¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... Well, broadly speaking, you know our policy with regard to Goa. Goa belongs to India geographically and in every way, and inevitably it must become part of the Indian Union. The whole question is: How can this be brought about; According to our broad policy in regard to all such questions we seek to bring about a solution peacefully and by negotiation. It is patent and it does not require an argument that when this vast land of India became free and the British power had to yield, it is absurd from any point of view to expect India to tolerate any bits of foreign territory. Fortunately we came to a friendly settlement with the French with regard first to Chandernagore and then Pondicherry, etc. In Goa the Portuguese authorities have been not only non-cooperative but something much worse. Now some people wonder and ask us: Why do you tolerate this kind of thing? Are you not strong enough obviously. That does not require proof, and it is not right for anyone to suggest that we are afraid in the circumstances. I do not say that we have been heroic always but it is quite absurd to say in connection with Goa that we are afraid. We are afraid of one thing, that is, of following a policy which is not in keeping with our larger policies, with our objectives, with our methods. We attach great importance to the basic principles governing our policy, international policies especially. We have gained some credit in the world for following those basic principles, and we do not wish to be hustled or hurried into forgetting and bypassing those principles that govern our foreign policy everywhere. Naturally in a changing situation as in Goa, one has to adapt that basic policy from time to time to a changing situation. But the basic policy must remain, as otherwise, we stand discredited in our own eyes, because we have talked in one way, and acted in another. That is not the reputation India has achieved in these past years. Therefore our policy will be adapted from time to time, but basically it will be a peaceful policy, a policy where the door is always open for peaceful negotiation and settlement, even though the Portuguese do not behave correctly as they don't. It is open to us to take many measures within that ambit of peace. We have taken some measures; we may take others.² Now there can be no doubt that the people of Goa wish to merge with or to get Goa join the Union of India. It does not require an argument.

1. Press conference. New Delhi, 31 May 1955. From the Press Information Bureau. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see *post*, pp. 328-332. 380-389, p. 431 and pp. 503-505.
2. Severance of diplomatic relations and even some form of blockade were some of the steps contemplated.

I cannot speak for everyone there, and mind you I am speaking not of the Hindus or non-Christians of Goa who form the majority there—they are sixty per cent—but I am speaking of the Catholic Christians there. I think enough evidence has come, including the arrest of quite a considerable number of Catholic priests by the Portuguese authorities for expressing themselves in favour of union with India. So, it is not a religious matter. Roughly the population of Goa is sixty per cent Hindus or non-Christians; and forty per cent Catholic Christians. Now, I say, leave out the sixty per cent Hindus of Goa who obviously are in favour of joining India. I say, the forty per cent of the Christian population of Goa, the majority of them wish to join India and I would say a considerable majority but I cannot naturally say exactly how many. So, there is no question of what the people want; there is no doubt about it. One may differ in the estimate as to whether ninety per cent of the population want it or eighty per cent want it. There may be some difference in that calculation, but there is no doubt about what the people want.

You know that the Government of India have made it perfectly clear, that as with Pondicherry we propose to treat Goa as an entity, as a separate unit and entity. We do not propose to just attach it to any other part or state in India, and make it perhaps a district of India. We recognise that Goa has an individuality—and a history, and one should maintain that individuality till the people of Goa themselves wish to change it. That is a different matter. So that within the Indian Union Goa will have an individuality and necessarily a normal self-governing apparatus which goes with membership of the Indian Union. What changes might be brought about in future, will naturally be in consultation with and with the approval of the people there. Nothing is to be imposed upon. And it is perfectly clear that so far as religious matters are concerned, they will have the fullest freedom. Reference has been made to the relics of St Francis Xavier. Well, before him, many of you know was St Thomas in Madras and there are millions and millions of Catholics, chiefly in South India. But the biggest testimony is that the Catholic priests and others in Goa are taking a very considerable part internally in this movement for freedom and for union with India. And quite apart from sentimental reasons which may influence them in this behalf, there are practical reasons. It is obvious to them that they will have far greater freedom as members of the Indian Union, than they have at present. It is not my intention to criticise any country's government, but it is obvious that normal democratic freedom does not prevail not only in Goa, but even in Portugal. Sometimes it is said that some reforms are going to be introduced in Goa—but you can hardly expect Goa to become more democratically free than Portugal itself. And if Portugal has not got that freedom, well, that is reflected in a much intenser degree in Goa naturally. However, what Portugal has or has not, that is none of my business; that is for the Portuguese people. But it is my business what happens in Goa, and it is only

our definite policy of peace, peaceful approach, and restraint, which prevents us from taking other steps. I think it is completely open to us to take such steps in the economic domain as we consider proper. We have taken some; we may take other. People have been going there as satyagrahis, and inside Goa also, you must remember that there is a satyagraha, and many people have been arrested from time to time there. Last year we issued directions, broad directions, that Indian non-Goanese, Indian nationals will not be encouraged there to go. Why? There is no principle about it. Non-Goanese Indian nationals can go there. It is not a sin for them to go there. In fact, I would add: those who want to go there do go. When then did we say this? Because we thought that it is easy enough for large numbers of Indians to go there, almost to paralyse the Government. India has enough people round about there. We felt that that would lead to people to think that we are coercing these Goanese that this is not a movement of the Goanese people. Mind you I do not challenge the right of Indians to go there. Goa is a part of India. Why should we not do it? But we wanted to bring out the fact that this freedom movement with which we wholly sympathise is essentially a Goanese movement, of the people of Goa, and it is nothing thrust upon them; there is nothing which is imposed upon them. And we thought that if large numbers of Indians went there in this way, it would give an opportunity to others to say that this is just an extraneous effort with which the people of Goa did not agree. That was one reason.

The second reason was and all this applies to large numbers of people going there that this was bound to lead to other consequences which were not peaceful. The Portuguese Government and authorities, I fear, have little understanding of satyagraha or peaceful methods. They have been trained in a different school than ours, and we did not wish to create a situation which might well lead to large-scale shooting, killing and the passions that would be aroused in India and elsewhere.

I have told you frankly our reasons for that.

Now, in the past six or eight months, occasionally one or two Indian nationals accompanied the Goanese. Nothing wrong with this. What we wish to prevent was large groups of Indian nationals going together, and coming into conflict and creating a difficult international situation, violence, shooting and all that, something which would come in our way of a peaceful solution of the problem. This time a considerable number of Indians, well, about 55, some were Goanese, but a majority of Indians, they went not by the straight normal route to Goa.³ That itself, of course, prevented that kind of major conflict. We

3. On 18 May 1955, a batch of 54 satyagrahis, led by N.G. Goray of the Praja Socialist Party, crossed over into Goa and the Portuguese opened fire with four satyagrahis receiving bullet wounds. Many others were abused and beaten harshly.

can't line up the whole border with packets and troops and the main approaches are guarded by us for entry and exit. Now, that policy continues, i.e., we do not approve of large numbers of Indian nationals going there for some kind of satyagraha, or what is supposed to be satyagraha. Individuals have gone, they can go with the Goanese and others. In spite of recent developments, which have pained our people and us very much, we propose to adhere to our policy of dealing with this question peacefully, economically and otherwise. And even now the problem of Goa has not been solved, but I have no doubt that it has come nearer solution, and we shall go ahead with this policy, vary it from time to time and keep completely wide awake to what happens there.⁴

Question: Mr Alvares⁵ has stated that some foreign government is at the back of the Portuguese Government and he has named the country which has constructed an aerodrome there. In view of these developments, don't you think our policy needs revision at this stage?

JN: Well, that information Mr Alvares has at his disposal, I do not know. It is quite possible, indeed probable that an aerodrome there has been improved, but because of that we cannot take exception to an aerodrome being improved in a place. I do not think personally, there is any foreign government involved in this matter of Goa. Maybe sometimes some may have sympathy with them, but otherwise I don't think there is anything in it.

In fact, I think in the course of the last seven or eight months, that is, since August last year, when there was a big hubbub and since indeed this policy of ours was clearly framed and announced, there has been a much clearer understanding and appreciation of our policy and India's objective in Goa in other countries, in most countries in fact, than there was previously. They did not understand then, but now because of our patience and restraint and yet a firm policy, it has been understood much more in other countries, and even those, who sometimes criticised us have come round to the opinion that the only solution is for Goa to come to India. Mostly they say privately, "It is bound to come to India, why are you in a hurry. Within two or three years it

4. On 20 May 1955, the Foreign Affairs Committee met to discuss the Goa situation. It accepted the recommendation of Chief Minister of Bombay that consul general, Goa should ask local authorities to grant interviews with detained satyagrahis in order to ascertain details of police firing on 18 May. The Committee decided that if reports about the 18 May incident were found to be correct, then India should take steps to close the Portuguese legation and consulates in Goa and Bombay. It was also decided that no further action would be taken if "incidents were not so grave".
5. Peter Alvares (1908-1975); President, National Congress, Goa, 1953-61.

is bound to come.” That is the present foreign approach, if I may say so, but it is generally admitted almost by every country, excepting Portugal, that Goa is bound to come to India.

Q: You stated previously that NATO wanted to extend its tentacles to India.

JN: I did not say that exactly or used the word tentacles. I said that the Portuguese stated eight months back, or nine months ago that they would appeal to NATO, because they are members of it. We were informed by some countries belonging to the NATO alliance politely that they hoped that this question of Goa would be solved peacefully. That was the approach made to us. Well, we do not mind anyone, any country telling us this or talking to us about it, but we did object and resent this kind of thing, which was otherwise legitimate, being said in connection with the NATO alliance. That is what we thought was completely wrong and we expressed our views in Parliament and outside.

XIV. ISSUES IN FOREIGN POLICY

1. India and World Affairs¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Perhaps, it might be helpful if I said something in broad outline about the situation confronting us today, although the subjects before us deal with the Demands for Grants and, no doubt, the various cut motions, or some of them at least, are important in their respective spheres. After all, the whole Ministry of External Affairs is broadly responsible for our international relations, and international relations today play perhaps a more important role in the world, even in affecting domestic policy, than almost anything else.

We live from day to day in fear of something happening which might confront us with a grave situation of war or peace. It is true that I do not think there is any immediate danger of war in the near future; nevertheless, I am

1. Statement in Lok Sabha, 31 March 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, Part II, 1955, cols 3887-3912. Extracts.

sorry to say that the situation generally in the world has hardened; it has become more difficult of solution, and things are happening which might well lead not merely to a worsening of the situation but to catastrophic results. Perhaps when the history of these times is written in the future, two things will stand out. One is the coming of atomic energy and the other is the emergence of Asia. There are, of course, many other important things happening too, but I do think that these two matters are, in a historic sense, of high importance, more important than anything else. As the sign and symbol of the latter, that is, the emergence of Asia, we are having, as the House well knows, a conference at Bandung in Indonesia in about two and a half weeks' time, a conference which is styled the Asian-African Conference, to which all the free and independent nations of Asia and Africa have been invited. I do think that this Conference has something of historic importance about it. It is unique, of course; no such thing has ever happened before, and the fact that representatives, I believe, of 1400 million people meet there, even though they differ amongst themselves, is a matter of the utmost significance.

The House will remember that it had become a regular practice for the affairs of Asia to be determined by certain great powers in Europe or sometimes in America, and the fact that people in Asia might have any views about those subjects was not considered a matter of very great importance. It is true that some importance is attached to those views now, because they cannot be ignored; nevertheless, it seems to be the high privilege of countries outside Asia to carry the burden of Asia on their shoulders, and repeatedly things happen and decisions are made affecting Asia in which Asia has little say. But it is obvious that things have changed in Asia. Whether they have changed for the right or for the wrong may depend upon the opinions people hold; but they have changed, and changed greatly, and are changing, and this kind of other people deciding the fate of Asian countries is not approved of by the countries of Asia. I cannot presume to speak for other people, but I think I am correct in saying so. So this Asian-African Conference is a gathering, I think, of very great importance. The mere fact of its meeting is important. What it does, I cannot say, because countries coming there have different policies, different outlooks, sometimes opposing policies, and I do not know that it will be very easy for them to evolve any common outlooks or approaches. Yet, it is clear that there is something in common between them, even though they might otherwise differ; otherwise, they would not have agreed to gather together in this way.

So that is an important factor which, I hope, the House will remember, the Conference that is coming. The Conference, of course, is not opposed to anybody, opposed to Europe or America, or taking sides as a Conference in the great conflict and tug-of-war that is going on in the world. It is merely a coming together of Asian and African countries. Now, what do the Asian and

African countries exactly aim at? All of them? Well, they obviously aim at two things: peace and opportunity to progress. They are all anxious to do that. They are not interested in other people's quarrels or disputes. They want to get on. They want to make good themselves in their own countries just as we, in our country, want to make good. And, for that purpose, we want peace in the world. Therefore, there is this tremendous urge for peace, which is present all over the world—I think in the countries of Asia and Africa more than perhaps even elsewhere—just as the urge to freedom too is present, I think, all over the world, but more so among those who were not free for long periods, who either recently achieved their freedom or have yet to achieve their freedom. Freedom for them is much more important than to those who have been used to freedom for a long time past. Therefore, there is this passionate desire for peace and opportunity for progress in these countries and that is a common bond.

As I said, I hope—I cannot say definitely, but I hope—the Conference will not line up with these great power blocs. It cannot, in the nature of things, because the countries that are attending the Conference themselves hold different views on that matter. The House knows that it has become almost impossible to consider any matter logically and reasonably or by itself. Everything has to be considered, now, we are told, like this: whether it is communist or anti-communist. There is no way of dealing with the situation by some powers and authorities unless you raise the conflict of communism or anti-communism. Now, this has made it difficult to understand any question, much less to solve it. The simple, rather naive view of the world is that you must belong to this bloc or that bloc. If you do not, well, you are either very foolish or you do not understand what is happening in the world or there is some mischief behind your attitude. This kind of approach would have been difficult enough at any time, but, when we live as we do now on the verge, on the threshold, of this atomic age, it is a dangerously simple way of looking at things. And, we might, because of the simple thinking—I mean the world—suddenly find ourselves just on the brink of disaster.

We have endeavoured not to align ourselves with these great powers and I speak of them with all respect. I do not presume to tell them what is right or wrong, but I must confess that I feel very diffident about expressing any opinion. In regard to other countries—sometimes in regard to my own—I feel very diffident because the problems we have to face are very difficult. There are new problems being brought out and if people try to solve them by some slogan or precedent of their own times, then, I am afraid, it may be completely wrong. Therefore, I speak with every diffidence about these matters. It passes my comprehension how any of the problems of today are going to be solved by the approaches that are being made today by the great powers. I cannot understand this.

There was one approach some time ago, last year, in Geneva,² which was a logical approach. It was an approach directed towards the solution of the problem. It did lead at least to a temporary solution because those who met desired to reach a certain conclusion and because the problem was dealt with as such and not merely as the backwash of the great struggle between communist and anti-communist countries. Therefore it was solved. Having achieved a measure of success at Geneva the world has again drifted back to glaring at each other from a distance, countries glaring at each other from a distance and, it seems to me very extraordinary, laying great stress on all types of military alliances and pacts, in South-East Asia, in Western Asia and elsewhere in the name of security and peace.

Now, this question might be argued in theory whether these pacts encourage security or peace, but we need not go into the theory of it because we have the actual facts before our eyes, as to what is happening. There was a situation in the Indo-China states after the Geneva Conference which was a hopeful and a favourable situation, a difficult one, but nevertheless a hopeful one. And, for some months it lasted, and the commissions of which India has the honour to be Chairman³ functioned satisfactorily and harmoniously. Then comes out of the blue an attempt, as it was said, to secure security and peace in South-East Asia through some kind of a military pact or alliance, the foundations of which were laid at Manila.⁴ It was not clear to me then how exactly peace was ensured or security assured by that pact.⁵ It is clear to me now that that Manila treaty and the Bangkok conference⁶ that followed have upset any ideas of peace in that area that previously existed or any ideas of security and the whole conception lying behind the Geneva Conference which was a conception, if I may use the word, of coexistence. The Indo-China states could not continue

2. An international conference was held at Geneva from 26 April to 21 July 1954 to restore peace in Korea and Indo-China. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 344-364.
3. The Geneva Conference had appointed three commissions, one each for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, for organising international control and supervision of the execution of the provisions of the Geneva Agreements reached on 21 July 1954. Each commission consisted of representatives of Canada, India and Poland and was presided over by the representative of India.
4. An eight-power conference held at Manila from 6 to 8 September 1954 and comprising Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the UK and the US had set up the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), providing for the security of South-East Asia and South-West Pacific.
5. For Nehru's views on the SEATO treaty, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 319-324 and 414-424.
6. The signatories of the SEATO treaty met at a conference in Bangkok from 23 to 25 February 1955.

unless they recognised each other and unless the other great powers recognised their freedom and independence and came to an understanding not to interfere with their freedom and independence. It was on that basis that the Geneva treaty was formed. What is the trouble with the world today? Not perhaps so much the aggressive intention of any country, though individuals may have them, but the terrible fear of each country that the other has aggressive intentions. And, in order to prevent the other from being the aggressor you become the aggressor yourself. It is a most extraordinary situation and that was the position in regard to the Indo-China states because each of the major countries was afraid lest the others take advantage of the Indo-China states against it. And the only solution was that both powers should agree to leave the Indo-China States by themselves and alone, by and large, and not to try to line them up with their own group because the moment one group tried to increase its influence or its pressure, or brought the areas under its own sphere of influence as it has been euphemistically called in the past, immediately the other power got going to introduce itself and the conflict began again, call it a cold war or call it what you like.

Unfortunately, that rather happy phase in Indo-China did not last long. I do not say it has all broken up. But the situation is much more difficult today. Quite apart from that, the House will judge of the curious situation when they read only in this morning's papers that there is civil war in South Vietnam.⁷ It was an extraordinary state of affairs in Laos.⁸ The outcome of the Geneva Agreement is interpreted in various ways and the Geneva Agreement, I must say, was drafted in such a hurry that it can be interpreted in various ways. And so, I am talking about the Geneva Agreement in regard to Laos, not the whole Agreement. Difficulties are arising. I do not want to go into details about these matters, but I am merely pointing out that all these difficulties arise. I do not wish to say whose fault it is but we have a certain responsibility in trying to resolve those difficulties. To point out or to name people at fault does not help in resolving a difficulty, but what I want this House to bear in mind is this, that because of certain developments in the Far East, in South-East Asia, the whole atmosphere has changed there, that is, it has hardened the fear of war or for one person gaining an advantage over another or for one country over another.

7. There were reports of fierce fighting in Ho Chi Minh City between government troops and private soldiers hired by Vietnamese warlords challenging the authority of Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem. It was believed that the warlords' aim was to bring back Bao Dai to replace Diem, whose policy had alienated them.
8. Hostilities had been going on between the Laotian Government and Pathet Lao forces. The Pathet Lao conceded the Government's right to sovereignty over the northern provinces leading to their eventual unification but maintained their own right to mobilise armed units to resist interference in these provinces pending a final political settlement.

I mentioned the Manila treaty and the subsequent Bangkok conference. Then there is this very dangerous situation on the China Sea between Formosa and the mainland of China. So far as we are concerned, obviously we can only have one broad approach to this problem, which flows from our recognition of the People's Government of China. I am not going into that repeatedly, but there is something; it may be that there are other countries that do not agree with us—some countries there are, we think. Nobody, of course, says that there is a separate state like Formosa because Formosa claims to be China just as China claims Formosa to be a part. But there has been a general, wide agreement of one obvious fact, and that is that the islands of Matsu and Quemoy, which are four or five miles off the mainland, and an enemy force there is a constant irritation and constant danger. Countries which are not friendly to the People's Government of China have recognised that fact at least, and yet the occupation of Quemoy and Matsu continues by other forces, and it is stated that if the Chinese People's Government attacks them, then the whole force of the mighty power will be engaged in defending them because it is said that they might involve the security of the great power. That is a very extraordinary approach—I say so with all respect. It is certain as anything can be certain that these islands will go to the mainland of China by logic, by reason, by anything, unless you have great wars—and nobody knows the consequences of those wars. Therefore, what are you planning for—the great war to happen? You are just going against every canon of logic and reason and practical good sense. I do not understand this. Because things are judged or measured by yardsticks which I cannot follow

I read articles about my humble self in the foreign press. I see something: "Now he is inclined towards this, towards that and so on." Nobody seems to imagine that I am an Indian inclined towards India and nobody else—as if I was inclined towards America, Russia or China. I want to be friendly with them. Why should I be inclined towards them? I am happy enough now and let me be left in peace to work for my country, for the destinies of my country. But I am interested in the peace of the world because that obviously is of high importance to my country as to every other country and so I cannot keep out of it. We have absolutely no intention to throw ourselves into war even if the whole world is at war; we are not at war. It is quite clear—there will be no doubt about it—that we will not go to war, but if there is war all over the world, we cannot escape the consequences of that war and we cannot be looking on the whole world going to rack and ruin. It will affect us. Honourable Members might perhaps remember a saying by Professor Einstein⁹—it is

9. Albert Einstein (1879-1955); mathematician and physicist.

attributed to him—that after the next war, wars would be fought by bows and arrows, that is, the consequences of the next war would be such that only bows and arrows would be left, and that is the stage of civilisation which is represented by bows and arrows. That is the opinion of a very great scientist and of those who are talking about, at least so far as modern weapons are concerned.

Let us, therefore, take a realistic view of the situation and not talk about peace vaguely and do everything which encourages an atmosphere of fear and war. It is an extraordinary thing and I have no doubt that except for some maniacs nobody wants war in the world, and yet inevitably we indulge in activities which take the world to war. You may sit down and say that this country is at fault or that statesman is at fault, but that does not do much good. We are all, to some extent, at fault perhaps. I mentioned South-East Asia. Now take the Middle East. Again, there is a passion for having little military alliances and pacts. All kinds of people rush about and talk to each other, and out comes the statement about military alliance between this country and that country. How that military alliance changes the world situation or the situation in that particular area in the slightest, either in the military sense or in the political sense, I have not been able to understand. I shall correct myself: it does change it, for it changes it for the worse.

Take the Middle Eastern pacts—I am very sorry to criticise today other countries because they are free to do what they like—and some months back recently, there was news of a certain military alliance between two countries of the so-called Middle East or Western Asia. They are perfectly welcome to do that. I happened to pass just about that time through Egypt and spent two or three days in Cairo, and I was asked by the press there about my reactions. I said expressively and clearly that I thought that these military pacts, far from being helpful, did a lot of harm; far from bringing any security or assurance of peace, they actually help the other way.¹⁰ Take the effect of this very Middle East pact, to which we find a reference in this morning's newspaper, that a great power has adhered to attach itself to it.¹¹ The first result has been the weakening and also the breaking up of the Arab League, which has brought the Arab countries together for cooperative effort. The second effect is that there is great bitterness. Egypt, for instance, is greatly opposed to this. In Syria, about that time, there was actually a change of government because of this

10. See *ante*, p. 216 fn.

11. On 28 March, Alexander Clutterbuck, the High Commissioner for the UK, had informed N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, of his Government's decision to join the Turko-Iraqi Treaty. The same day Nehru noted, "I think we should express our regret at this. Its consequences, in our opinion, cannot be good." India's regret at the British decision was conveyed to the UK High Commissioner by Pillai on 2 April. See also the next item.

pact. Syria today is very much opposed to these pacts. Saudi Arabia opposes this; there is Yemen and there may be others apart from these, who are opposed to this, so that the Middle East has been split up into hostile camps because that pact was made.

Also look at it from the point of view of those very persons that have brought about this pact. Does it serve their own interests—leave out the interests of somebody else—to break up the homogeneity of the Middle East and create discord and trouble there? There was a mention the other day about the Yugoslav Government in which they said they viewed with grave concern the development of the situation in the Middle East because of these pacts, because of the pressure that was being exercised on the Government of Syria and other governments to join the pact,¹² which those governments have resisted and I hope they will resist, because far too much is being done today under pressure and under threats and under other methods of coercion. So that, if honourable members will see this broad picture of what is happening in South-East Asia, the Far East and Western Asia, they will find it is not a happy picture. It is a picture full of discord and conflict and pulling in different directions. On the one side one sees Asia resurgent, Asia awake, Asia as if undoubtedly coming out, waking up and stretching out her limbs. It may take some time for her to grow to her stature, undoubtedly growing and troubled with all the difficulties of growth. On the other hand all these attempts, in the name of helping Asia, in the name of preserving peace in Asia, at promoting discord and conflict are made. Obviously we cannot view this with great satisfaction.

In fact, many of the important problems, except one or two, of the world today somehow affect Asia. A very big problem does not affect us, that is of Germany. There again, I cannot speak much about Germany. Nor do I wish to except to remind the House that it is one of the biggest problems in the world today, what happens in Germany with which is involved not only the unity of the two Germans, but also the question of rearmament of Germany and all that. Now, decisions have been made about the rearmament of Germany. There is at present a Disarmament Conference sitting somewhere and considering proposals¹³ which we hope will come into effect. I do not know what the results of it will be. At the same time, major policies are based on the rearmament of

12. Conveying Yugoslavia's concern to New Delhi, Rajeshwar Dayal, India's Ambassador in Belgrade, reported on 20 March 1955: "Yugoslavia Government wondered whether Prime Minister (Nehru) would care to make a statement being thereafter supported by Tito. This would help to alert world public opinion in regard to Syria's plight and Middle East situation generally and would also strengthen Egypt's hand."

13. A subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission met in London between 25 February and 18 May 1955 and considered in private the question of disarmament.

some powers which at present are not heavily armed. This does not seem to me very logical.

What exactly are we aiming at? Repeatedly we hear talk about the big four or the big five—I do not know how many are big or how many are small—the big four or the big three meeting and talking things. Sometimes we are told that there will be an informal meeting without an agenda. For the last two years and a half we have been hearing this. Yet, insuperable difficulties come in the way of their meeting. If one person agrees, somebody else holds him back and does not permit him; if both agree a third person disagrees. So, the situation goes from bad to worse and people are not even brave enough to face each other and have a talk with each other. Because, they want to create a situation previous to the talks, which, according to them, is what is called a situation of strength. “Let us negotiate through strength”: that is the formula, forgetting of course that the other power is also strengthening itself at the same time. So, by the time you have produced a situation of strength, the other might have produced a situation of greater strength. So they do not know where they are.

Again, when you deal with atom bombs, and hydrogen bombs, this question of some greater strength or not has little effect. It has little meaning because you have arrived at a stage—so we are told—where even if one power does it, and the other power is relatively weaker, the effect on both is going to be much the same. That is what is called the state of saturation in regard to atom bombs, or hydrogen bombs. So, even if one is much bigger than the other with a greater number of bombs, maybe more powerful bombs, in the ultimate effect both are going to suffer terribly. In fact, the world is going to suffer. That is why I said because of all this that the situation in the world, far from being a promising one, is definitely a depressing one. I do not mean to say that a sudden catastrophe is coming, because countries are so afraid of it that they wish to avoid it. Nevertheless, things move in that direction and great statesmen talk too lightly sometimes of what they will do if something happens, how they will throw in their full weight of atom bombs and all that, if something happens.

Now, in this broad world situation, what exactly are we to do? Are we to enter into these manoeuvrings and power conflicts and pacts here and there? I want this House to consider it from the lowest, opportunist point of view—forget for the moment any idealism, although idealism is very necessary, in fact, more necessary than at any other time. But from the lowest, opportunist, practical point of view, what are we to do about it? Are we going into this mad house also, behaving like lunatics like others? Simply because a person has got a hydrogen bomb, it does not mean that his mind has also become as powerful as the hydrogen bomb. The misfortune today is that we have got atomic energy which is a mighty power. It does depict the advance of humanity

and its control over nature and nature's powers—tremendous things. But it is very doubtful how far the human mind has progressed to control them. And one comes ultimately at any rate, when thinking about this, to some kind of a conclusion that atomic energy cannot be met by atomic energy. That is to say, to put it differently the force of violence cannot be outmanoeuvred by force of violence. We have arrived at a stage where the force is so tremendous that it will overwhelm us, both the person against whom it is used and the user of it. And unless we have some other methods of countering it or controlling it, we are likely to be overwhelmed.

What are the other methods? People go about signing documents: ban atomic weapons, atom bombs; don't manufacture them. I have also sometimes talked about this. But the more I think of it the more am I convinced that it is completely futile now to talk about this business of banning this and that. It has no meaning to me now, or very little meaning. The time is going to come presently when the hydrogen bomb might be made with some ease even by a small country—with gross exaggeration a scientist told me that it might be made in somebody's back-garden.¹⁴ It may be an exaggeration. But it shows where things are going. So, what is going to happen to the world when hydrogen bombs are made anywhere? How are we going to meet this menace to the world, unless you can control it by some entirely different standards—call them moral, call them spiritual, call them what you like—I am not using the word in a narrow sense—call them civilised. Because after all humanity has come to a certain stage of civilisation which has taught it restraint and behaviour and all that. We are forgetting all that restraint and behaviour. The events of the last two wars have brutalised humanity. We are now standing at the verge of destiny: whether humanity is to revert to some phase of, well, being brutish beasts, or advance towards the stage of civilisation. It is a matter of culture and civilisation; it is a matter of standards, of values that we have, and it seems to me—and I say that with all humility—that what Gandhiji put before us and the world perhaps has even more significance today in the world as it is, than it had previously. I see no other way out except for countries and nations to adopt Gandhiji's gospel, though not thought, but anyhow to realise that force is no remedy, that war is not only no remedy but is an ultimate evil today, and that violence is no good and does not pay—apart from its moral values.

Now, the House knows about what are called the Panchsheel, the five principles. Some people have criticised them. Some people have said—the Prime

14. Referring to his recent meeting with the Australian nuclear scientist, Mark Oliphant, in New Delhi, Nehru wrote to V.K. Krishna Menon on 20 March 1955, "In fact, Oliphant was here the other day and he said that it was not at all unlikely that in the not distant future hydrogen bombs could be made in the back-garden...."

Minister of a country said—all this is some kind of ‘communist trick’. Well, the fact of the matter is that these principles—what we call Panchsheel—are a challenge to the world and we want the answer of every country in the world as to what they think about them. Let every country say that it is agreed with it. I want them to have the courage to say so because I do say that every country, if it is honest to itself and if it is honest to its desire to peace, must accept them; there is no way out.

What are they? The recognition of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each country, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual respect, equality, etc. Am I going to be told by any country that this is disagreeable? If they are for aggression let them say so; similarly, let them say if they are for internal interference in other countries’ affairs—much of it is taking place, I know but nobody recognises that; nobody admits that rather—I do say that the Panchshila are a challenge of Asia to the rest of the world. And each country will have to give a straight answer to this question and I do hope that the question would be put in all its straightness and boldness by the Asian-African Conference. Let each country search its mind and answer whether it stands for non-aggression and non-interference.

The charge is made—rightly, I say, sometimes—about communist interference in other countries. Non-communist countries also interfere in other countries obviously. How are we getting over this? The present military approach is to get more and more powerful to squash the other party so that it may not do it. In doing so, of course, you squash the world and yourself. It is not exactly the brilliant way of approach to the solution of the problem.

Now, the Panchsheel says: Well, both of you or all of you refrain from interference internally or externally in a straight way. It may be that someone agreeing to it does not keep his word; it can always happen, whether you have a treaty or an alliance or a pledge. But anyhow, it is a firm basis for an agreement. If some country agreeing to it does not keep up its word, naturally it gets into hot water much more than otherwise. So that, this principle of Panchsheel—or call it coexistence, if you like it in a particular sense—you have to admit. Either you admit coexistence in the modern world or you admit conflict and co-destruction. That is the alternative to it.

The Asian-African Conference is, if I may say so, a rather strikingly remarkable example of coexistence. Countries come there with different outlooks and differing approaches. Some of them have been allied in military alliances. But, still they come there and discuss matters in a different context—in the context of coexistence.

Now, again, there is a good deal of talk about communism and anti-communism. Both are important—I do not deny that, but what about some little and odd things happening in the continent of Africa? What about things that are happening in the new colonial territories? What about that tragedy—

that human tragedy—that is continually taking place in the Dominion of South Africa—hundreds and thousands of people lifted up bodily from their homes and taken away somewhere else? Why do we not hear the champions of freedom talk about this? They are silent: they simply pass it over. But they should realise that people in Asia and Africa, though they may not shout very much about it, feel it; sometimes they feel it more than communism and anti-communism. It is a human problem for us—this racialism—this human problem may become a very dangerous problem. This problem of racialism and racial separation may become more dangerous than any other problem that the world has to face. I should like the countries of Europe, America, Asia and Africa to realise that and not to imagine that we are putting up with these things that are happening in Africa whether on the colonial plane or on the racial plane. They hurt us. Simply because we cannot do anything effective, and we do not want to cheapen ourselves by mere shouting, we remain quiet. But the thing has gone deep down into our minds and hearts. We feel it strongly. When we talk so lightly about other matters some of which are more important, it simply means that our standards are very different—what we consider important and what we consider less important.

I have referred to some of these matters briefly; I want to refer to some of our immediate problems—there is Goa, there is Ceylon. About Ceylon, I do not wish to go into these arguments because—whether it is Pakistan or whether it is Ceylon—these are neighbour countries and I think it is a bad thing for us to say words which hurt and which create more difficulties in the solution of the problem, to issue threats and the like.

The other day, in another connection, some honourable members talked loosely about taking military action against Pakistan because of what is happening in East Bengal. All I can say is that those honourable members who said so are—I say so with all respect—totally lacking in wisdom. I would even go further and say—common intelligence. It is not with a view to criticise anything that I want to say that.

In Ceylon we have been, I think, cooperating and patient. We go some way out to understand and to meet the difficulties of the Ceylon Government and the Ceylon people. But I must confess to a feeling of frustration that what we are aiming at is not realised. Just take some simple figures. I am giving you figures of the registration of people of Indian descent as Ceylon citizens. That is the main problem. Otherwise, these people become stateless. They are not Indian citizens unless by another process they are registered as Indian nationals. They are neither here nor there; they remain there because they cannot be thrown into the sea. We had agreed to register them—those people who are anxious to register themselves and who fulfilled our calculations according to our Constitution—as our citizens. And naturally, we pressed the Ceylon Government to go ahead with its registration too so that gradually this process

might exhaust these people of Indian descent there. We hoped of course that a very large number would be registered as Ceylon citizens because they are really and in fact residents of Ceylon. Their fathers were born there and they live there. For nine months from December 1953 to September 1954, the total number of persons registered in Ceylon was 7,505. The number of persons whose applications were rejected was 45,236. The proportion of registrations to rejections is very small, 7,500 to 45 thousand in nine months. Now, we come to the four months since September last, that is, October 1954 to January 1955. The total number of persons registered was twenty-one, and the total number of persons whose applications were rejected was 36,260. It is obvious that while previously not many were registered and a large number were rejected, now we have arrived at a stage when hardly any person is accepted: thirty-six thousand rejections in four months and twenty-one registered, which comes to about five and a quarter a month.

So far as our registration of Indian citizens goes, we have proceeded normally. I will give the figures. The number of applicants from January to December 1954 was 8,000, and the number registered was 5,600. As a matter of fact there were no rejections. The rest are under scrutiny. So, thousands have been accepted. We have been going fairly fast.

At the last meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon it was further decided that the Ceylon Government should prepare a list of all the people of Indian descent in Ceylon in order to know—quite apart from deciding the final question whether they are Ceylon citizens or not—to know who are there, because of their constant complaint that illegal immigrants came in; so let us know who are there. Because very often it so happened that a person who has been resident there for a long time was called an illegal resident. That list too has not yet been prepared.

Nevertheless, as I said to this House, and I would appeal to the House that in this matter and even in regard to the Pakistan matter our approach must continue to be a cooperative and friendly one, not giving up the principles we stand for.

I referred to Goa. The other day, honourable members must have seen that some satyagrahis, so-called satyagrahis who went there, I think, on the 26th January, and who to my knowledge have not been accused of any violence or any kind of offence other than going there, which of course is a technical offence—I cannot complain if they are punished. If any person commits satyagraha he must not complain and nobody should complain on his behalf that he is punished. That is the inevitable consequence of satyagraha; otherwise it is not satyagraha; it is something else, I would not have objected if they were punished, but when those persons or some of them are sentenced to twenty-eight years of penal servitude it does shake one up. Some of them were sentenced to varying degrees of imprisonment, some were sentenced to twenty-

eight years and to deportation to Portugal—not Portugal but perhaps to some of their penal colonies. That again, trying deliberately to use mild language, I call barbarous. It is really extraordinary that any government anywhere should behave in this way; much more so a government which because of our patience and good-will is allowed to remain in the corner of India. Remember this, and I want them to remember, I want the Government of Portugal to realise that they are there because we are patient and men of goodwill; not because we cannot deal with the situation but because we think ahead, we see the world situation as it is, we do not wish to do something, even in a small way, indulging in violence, etc., which may have bigger repercussions and all that. We are prepared to wait a little because inevitably the end must be the one that we aim at. Our objective must be realised. It is inconceivable and impossible, and I do not care what other powers in the world support Portugal, it is impossible for Portugal to imagine that they can remain in Goa.

I referred to other powers. There has not been much talk of this lately. But some time back some countries, on the basis of the NATO alliance, mentioned Goa to us. They mentioned it in rather soft language, but they mentioned it. And immediately—apart from the fact that they had no business to mention it to us; if they had any business they ought to have gone and said something at Lisbon—another fact came out, and that is the wide tentacles of the NATO alliance. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was made for defensive purposes of the North Atlantic countries. One of the tentacles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation crossed these continents and seas and came to this continent of Asia, and to India—came a long way. Secondly, it came in order to defend a colonial territory in India. That did not do much good to the prestige of NATO. It showed that behind its other, perhaps, laudable objects there were some which were not so laudable and could be used for very wrong purposes.

I referred to Quemoy and Matsu. And almost every country, barring one or two, agrees that the islands of Quemoy and Matsu are a part of the mainland of China. Goa is not an island; Goa is the mainland of India; it is not even separated by a few miles of sea as Quemoy and Matsu are. And yet these arguments are advanced, and this barbarous behaviour is indulged in.

In regard to Pakistan the House knows that the Prime Minister of Pakistan was to have come here on the 28th of this month. But then we decided to postpone this meeting for a variety of reasons—we were much too rushed and all that—and we are meeting now, after this Asian-African Conference, on the 14th May, in New Delhi. I have no doubt at all that the leaders of Pakistan, and more specially the Governor General of Pakistan, are very anxious to settle Indo-Pakistan problems. I am anxious, and I am sure that this House is anxious, that there should be no interference in the way of settling these problems in a friendly way. I have still less doubt about the general goodwill among the

people of Pakistan and India towards each other. We have had some evidence of this recently, rather remarkable evidence, that whatever the people at the top may say or do, there is this basic goodwill among the people. Our people went to Pakistan and they came here. Both these are very desirable things, very helpful. Yet it is true that the problems we have to face have not become easier by the passage of time. All kinds of things have happened in the course of these seven or eight years since Pakistan came into existence. And it is very very difficult to un-write history. We shall consider them. But we have to consider them in a realistic way, not ignoring what has happened. Among those big problems there is the problem of evacuee property, canal waters. So far as canal waters are concerned, we have been dealing with the World Bank for two years now or more. We have now arrived at a certain stage. It has been a slow process. But, anyhow, we have made some progress. I think today or yesterday a joint mission arrived here, consisting of representatives of engineers of the World Bank, of Engineers of Pakistan and of course, our own engineers, who are going to visit various places in India in the Indus basin, and various places in Pakistan in the Indus basin and formulate plans more or less on the basis of the World Bank's recommendation which we had accepted and which Pakistan also had accepted. Anyhow, we are moving there although the movement has been remarkably slow. In regard to evacuee property, there has not been much movement. My colleague, the Minister of Rehabilitation, is going to Pakistan in four or five days' time at their invitation to discuss these matters again.

There is a very big question, Kashmir. Perhaps—why “perhaps”?—certainly, that is the most difficult of all these problems as between India and Pakistan—I say problems between India and Pakistan, certainly. But we must always remember that Kashmir is not a thing to be bandied about between India and Pakistan. It has a soul of its own; it has an individuality of its own. We cannot, certainly much less can Pakistan, play with it as if it were something in the political game between the two countries. Nothing can be done without the goodwill of the people of Kashmir, I am not going into that.

But I might say this. The House will be glad to know, if it does not know it already that in recent months, there has been a very considerable, in fact a rather remarkable progress in Kashmir. Economically and otherwise, I doubt if Kashmir has been so prosperous—it is a relative term! I do not say it is prosperous: it is relatively prosperous—for many many long years as it is today. In regard to food, in regard to other things, in regard to many schemes that have been undertaken, they are just on the verge of yielding fruit. There is the Sind Valley Electric Works which will be extraordinarily useful in the whole valley of Kashmir, apart from lighting, for industrial and other purposes. The old power works at Mohra, constructed 40 or 50 years ago, are on the point of collapse. Then, we are starting the great project, the Banihal tunnel. The great

work has started. It is really the numerous small projects that are bringing about a new atmosphere in the whole of the Jammu and Kashmir State. So that, the conditions are more satisfactory there either from the political or the economic point of view than they have been for a long time. I do not say that everything is 100 per cent satisfactory. But, things are on the way.

The other day, I think, two Members of this House have sent me questions. I shall probably answer them in due course. The questions were about certain statements that the Prime Minister of Kashmir made the other day in his Assembly. I was asked if Shaikh Abdullah had communicated with me in regard to that statement. The statement as reported was that the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, had in his possession correspondence, etc., which would throw light on many things that happened 1½ years ago, but he could not publish them because I or the Government of India came in his way. I do not remember his words; but, by and large, this is what he has said. On this I received a telegram from Shaikh Abdullah saying that he had seen the statement and that he would like publication of these papers or documents and he hoped that the Government of India would not come in the way.

All this, of course, relates to what happened about a year and a half or 2 years or 2½ years ago. I would say straight off that so far as the Government of India is concerned, so far as I am concerned, I do not wish to come in the way of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir in regard to this matter. I tried to refresh my memory. I may add that the report of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's speech in the papers, although broadly speaking, is this, it is not a correct report. Some sentences in between have been left out. However, broadly speaking, it is that. As I do not wish to come in the way of the discretion of the Jammu and Kashmir Government, they have to decide this. I have not got all these papers with me. I do not know what they are. I have some. My own correspondence with Shaikh Abdullah, I have got. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai¹⁵ had some, as also Shri A.P. Jain and Maulana Azad; some correspondence and others. But, apart from correspondence, there were numerous talks. It is difficult to produce those talks. The correspondence itself relates to these talks. They are not there. It is difficult to form a picture of these events rights from 1952 onwards and throughout 1953.

There is another aspect of this question which naturally concerns me and concerns the House. We are for, I hope all of us, friendly ways of settling problems and not adding to bitterness. How far the publication of the letters or reports of conversations 1½ or 2 years ago, charges and counter-charges will help in producing that atmosphere which leads to a friendly settlement or come

15. (1894-1954); Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, 1952-54.

in the way of it, it is for the House to judge. Therefore, anyhow, I have left it to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. I have not got all the papers. I have told them that I do not wish to come in the way. They may consider and publish if there are any.

One thing I should like to say, honourable members may remember, that on the 10th August, year before last, 1953, I made a statement here.¹⁶ That was one day or two days after Shaikh Abdullah's arrest. Then, I made a much longer statement a month later.¹⁷ I think on the 17th of September, I was reading the statement of the 17th September. There was much in it that, if I wanted to deal with this matter, I will repeat again. I would refer the honourable members who are interested in the matter to this statement because I dealt with the situation that had then arisen at some length. Naturally, even then I tried to avoid saying anything which would worsen the situation. In regard to one matter which I find is still raised often, charges are brought. These charges were brought recently again in the Kashmir Assembly about all kinds of horrible happenings in the valley of Kashmir after Shaikh Abdullah's arrest: that 1,500 people were killed or massacred and all that. At that very time these charges were made, I took it upon myself to have a very full enquiry made, not through the Government of Kashmir, but through entirely our own people, intelligence people and others, completely independent. I have no doubt in my mind that the enquiry we made—it may not have been hundred per cent accurate, but it was ninety-eight per cent accurate or very nearly so, I cannot say—has by and large resulted in confirming the figures which the Kashmir Government had published, and I think our figures and their figures were out by four or five. I pointed this out to the very persons who were making these tremendous charges of 1,500 people killed and massacred. And it was a detailed report of each place, each village, containing the names, etc., and everything in fact. I said, here is this report. Well, they had nothing to say. Now, a year afterwards, they again raise the same thing. I think that is highly improper, if they know—they ought to know—that the charges they make are false completely, that is, going on repeating them....

16. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 312-316.

17. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, p. 404.

2. Implications of Military Alliances¹

I can well understand the UK High Commissioner's resentment at some of my remarks in the Lok Sabha.² It is about time that the High Commissioner and his Government realised that we also feel strongly about policies and statements of other countries. Because our approach is always a friendly and cooperative one, it does not mean that we accept or concur in any particular policy.

We have expressed ourselves repeatedly and strongly about the Manila Pact. The Bangkok conference, I have no doubt, has made the situation in South East Asia worse without the slightest gain to anybody. The argument that is often advanced that the United States feels strongly about it or that the American public opinion has to be considered, no doubt should be given due weight. But there are public opinions in other countries and strong feeling there. These have also to be considered. Apart from this, wrong policies which are likely to lead to dangerous results, cannot be accepted merely because another nation feels strongly about them. We are convinced that the policy of the United States in regard to Formosa and Matsu and Quemoy islands is basically wrong and will have to be given up. The alternative is war. If that policy has to be changed, delay in doing so will make the change more difficult and more harmful, just as delay in Indo-China made conditions much worse.

Apart from this, almost every country, except the US, agrees that Matsu and Quemoy islands should be considered as part of the mainland of China and should be evacuated by Chiang Kai-shek's or American forces. In spite of this strong and widespread opinion of even the friends of the United States, they have not acted according to it and all kinds of equivocal statements are made threatening war. We do not approve of this attitude and we see no reason why we should not express our disapproval of something that we consider fundamentally wrong. It may be that the expression of our opinion is pleasing

1. Note to Secretary General and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 4 April 1955. JN Collection.
2. Alexander Clutterbuck told Subimal Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary, on 4 April that his Government had been painfully surprised by the manner in which Nehru had slashed Western policies all over the globe in his speech in the Lok Sabha on 31 March (see the preceding item). Clutterbuck added that Nehru's reference to the Manila Pact and the Bangkok conference was particularly unfortunate in that by laying the blame entirely on the Western countries, the other side would be only encouraged to be still more uncooperative in the implementation of the Geneva Agreements.

to China or to the Soviet Union. Are we for this reason to refrain from expressing our opinion when a certain policy is likely to lead to dangerous results? The fault lies with the country adopting that policy or those supporting it directly or indirectly.

As for the pacts in Western Asia, apart from our general disapproval of such pacts, this particular one, as we have pointed out to the UK Government, has direct effect on India, because it brings about a circle of alliances in which Pakistan and the UK are associated.³ Thus the UK and Pakistan are directly or indirectly tied up in military alliances against another Commonwealth country. It is true that the alliances are not meant to be against another Commonwealth country, but nevertheless the effect is the same.

I am glad that the High Commissioner agreed with my condemnation of the racist policies of the Government of South Africa. But in the United Nations, the UK is either a passive spectator when this matter comes up or supports South Africa. The matter has gone very far in South Africa and it is time that every nation expressed its opinion frankly and fearlessly about it.

Regarding Germany, we are opposed to this.⁴ It is entirely contrary to the efforts being made towards disarmament.

3. Besides the UK, Iran and Pakistan also joined the Baghdad Pact later in 1955, when the Pact was renamed the Central Treaty Organisation.
4. Clutterbuck told Dutt that the UK Government were greatly surprised by Nehru's apparent condemnation of the Western policies in regard to Germany.

3. Rising Dynamism of Asia¹

Friends and comrades, I think that all of you who are here today will remember this day and this occasion for a long, long time.² Sitting here on this raised structure and looking all-round to this vast multitude, which unfortunately you cannot do sitting down below, this picture has impressed itself upon me. I have seen many a great gathering, here and elsewhere in India, and I have looked into the eyes of millions and millions of my countrymen and countrywomen.

1. Speech at a reception in honour of Abdel Gamal Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt, and Mohammed Naim Khan, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, New Delhi, 13 April 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. The reception coincided with the anniversary of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

But on this occasion today it is not merely a domestic gathering as we have from day to day. This gathering has something of an international significance because of the distinguished guests whom you have seen and whom we have met here to honour.

You know that they are on their way to the Bandung Conference in Indonesia. Day after tomorrow they will go and I shall go to Djakarta or rather to Rangoon and then from there to Djakarta.

Why are we going to Bandung? It is not for me to give a specific answer because this is a unique conference, a novel conference, and it is for the Conference itself to decide what it will do and how it will do it. I cannot lay down any rule for it. But the big thing to remember is the fact that we, the representatives of the countries of Asia, of the free countries of Asia and Africa, are meeting together. For the first time in history we foregather in this way, we meet, we get to know each other, we discuss our problems together and we seek to find as large a measure of agreement, of common approach to these problems as possible.

Why do we go there? Surely there must be some urge, something pulling us there, which is going to bring these people from 29 countries of Asia and Africa together. What is that urge? Now, it is difficult for me to define it. But can there be any doubt that there is some force, some urge, something that moves us, not moves me and a few of us, but moves the millions who live in Asia and Africa, who look increasingly towards each other—after long years, hundreds of years, during which period most of the countries of Asia and of course of Africa, were, what shall I say, nonentities in the political, in the economic, in the international spheres. Their destinies were controlled by others. Asia was, you might say, an outer fringe of Europe. So much more so was Africa. And decisions about Asia and Africa were made by other people in other countries. Now a change has come about. Most of the nations of Asia are free and independent. But it is something deeper than a political change. It is this new consciousness of freedom, this desire to rely upon themselves in cooperation with others and to march ahead and which resents interference from outside, which dislikes that other nations should continue their old habit of deciding for Asia. In the world today no country and no continent can live by itself. The time for isolated existence of any country or even a continent is long past. Therefore to think that Asia will subsist by itself, more or less cut off from the rest of the world, is a wrong idea.

So, we do not think in terms of isolation, I hope. But we do think in terms of self-respect, self-reliance, self-determination, self-progress, which we want to achieve in peace and in friendship with other countries. So, if we go to Bandung I cannot say what that Conference will consider or decide or say. But I do think I am right in saying that it is this common desire affecting all our people and countries which is bringing us together, this new feeling in the

millions and millions of Asia and which is also gradually coming to Africa, which will find representation there. We go there in no malice towards any country. We go there with friendly feelings not only towards ourselves but towards other countries too.

You have heard, no doubt, of what is now called the Panchsheel, the five principles. This is an ancient word in India which was applied in a different context, in a moral context, in the old days. These words were adopted many years ago by the Indonesian people and Government in a different context also. They have their Panchsheel, the five principles on which they base their Government, principles about independence, social justice and the like. Now, since we began talking about five principles in a different context and when I heard this phrase in Indonesia³ it struck me that it was a happy phrase for us to use for these five principles, which I think has a great importance in the world today, whether you call them by that name or some other does not matter.

What are these five principles? They are very simple. The first one is: the recognition by countries of their independence and each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The second one is non-aggression: the third is non-interference with each other; the fourth is mutual respect and equality; and the fifth is coexistence. Now, I should like you and I should like others to consider these five principles and whether there is anything in them with which you can disagree. I do submit that no one who approaches international problems in a spirit of peace and friendship can possibly disagree with these five principles. I am not for the moment considering the number of odd problems, serious problems, in the world where there is difference of opinion, where there is some conflict of opinion. That apart, I say there is no one. I submit you can disagree with these five principles. Troubles arise today in the world today, because of the domination of one country over another, that is, in the destruction of the freedom of that country, in the interference of one country in another. Interference can be of two kinds. There is the interference of active aggression, which may be a military invasion or other kinds of aggression; and there is the other type of interference—it might be called internal interference. Now if one country indulges in any kind of aggression or interference there is bound to be trouble. Therefore, if, broadly speaking, we agree that there should be no aggression and no interference and that countries should work out their own destinies in cooperation with others, in friendship for others and decide such problems as they may have in a friendly way and not by recourse to war, then we have gone a very long way in producing the conditions when problems can be solved and we certainly have gone a very long way in putting war

3. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, p. 511.

outside our horizon. Therefore, we have submitted these five principles, the Panchsheel, to the world.

We do not imagine that we in India can presume to advise other countries. Each country has to think along its own lines, according to its own experience. Each country must live according to its genius. It is true that in the modern world countries and people get to know each other much more, and there is a certain commonness that is coming in thought, in action and in the ways of living. Nevertheless, countries have their own way in which they have grown through hundreds of thousands of years. Ancient countries have that even more so. So we have no desire to impose our opinion on others. But we think that there is so much in common that if we discussed these matters peacefully and in a friendly way we will find often enough common paths to pursue.

Certainly, so far as India is concerned we have followed a certain path not only in more or less distant times, but in the near past, that is to say, in the last 30 or 40 years. We meet today here on the anniversary, as I reminded you, of Jallianwala Bagh, and a great anniversary in our history, certainly one of the major red letter days. As I told you we do not remember that day in grief, or sorrow or in anger. We have shed our anger and our grief and sorrow. We think of it as the beginning of a new era, as something which pushed the millions of India out of their inaction and inertia into action, under a great leader, and we followed his advice. Weak and imperfect as we were, often we did not follow his advice fully as we ought to have done, but even to the extent that we followed it we became better men and better women and we were able to do many things which normally perhaps we could not have done because of our weakness. He gave us strength.

Now standing here on this day, naturally, our minds go back to this past 30 or 40 years of India's history and the world's history. And we have to think how far those lessons that we learnt during these 30 years apply now. We have to think specially if by any mischance we are forgetting them, because we shall forget them at our peril.

India fought her struggle for freedom in a particular way, in a peaceful way. It is not for us to say to other countries circumstanced differently what they should have done or they should do in the future. Each country has naturally to follow its own ways of thinking and its own circumstances. But we can, with all respect, place our viewpoint before others and if they think it fits them or suits them they are welcome to it, of course. Even after achieving independence by peaceful ways, what happened after we achieved independence? We had fought the British Empire but having achieved independence we became friends with the British people. We have no grievance against them. We may differ, as we do differ, on problems, on various problems, international or other. But we have no grievance against them. We have no grievance against any people or any nation. We want to live in a friendly way with others and to

give our strength and energy to the working out of our own destiny and to help others where we can. And since we attained independence we have directed our minds, as you know, and all our strength to economic and social problems in this country. For us, if I may say so, politics today is a nuisance; because we want to give all our time and energy and mind to these economic and social problems. For us international complications are a nuisance because they take away our energy from the main task before us. But whether all these things are nuisances or not, we have to take our part in them. Because any country, much more a country like India, any free country, cannot shed its responsibility in the international sphere. We have to undertake burdens and responsibilities. And we have done so. But, after all, we can serve the world better by, if I may say so, serving ourselves, by building up our own country, by building up a new India.

I believe that we stand at the beginning of a new age in India, in the world, if I may say so, in Asia. In Asia there is this new spirit coming up in all these countries. Often it is working in different ways in different countries. But everywhere there is this dynamic spirit in motion. It is this new dynamism in Asia that is represented by the Bandung Conference. It is this dynamism in Asia which will be represented by many things that the countries of Asia or Africa do. We in India, I believe, also stand, not just this minute, I mean, but during this period, at the threshold of a new age. But where that will lead us I do not know. I have my faith in it, I have my belief in it that it will lead us in the right direction. But where it goes depends on you and the millions of India. If you behave, if you work hard, if you have unity amongst yourselves, if you are disciplined, then we shall achieve mighty results. But if you forget the lessons that Gandhiji taught us and if we lose our substance in faction, in empty slogans and just shouting and all that then you are wasting your energy which should be employed to better purpose.

I said the other day in our Parliament⁴ that the two dominant features of the age we live in are this new dynamism, rising dynamism in Asia and the coming of atomic energy. These are the two dominant features which are going to change life as we know it. Well, we are not afraid of this change, but we have to keep pace with it and keep pace with it by strengthening ourselves, unifying ourselves and always keeping or trying to keep to the high standard, moral and other, that Gandhiji taught us. More particularly we have to remember this lesson today, on this 13th of April.

You know that ever since Independence we have done much. Many problems which in other countries have resulted in bloodshed and civil war and fighting and violence have been solved by us through peaceful methods. Even as we solved the question of the freedom of India we solved another and

4. See *ante*, pp. 304-320.

a terribly difficult question of hundreds and hundreds of princedom in India—semi-independent, they considered themselves as even independent. There were six hundred of these princes, big and small. People thought that we would never solve it and yet we solved this problem in the course of a month or two peacefully except for just some one or two cases and even there, there was not any very great difficulty. Now, that was an extraordinary thing. For that the credit must go to whom? Well, to various parties, in which I include those princes too, in which I include certainly the people of states, in which I include the basic policy that we followed under Gandhiji's guidance which had changed the people both of the states and of the rest of India.

Then we took up the land problem in India—the zamindari, the big estates and the like—a difficult problem which has often given rise to conflicts and violent revolutions in other countries. That too, we have gone a long way in solving the big zamindaries. I am sorry that a bit of it still remains and we want to hurry that up and we want to take another step in regard to this land problem, also peacefully.

Now we are facing another phase and we are taking another step and we have openly declared that the society we are working for is a socialist pattern of society. Only yesterday in our Parliament we had an amendment of the Constitution.⁵ I shall not go into that matter. But what I wish to point out is what steps we are taking in this country peacefully and with an enormous measure of cooperation, even the cooperation of the people whose interests are affected. People talk, and rightly talk, about class conflicts. There are class conflicts. Who can deny them? It is absurd to deny them. There is class conflict and there is the domination of one class over another in many countries, in most countries. The point is not to deny them. The point is how to deal with them. Are we to aggravate conflict in order to get over conflict? Are we, in order to have peace, have war? Whether you apply it in the international sphere or the domestic sphere the analogy is good. Are we to have conflict and make it worse and worse so that out of conflict some solution may come. We do not deny conflict. We do not deny class conflict or others. But our approach is to reduce that, to treat it peacefully, to treat it cooperatively, to try to win over people rather than hit them in the face. And I do submit we are ordinary folk in India. There is nothing special except that we have the enormous privilege, many of us, of serving under a great man and learning something from him. We are ordinary folk in India with no special virtue. But even so, following a certain path we have achieved certain results which are very remarkable, I think, in recent history. Now that may have suited the genius of India. It may not suit others; it is for others to consider their own path. That is why I say that every country has to seek its own path. But I hope that whatever path it

5. See *post*, pp. 393-403.

may choose it will be a path of peace and cooperation and not of conflict and war.

It has been our great privilege today to welcome these very distinguished representatives of two great countries with whom we have very friendly relations, not today but in the past, and also specially today. I am happy that this function which sometimes has been organised in the past in the Red Fort, has been organised here in the open,⁶ because I wanted the public to welcome them, and not a select few invitees who might come to the Red Fort. I wanted them to see, have a look at the faces of the people of Delhi, old and new, and I wanted them to realise that our welcome to them is a great popular welcome, not a governmental welcome only, not a municipal welcome only, but a welcome on the part of the people of Delhi.⁷

I am sure, if I may venture to say so, that they will carry back memories of this particular function and this particular welcome which will abide with them for a long time. May I hope, because I told you we are going away day after tomorrow to Rangoon and from there to Djakarta for the Bandung Conference, may I hope to carry with me your greetings and good wishes for this occasion.

6. Nehru wrote to Vijayalakshmi Pandit on 14 April: "At my instance, the municipal function to present an address of welcome was held in the Ramlila Grounds as a public meeting. This was a magnificent spectacle. Estimates of the audience varied from 300,000 to 500,000. It was perfectly arranged and absolute discipline and quiet prevailed. I doubt very much if any such thing could be witnessed anywhere else in the world."
7. Both Abdel Gamal Nasser and Mohammed Naim Khan were presented with brocade garlands and ivory caskets on behalf of the citizens of Delhi. Two different welcome addresses, printed on silk, were read in their honour by R.N. Agarwal, president of the Delhi Municipal Committee.

4. International Relations in the Nuclear Age¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... Now, I am going to a number of countries specially the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and I shall be away altogether for about five weeks. This visit to the Soviet Union was fixed some months ago. In fact, the

1. Press conference, New Delhi, 31 May 1955. From the Press Information Bureau. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see *ante* pp. 300-303 and *post*, pp. 380-389, p. 431 and pp. 503-505.

invitation came at least a year ago, if not earlier. That has been pending, subject to convenient time being found. I gladly accepted the invitation, both because I would very much like to see, well, some picture of the activities in the Soviet Union, and also because I felt that perhaps, to a slight degree, my visit there might help in the broad objective, which we always keep before us, of lessening world tension. I do not claim that we can achieve big objectives in these world affairs but all of us can help a little in lessening tension which itself is a step in right direction.

I said that when I go to a country I go to see how things are there. Obviously, in the course of a visit of a week or two, one does not know much about the background of the country; nevertheless, it gives one a mental picture. More especially I am interested, as I am always, when I go to a country, not so much in what I see, but what I feel. In India, I am more interested, often enough, in what I feel; in not what I see—feel in the sense of public response, public feeling, and having dealt with large number of people in India and having made myself rather receptive to them, I do feel rather strongly. Of course, I never go by feeling only, but it does help in understanding. I approach every country—whatever it may be—in a receptive and friendly spirit and even though I may not agree with it I want to understand and the only way to understand is to be receptive with an open mind and in a friendly spirit. Then only you understand; you disagree with it, if you like—it is different matter, because if one approaches any problem with a closed mind, hostile mind, one does not even understand.

Some of you have asked me to say something about the international situation. I have not got very much to say, and yet I know that quite a good deal has happened, as you all know, in international affairs, in the last few months, and I think it may well be said without exaggeration that there is less tension in the world now; there is a little more hope in the world and there is a little more understanding in the world. I do not wish to exaggerate but that is the general impression one gets. The problems in the world are exceedingly difficult and it is not good blaming any particular country or group for them; they are just difficult problems, arising out of certain conditions, as part of one another; maybe some people are more to blame than others. I think in understanding these big historical international problems, we should try to have more of an impersonal approach, impersonal objective, in understanding the affairs at play—rather than individuals or groups—so that I definitely think that there has been an improvement in the world situation. In this matter, on the last occasion—was it here or in Parliament²—I referred to President

2. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 22 November 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 27, pp. 92-93.

Eisenhower, and paid my tribute to the way he had exercised a great influence in lessening tension and in preventing any drift towards greater tension. Other steps have been taken since then, in the US, also confirming that impression of mine. I think that applies also to many developments in the Soviet Union, in China, in the UK and so on, so that there has been, in spite of suspicion, a tendency in a particular direction, which is gradually to be welcomed but again, the problems are here and one must not imagine that by these mere tendencies they will be solved; they will take time but it is something to have that feeling and this recent, yesterday's release of some American airmen in China,³ as it is stated, as the first step, is certainly to be welcomed, not only in an individual sense but in the larger sense of helping in that general trend.

Our position in all such matters has been rather a curious one. Perhaps it is not always understood correctly. We do not mediate; we do not offer ourselves for mediation; we do not wish to interfere but like other countries we are anxious to help where we can, and where such an opportunity comes to us, we do our little bit, not in mediation but rather in doing little things by way of explanation, in trying to put across one country's idea to the other and sometimes that helps. With this tension between countries, formal approaches are not likely to yield results more quickly because every country proceeds rather rigidly and there is an advantage in informal approaches and talks to weaken that rigidity, and make the mind of the other party a little more receptive. We do that quietly, leaving it to others to take formal and other steps. That was almost accidentally our position in the Geneva Conference last year; it just developed like that. We did not intend to function there but the circumstances placed us in a position where we could help a little, quite informally and privately. I think the help we gave in the Geneva Conference in this particular way was substantial. Take again the case of the recent visit of Shri Krishna Menon to Peking. I did not think of his going there. When Premier Chou En-lai—as I was taking leave of him in Djakarta and coming to India—said that he would like Mr Krishna Menon to go to Peking to continue certain conversations with the Government there, I said, "Certainly, with pleasure. I shall send him". Then an invitation came and we accepted that. Shri Krishna Menon told you something about it yesterday. Naturally, it is rather difficult to say everything that happens in these long private talks, because it is not for us to get something from any particular country, but rather to create an atmosphere where they could settle with each other the problems and, if possible, to remove the barriers....

3. Refers to four US airmen shot down during the Korean War in late 1952 or early 1953 who were in Chinese custody, tried and finally released on 30 May 1955.

Q: In this context of what you just said about Pakistan and its alliances,⁴ and in the greater context of the 1955 slogan of 'peace through strength', what are your views? What about the new military command established now?

JN: I am all for strength. I think it is a basic fact that the weak, whether as an individual or as a country, goes to the wall. What a nation's strength consists in, I think, is a different matter. I don't want India to be weak but I think the basic strength of India is not the army we have, which is a very good one, of course—the army and air force—compared to the great military establishments of others. Even normally, much less today, in the hydrogen bomb age, the strength of India will ultimately be based on the development of India, industrial and other, on the morale of the Indian people and all these factors psychological and material. We want to build up that strength, more especially the morale of the Indian people and all these factors psychological and material—its unity, etc. Mere military strength, I would say, of any country, even the biggest, is not the final answer, but certainly even it is not the answer of a country like India or any country of Asia, I would say, which has a small military establishment. I don't want India to be a military power in that sense. I want India to be a country which is strong enough to defend itself, in case of attack, and defend itself in the final analysis—though it may sound odd, nevertheless I would say, even with lathis and sticks—in every way—and not to surrender, whatever happens. It is that kind of unity I want in Indians, and I hope we have got it in some measure.

Therefore I am not afraid of anybody invading us from any quarter but apart from this, in this hydrogen bomb age, our thinking has to be on new lines. One thing is quite certain, that all the books written on military and naval and air strategy in the past are completely out of date. They have no bearing on a possible future war. I am leaving out of consideration one important factor which most of you know and which more particularly all the great soldiers and naval men and airmen have declared, whether they are in America or England or Russia, that the next war is unthinkable because of the vast destruction not to the enemy only but to yourself. It is a mutually destructible thing and it does not make much difference, whether your strength is double or quadruple of the other, provided the other has the destructive apparatus also. I

4. In reply to an earlier question (not printed), Nehru stated that US military aid to Pakistan and military pacts and alliances extending to the Middle East and Pakistan had reached the borders of India. He said the problem of Jammu and Kashmir had to be viewed in this new context.

also think that there is a phrase used, namely, 'saturation point', which means when the other country, that is, the enemy country is much weaker than you are, but is strong enough to do enormous damage, so that it does not make too much of a difference if you are much stronger. Now, nobody knows about the facts and I don't presume to know, but I would say that in regard to big powers, this saturation point has been reached and nobody can get away now with a one-sided destruction of war. The great danger at present is that, in a moment of excitement, some incident might happen which might lead to something which means a terrible war. In this context of hydrogen bomb, having military alliances, more particularly in Asia, that is, of countries which had no military strength of themselves, this is even less relevant. It makes no difference whether they join an alliance or not except that by joining it they declare themselves to be, if you like, friendly with one country or some countries but also hostile to the other countries. Thereby they bring themselves into the ambit of a war—a cold war and all that. In fact they lessen their security and endanger themselves without giving real strength to their friends, because their friends have such strength as they have, and that strength is there, but undoubtedly their strength adds very little, and it does not make much difference. Therefore, from this point of view, these pacts and alliances are not helpful at all, and certainly they increase tension, suspicions and fears.

Now about "peace through strength." There is much in it, but a strong man who goes about showing his brawn and muscles all over and telling everybody that he is so strong, thinking people will be afraid seeing his strong arm and all that, he will not produce any impression of peace. How can he produce an impression of peace? A strong man can function as a strong man, not necessarily by exhibition of his strong muscles.

But the whole point is, today, because of the Hydrogen bomb, you have got in the world a situation which is quite unique, for at no time have we faced anything like this terrible weapon. Therefore, remaining strong, and if you like, adding to your strength, if you so wish, does not help if the other party also adds to its strength. Because the balance remains much the same; it is not that one party becomes so strong as to overbalance it, and make it difficult for the other to function. It is just as in the case of progressive armament, it does not give more security because it is a race. If you progressively disarm, as I hope the countries will, the balance will remain much the same. And I am glad that there is some tendency now to think of disarmament in these practical terms. Apart from these practical considerations, there is this terrible fear that encompasses the world, and the making of pacts, the making of, as someone said, one supreme command for the eastern European nations. All these are things which add to tension, which add to the fear of war and thereby make it more difficult to seek peaceful solutions.

XV. OTHER MATTERS

(i) Air India Constellation Disaster

1. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegrams 120 and 121 of April 12th. First unconfirmed news of Constellation disaster reached me right last night.²

2. Latest information is that wreckage had been found in sea off Great Natoena Island 250 miles north-east of Singapore. It is also reported that three persons, including co-pilot have been rescued alive by some villagers in island.

3. There are certainly some odd features in accident as plane had given location only ten minutes before distress signal. We shall, of course, have fullest enquiry. Inform Chinese Government.

1. New Delhi, 12 April 1955. JN Collection.

2. Air India's Constellation aircraft, the "Kashmir Princess", crashed in the Indian Ocean on April 11 at about 14.55 IST while on a chartered flight from Hong Kong to Djakarta carrying an advance party of the Chinese delegation to the Bandung Conference. The crash was later found to be the result of sabotage.

2. Cable to Anthony Eden¹

As you know the recent disaster in the South China seas to an Air India Constellation which was carrying part of the Chinese delegation to the Bandung Conference has profoundly distressed people in India. Accidents of course happen from time to time and one has to accept them. But there were unusual features in this particular accident which deserves the fullest enquiry. I should like to thank your Government for all the help that we have received from the

1. New Delhi, 18 April 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

RAF and the RN in tracing and picking up survivors. We are grateful especially to Mr Malcolm Macdonald² for all his help.

2. Formal enquiries into this disaster will take place soon. Fortunately three of the crew of the aircraft are among the survivors and they might be able to give some helpful information. Till further information is received it is difficult to come to any conclusions. But I might inform you that one of the survivors has stated that the aircraft was running smoothly when suddenly an explosion took place in the luggage compartment. This set fire to part of the aircraft and the fire spread very rapidly.

3. This statement has of course to be verified and we have taken care not to give it publicity. If the statement is correct then a natural inference is that something was put inside the aircraft at some stage which led to this incident. This necessitates a very full enquiry at Hong Kong. I am aware that the Hong Kong authorities took security precautions before the aircraft took off. Probably these precautions were meant to prevent outsiders from coming near the aircraft or its passengers. There is a possibility that some of the ground staff of the Hong Kong airport which presumably consists mostly of local Chinese had free access to the aircraft and the security police did not think of them. I would be grateful therefore, if you would kindly have a thorough enquiry made in regard to the ground staff of the Hong Kong aerodrome more especially those who might have served this Air India Constellation or might have had access to it. Therefore a full enquiry is important from every point of view.

4. Many international services pass Hong Kong or start from there. This includes our own Service, the Air India International. You will agree that it is desirable to remove any element of uncertainty and apprehension for all the airliners that pass Hong Kong.

5. I am sorry to trouble you with this matter but you will appreciate the seriousness of it in the present as well as the future and the necessity, therefore, to do everything in our power to clear up this mystery.

2. (1901-1981); son of Ramsay Macdonald, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 1935-39; High Commissioner to Canada, 1941-46; British Commissioner General to South-East Asia; High Commissioner to India, 1955-60.

3. Cable to N.R. Pillai¹

I am surprised to note the reactions of British Government to Air India Constellation disaster. I think that the notes they have issued are wholly unbecoming and unwarranted. To demand of the Chinese Government to give them information is almost absurd.² Some Americans and others have gone further and made the remarkable suggestion that Chinese Government itself planted the bomb on the aircraft. Chinese reaction to this disaster was completely natural.³ Statements of surviving crew support Chinese allegation. No one has accused British Government or Hong Kong authorities though Chinese have said enough precautions were not taken in spite of warning. Major fact remains that terrible disaster took place and that some kind of bomb was probably planted in aircraft in Hong Kong with the purpose of destroying Chinese delegation. For the British Government to take high and mighty line now does them little credit.

1. Bandung, 22 April 1955. JN Collection.
2. Eden in his letter of 22 April to Nehru said that if investigations at Hong Kong into the Kashmir Princess crash were to be "effective", the interested parties would have to furnish all the information available to them about the circumstances of the crash. He clarified that China in its note of 10 April had only warned nationalists wanting to make trouble for a party of Chinese journalists travelling to Bandung. There was no suggestion of sabotage. On this basis the British government said that "if the Chinese government have any further details of the information on which they used their request of 10 April we hope that they will now make them available....."
3. The Chinese Government in a note presented to Britain on April 13, alleged that Kashmir Princess had been sabotaged at Hong Kong by US and Chinese nationalist agents with the aim of "assassinating the Chinese delegation led by Premier Chou En-lai." The note declared that the "British Government and Hong Kong authorities bore a grave responsibility for the unfortunate incident."

4. Talks with Chou En-lai¹

In the course of my talks with Prime Minister Chou En-lai, reference was made

1. Bandung, 26 April 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Papers. Extracts.

to the aircraft disaster and the enquiry to be made. I told him that I had met some of our technical members who assist in the enquiry. They were competent men and they had told me that the commission was functioning well. I also told him that the Indonesian Government were rather sensitive about others being pushed into the enquiry, and, therefore, we had to proceed cautiously. They did not like any suggestion that they could not do this work efficiently. In fact, the commission of enquiry as constituted, was a good one and was working well. It had to wait now for the salvage operations. After that, it would put together the wreckage and examine it and come to the conclusions on the technical aspect of the question.

2. This technical aspect was separate from the other enquiry about the possibility of sabotage, that will have to be made at Hong Kong. Premier Chou had already discussed this matter with the Special Officer² we are sending there. I had also had a talk with the Special Officer. It is obvious that this officer could only succeed in his enquiries with the fullest help of the Chinese authorities as well as the Hong Kong police.

3. Premier Chou said that he had heard from Peking but the information that he had received was not complete. He had telegraphed again for further information. Thus far all that he was clear about was this. Someone in Hong Kong had committed this act of sabotage. This someone was one of the Chinese ground crew, and he was associated with the Kuomintang secret group in Hong Kong. More he could not say.

4. Information about the secret group will be supplied to our Special Officer at Canton or Hong Kong, plus any other information that might be available.

5. The procedure would be (1) to find out the names of the ground staff who were on the airfield on the occasion of our aircraft arriving, staying and leaving Hong Kong; (2) of trying to find out which of them was likely to have access to the aircraft for normal purposes and (3) to find out which of these persons were connected with the Kuomintang secret organisation in Hong Kong. These processes would probably limit the number of persons who might be suspected. Further enquiries will then be directed towards those persons.

6. Premier Chou said that, at this stage, Hong Kong authorities should be asked to arrest or, at any rate, to keep under surveillance these men. I pointed out to him that it was not possible for us to make any explicit suggestions of this kind to the Hong Kong authorities. We can suggest, of course, that by a process of elimination, we had arrived at a limited number of persons suspected. We could also informally suggest to them surveillance of those persons, but it would be for the Hong Kong authorities then to take such steps as they think feasible.

2. R.N. Kao, Assistant Director, Intelligence Bureau.

7. Premier Chou agreed. He said also that he was afraid that if the Hong Kong Police got definite information through us, they might pass it on to the Americans or to the Kuomintang people, and that would make it impossible for the suspects to be apprehended later. He added, however, that if a suspect person ran away, that itself would be a strong presumption of his guilt.

8. I agreed, I pointed out, however, that at some stage or other, it would become essential to take the help of the Hong Kong police. Our officer obviously could take no step at that stage. The question was therefore, at what stage and to what extent we should inform the Hong Kong authorities about such facts as were in our possession. This inevitably had to be left to the discretion of our special officer who must be guided by his own judgement in the matter.

9. Premier Chou agreed. Indeed, there was no other way to deal with this question.

10. I spoke to Mr Kao³ tonight and gave him these directions. Mr Kao also gave me an account of what had happened when he had gone to Bombay. He told me that, at no time, did he consider himself or suggest that he was a member of the commission of enquiry. He regretted that there was any misunderstanding in this matter. He had been ordered by the Government of India to join the investigating team. By this, he did not mean the commission of enquiry....

12. Mr Kao told me that he was going to Hongkong as soon as he got accommodation in the air services. On arrival there, he would put himself in touch with our Consul. Intimation of the date of his arrival there should be sent by us both to our Consul in Hong Kong and our Ambassador in Peking. Mr Kao himself would of course inform the Consul. He should immediately get into touch with the Hong Kong police and work with them. He would presumably receive information from Chinese sources and would try to follow this up. To what extent and when he can convey this information or part of it to the Hong Kong police, it would be for him to judge. He must use the utmost discretion in this matter....

3. Rameshwar Nath Kao (b. 1918); joined Indian Police, 1940; on deputation to Intelligence Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1947-68; Cabinet Secretariat, 1968-78 and retired as Secretary; Senior Adviser in the Cabinet Secretariat, 1981, and with Policy Planning Committee under G. Parthasarathi. 1984-86.

5. Message to Anthony Eden¹

....Our Special Officer, who is in Peking at present, has been given full particulars in regard to persons involved, location, device, etc. In fact, actual person has also been indicated. I have not seen these because of Chou En-lai's objection to telegraphic transmission as he wishes to keep this material as secret as possible at present.

3. Some further information received by us from Djakarta and Singapore indicates probability of sabotage and there is even some suggestion of method adopted.

4. In view of all this I earnestly hope that you will agree broadly with Chou En-lai's request.² Sole object of this is to prevent premature leakage of information. There is no charge levelled against British Government and object appears to be to secure normal protection in the course of investigation of this nature. We are all concerned in giving security to our people and property and to those who are carried as passengers. Naturally Hong Kong Government will conform to their legal procedure and any suggestion made for this purpose would be justifiable.

1. New Delhi, 12 May 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Nehru ordered on 13 May that Kao would not divulge any information received from Chou En-lai to British authorities or any one else till he obtained permission from Chou En-lai. This was at request of the Chinese Prime Minister.

6. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
May 28, 1955

My dear Mr President,

Ever since we have had some reports about the aircraft disaster in which the "Kashmir Princess" of the Air India International was involved, we have been thinking of giving some mark of appreciation to the crew of that airliner. We had some kind of a detailed report about what happened from three of the

1. JN Collection.

survivors. This report indicated that the crew generally, and more especially the captain and the air hostess, behaved with exemplary courage.

We were waiting for the report of the Indonesian enquiry committee. Although we have not received a full report yet, a good summary of it has been received and has been published. You must have seen this summary in the newspapers. We shall be receiving the full report soon and shall examine it. We have also asked the Air India International people to send us information about the crew.

I feel that an early decision should be taken to give awards to these members of the crew. It is clear that the captain behaved with conspicuous courage and self-sacrifice. He stuck to his seat throughout and did not lose his nerve. It is also clear from various accounts that the air hostess showed great courage and coolness. To some extent, the other members of the crew also behaved well.

All these are dead except three survivors.²

The only suitable award that we can give is the Asoka Chakra which is specially designed to be given for acts of gallantry.

I would recommend for your consideration that

The captain of the aircraft should be awarded (posthumously) Asoka Chakra Class I;

The air hostess should be awarded Asoka Chakra Class II (also posthumously); and

The other members of the crew should be awarded Asoka Chakra Class III (posthumously in the case of those who are dead).

I am writing to you immediately on this matter so that I may have your approval. We shall, of course, submit to you the names, etc. in proper form soon. This is only to gain your general approval of the procedure suggested.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. M.C. Dixit, co-pilot, J.C. Pathak, flight navigator and A.S. Karnik, aircraft maintenance engineer.

(ii) Miscellaneous

1. Europe and West Asia¹

....2. Europe: Mr Nehru asked how far the policy for rearming Germany had taken account of the development of nuclear weapons. In a nuclear war, a German contribution of twelve divisions would be of little military value. He recognised that there might be psychological advantages in integrating western Germany with the West, but there were also psychological disadvantages, such as the danger of mounting tension because of increased Russian fears. Undoubtedly as world tension fell, world security rose, and vice versa. Might it not be that the rise in tension, which would result from the rearmament of Germany, was too high a price to pay for a small military gain?

3. Middle East: Mr Nehru said that the Foreign Secretary² had stressed the constitutional and economic weakness of many countries in the Middle East. A number of them had military governments which were kept in power by external aid. This was apt to raise a barrier between the government and the people. He doubted whether small-scale military pacts, which tended to cause disruptive feelings among the countries themselves, served any useful purpose. Thus, the suggestion of a Turkish-Iraq treaty³ had aroused intense hostility in Egypt, and was not supported by Jordan, Lebanon or Saudi Arabia.

1. Minutes of the second meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 1 February 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. Anthony Eden.
3. Turko-Iraqi Mutual Cooperation Treaty signed on 25 February 1955 was part of the Middle East Defence Plan to which Britain and USA were also parties.

2. Visa Policy¹

I agree that, to begin with, we should examine the question of removing difficulties in the way of the issue of visas, before we do away with visa

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 26 March 1955, JN Collection. Copies sent to Secretary General and Commonwealth Secretary.

system in regard to any country. Our present procedure appears to me cumbrous and dilatory. Normally speaking, there should be no difficulty in a person getting a visa for a brief period, and no reference to India need be made. Discretion should be given to our Missions abroad. That is to say that visas can be issued by our Missions abroad except in cases which they themselves consider doubtful. In such cases, reference might be made to us.

2. I find that references are often made where none such are necessary. This involves undue delay. Also, information should be sent by the Missions about the visas.

3. I also agree that in the matter of removal of visas, etc., we should consider our neighbouring countries first, such as Burma.

4. I agree further that it is very necessary for us to rationalise our registration and customs procedures. I think that our Foreigners Registration Act is out of date and hardly in keeping with a civilised community. It should be simplified very much.

5. One thing that has troubled me greatly, and to which I have made repeated reference, is the procedure applicable to Pakistanis coming here.²

2. The prevailing system was that visa would be issued only for visiting one or more specified places and that every traveller should report in writing his arrival and departure to the police.

3. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
March 26, 1955

My dear Balakrishna,²

When I went to London for the Prime Ministers' Conference, Mathai took with him two short colour films which he had taken with his own movie camera. One was about the pandas in our house and some other domestic scenes. The other was about the Republic Day Parade in 1954. I showed these films to the Mountbattens at their country house. Anthony Eden and his wife were there. They liked them very much. Later it was suggested that the Queen³ might like to see them. About the same time Winston Churchill expressed a wish to see

1. File No. 43(52)/48-PMS. Also available in JN Papers. NMML.

2. (1903-1984); Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, 1952-62.

3. Elizabeth II (b. 1926); crowned in June 1953.

them. So I sent them to 10 Downing Street. I had suggested that the films might be returned to India House so that they could be sent to the Mountbattens for the Queen. Unfortunately these films were returned direct to us here.

Everyone who saw them in England were much impressed by the coloured film on the Republic Day Parade. In fact, Winston Churchill sent a special message to me about how impressed he was.

I showed them to U Nu last night and immediately he asked me if he could take them with him. He also asked why we did not send such films to Burma. I am giving these films to U Nu for the present, although I was on the point of sending them for the Queen. I shall get them back from U Nu next month and then I shall send them to England.

The story of these two films shows us how very impressive our Republic Day Parade is, more especially if it is shown in colour. This Parade gives some idea of a disciplined, organised and progressive India going forward. I think we should try to publicise these Republic Day Parade films as much as possible and get them in colour.

Also there seems to be some lack of enterprise somewhere, probably in our Missions abroad, in regard to the films we send them. Why should U Nu not even know that we are sending films? I suppose much depends on the Ambassador.

I am asking External Affairs to look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Cable to G.L. Mehta¹

We have been giving a good deal of thought as to who should represent us at the UN Special Session in San Francisco.² We had thought that this would be rather a ceremonial function and had suggested that you might represent us. Later in discussing this matter with our Vice President, we felt that perhaps his presence there would be desirable. He would certainly have made a striking representative of India.

1. New Delhi, 18 May 1955. JN Collection. G.L. Mehta (1900-1974) was the Ambassador of India to the USA, 1952-58.
2. Tenth anniversary session of the United Nations, 20 to 26 June 1955.

2. The question then arose whether it would be proper for our Vice President to go there if the meeting was on a purely political level. On enquiry we have found that foreign ministers of various countries are likely to attend and there might be high level discussions there. It will not be proper for the Vice President to go in these circumstances.

3. As it is possible that these discussions may deal specially with Far Eastern situation, with which Krishna Menon has been connected lately, we feel that it will be desirable for Krishna Menon to go to San Francisco as our representative for this UN Special Session. He will be in New York at the time for the Trusteeship Council and therefore it will not be difficult for him to go there.

5. Technical Education and Foreign Service¹

I think that a person with a technical degree as in engineering and agriculture (presuming that the standard is adequate) might well turn out to be quite suitable for the IFS. In fact I attach more importance to that training than to a degree in commerce. The problems we have to deal with are more and more related to agriculture, technology, etc., and it is desirable to have some people in our Foreign Service who have studied these. I am all for a basic general knowledge. But a vague general knowledge with no special knowledge does not help much in the modern world. I do not personally attach too much value to the LLB degree in this connection, though it may have its use occasionally.

I do not think that this will draw away people from technical work. At the most a very few might be so drawn away. We are now thinking of engineering and agricultural training being given to thousands in India.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 25 May 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

KASHMIR

1. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

March 18, 1955

My dear Bakshi,

I was taken aback this morning on seeing big headlines in the newspapers to the effect that you had accused Shaikh Abdullah² of a conspiracy and further that you could not publish the facts because I had asked you not to do so.³ This has put me in a very embarrassing position. Questions will be asked in Parliament, by the press and others, and I shall have to answer what this conspiracy was and why I have come in the way of giving publicity to the facts.

2. I do not remember ever asking you to stop publication of anything worthwhile that you might possess. In fact, I have repeatedly suggested that, if you had sufficient material, you should go ahead with it.

3. Presumably, you referred in your speech not to any positive material but rather to some talks, etc., that we had in 1953. That may have been enough to influence us, as it did, but it was hardly enough to talk in positive terms of a conspiracy. How, then, are we to justify what you have said?⁴

4. As you must have seen, my meeting with Mohammad Ali has been postponed.⁵ It is likely to be held on the 14th May now in Delhi. I shall, of course, meet Mohammad Ali in Indonesia.

5. I have just received your letter of March 16th about the visit of the engineers. I am sending it on to our Irrigation & Power Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah (1905-1982); Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1947-53; he was arrested on 9 August 1953 and was under detention at this time.

3. Bakshi was reported to have stated in the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly on 17 March that he had in his possession correspondence, etc., which would throw light on many things that happened in Kashmir in 1953, but he could not publish them because Nehru or the Government of India came in his way.

4. On 22 March 1955, Nehru wrote to Bakshi authorising him "to deal with any correspondence we have had with Shaikh Abdullah or others connected with him, in the way you like.... You stated in your speech that I was preventing you from publishing that correspondence. I wish to remove that barrier." On 18 March, Abdullah had written to Nehru expressing the hope that the Government of India would not come in the way of publication of the documents. Abdullah also wrote: "In fairness to me I would earnestly request you to accede to Bakshi's request so that whole world may know where everyone stands."

5. Nehru was to have met the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 28 March in New Delhi.

2. The Situation in Kashmir¹

... In the course of a speech² on the demand for grants for External Affairs, I referred to Kashmir. And I referred particularly to a certain recent development, that is, a speech made by the Prime Minister of Kashmir about the publication of some papers, and a request I have received from Shaikh Abdullah asking me or the Government of India not to come in the way of their publication. Now, many of you may have heard what I said. I am quite clear that we do not wish to come in the way of any publication in these circumstances and it is for the Jammu and Kashmir Government to decide what to publish and when to publish, though I must say that I am not enthusiastic about these publications of old papers for two reasons: one is that they are so entangled with talks of which there is no record, that old letters, without the intervening talks, have little meaning and they do not bring out any particular picture. Secondly, I do not wish, I do not like, doing anything which revives all bitternesses and controversies. And therefore I do not particularly fancy these publications at this stage but I really do not know—I have not got all the letters, I have got some that I wrote, that I got; I have not got, for instance, what Rafi Ahmed Kidwai might have written they may be in Kashmir. I have not even got, though I can get them perhaps, what Maulana Azad wrote—Ajit Prasad Jain went there. Since all spread out, all over, I do not know all the papers. Anyhow, we have told the Kashmir Government and it is entirely in their discretion to do what they like in this matter.

Now, dealing with the Kashmir issue, as you know, it has been a very difficult and delicate issue. And we have continually to face it in its international aspect and our internal aspects, and finally it is Kashmir itself, that is, the people of Kashmir which is the most important. We have agreed to a large measure of autonomy for the Jammu and Kashmir state government. We do not interfere with the autonomy of any of our state governments. Privately we may advise them, privately we may have an argument with them, they are our colleagues; that is a different matter. But we do not interfere with their autonomy. Now, the Jammu and Kashmir Government has got a slightly bigger dose of autonomy than the other state governments. We have decided that. Now, naturally we cannot interfere, we do not interfere. Naturally also we

1. Speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 4 April 1955. AIR tapes. Extracts.
2. In the Lok Sabha on 31 March 1955.

discuss matters and if our advice is sought, we give it, or give it even otherwise. It is very difficult and rather wrong, I think, for any government to interfere and lessen the responsibility of the discharging government unless some other alternative is there. Unless, I may say, we can interfere in Andhra and the President can take over, because things arrived at such a pass, that is a different matter—if you come to such a pass. But one must not reduce the responsibility of the government that is responsible.... Often things happen in various states in India which sometimes we do not quite like. Whatever the matter is, we like it or not, they happen. At the most I may write a private letter to the Chief Minister and say what is this? But there the matter ends. I do not interfere otherwise. Same applies to Kashmir, even more so.

As I said in the Lok Sabha, undoubtedly, the political and the economic situation within Jammu and Kashmir has improved very greatly. Anybody can see it, how it has improved. It is easy enough to criticise and we can criticise many things here in Delhi, that is a different matter. But by and large there has been a great improvement and the one thing that certainly none of us can like, is the keeping in detention of a person of Shaikh Abdullah's past history record and connection with all that has happened in Kashmir. Now, I went into this matter with some fullness two or a year and a half ago. One thing I want to make clear is that practically everybody detained there previously has been released, except three I think or maybe four persons, including Shaikh Abdullah. From my part we do not wish to come in the way of Shaikh Abdullah's release, but again the responsibility must be shouldered by the Government which is responsible. One cannot do something or advise something which upsets things and then nobody is responsible. That is our general position. Now, in this connection it has been very painful for me to see here in Delhi, specially, elsewhere little—but Delhi is a big centre of a continuing agitation from various fronts against the Jammu and Kashmir Government, and indirectly against, of course, or directly against our Government too, chiefly, and it is an extraordinarily virulent agitation and irresponsible agitation. I do not mind, I hope—I am democrat enough not to mind any type of criticism, opposition. That is a different matter. But this particular thing seems to me so irresponsible that I am amazed at it. Of course, there are all kinds of people at the back of it—some of them, they have nothing to do with the Congress; some of them, I know, have been notoriously against the Congress in the past. It is a wonder to me. There are quite a number of odd newspapers coming out in Hindi and Urdu and English, just with this basis. They have no big circulation, the whole object being that what they publish receives a great deal of publicity in Pakistan or maybe in New York.... And it has been a wonder to me, where the money comes from for the publication of these pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers because obviously they do not pay. There it is.

Now there is one gentleman, who was in the old days, by old days I mean

about twelve-thirteen years ago, he was an old colleague³ of Shaikh Abdullah's, then he broke from him and at that time he joined M.N. Roy's⁴ Party there, and who has become very much opposed to the National Conference there. In fact when I went to Kashmir in 1946, he attacked me even then, remember! Then all kinds of odd things happened, but at the time when this changeover took place in Kashmir in 1947, I think he was arrested and detained by Shaikh Abdullah's government. He was making a lot of mischief there. After some time he was released, discharged, he came to Delhi. He made Delhi his headquarters for this exceedingly virulent propaganda against the Jammu and Kashmir Government, against our Government, and it is a measure of the freedom our Government allows to this man and so he is carrying on with that.

Where they get help from... I do not know definitely, but obviously they cannot do this on their own. I am giving you one instance, but this is a very intricate thing, it is an extraordinarily intricate thing, how all kinds of different people in different ways, sometimes independently sometimes together, function this way all aiming at this business. In the Jammu and Kashmir State they do not have much pull. In the Jammu and Kashmir state or rather in Jammu, their own Praja Parishad, which has now rather broken up into two, but one part of it is definitely publicly aligned to the Jan Sangh now; previously it was a private thing. Now the head of Praja Parishad is, I believe, the head of Jan Sangh or an important functionary in Jan Sangh.⁵ So that is a completely communal, reactionary organisation and constantly creating trouble there, not big trouble because they have not got the strength now, but still it is a troublesome thing. Many of the things that happened in Kashmir a year ago, a year and a half ago, or two years ago, would not have happened but for the trouble that the Praja Parishad had raised in Jammu and it had its reactions in the Kashmir part of the state.

Now, there is one thing in this connection about Kashmir. I have said about all these various elements functioning in this way. Among those elements are some members of our Parliament, some members of our party. That seems to me very improper. I do not wish to come in the way in this or other matters of the freedom of action or expression but I do feel that this kind of thing is not proper. Again, in Kashmir itself, I hinted at that in the Lok Sabha recently,⁶ that is, some months back, a branch of the Praja Socialist Party has been formed. Now, the Praja Socialist Party has many of my friends in it. I wish it prosperity

3. P.N. Bazaz.

4. Narendra Nath Bhattacharaya (1893-1954); better known as Manabendra Nath Roy, the name he adopted in 1916; founded the Radical Democratic Party; one of the principal exponents of radical humanism.

5. P.N. Dogra.

6. In a speech in Hindi in the Lok Sabha on 31 March 1955. Not printed.

but it is a fact, I think, that the persons in the Praja Socialist Party's branch in Kashmir are not the noble type of members of that party. They are communal people; there are others, all types of persons who have sought the platform of the Praja Socialist Party in order to create trouble for the government there—not to advance some ideas, it is different, but just the platform. And unfortunately sometimes they take in their leaders elsewhere in India and these people here support them without knowing their background....

3. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi,
April 5, 1955

My dear Bakshi,

Some two or three days ago I received a telegram from Shaikh Abdullah. This was as follows:

"While presenting demands for External Affairs Ministry before Lok Sabha you are reported to cherish still personal regard and affection for me for which please accept my sincere thanks. You are further reported to have said I committed mistakes which harmed me and country both. Pray enlighten me with knowledge such mistakes as I honestly believe having committed none excepting frank exposition before you of facts and situation. Shaikh Mohd Abdullah."

Previously I had received some messages from him, copies of which I had sent you. Also a telegram of congratulations after the Nagpur incident.² I had not replied to any of them. I have begun to feel, however, that it is not proper for me not to reply or even acknowledge these letters and telegrams. At the same time, naturally, I find some difficulty in writing to him. Ultimately, however, I have written to him and I enclose that letter³ in original so that you can forward it to him through the proper channels. A copy is also enclosed for you.

1. JN Collection.

2. A man, with a knife in hand, had tried to jump on to the footboard of the open car in which Nehru was driving in Nagpur city on 12 March 1955. No harm came to Nehru.

3. See the next item.

I hope you agree with my writing to Shaikh Saheb and with what I have written to him.

I shall be leaving for Indonesia early in the morning of the 15th April and returning probably on the 28th April.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The more I think of it, the more I dislike the idea of the publication of old correspondence.

4. To Shaikh Abdullah¹

New Delhi
April 8, 1955

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

Some time ago, after the Nagpur incident, you were good enough to send me a telegram of congratulations and good wishes. Later, I received a letter from you, dated the 18th March, as well as a telegram, in which you referred to the statement made by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, and asked me to accede to Bakshi's request for the release of correspondence. Two days ago, I received another telegram from you, in which you have made a reference to what I said in Parliament here.

2. Please forgive me for this delay in acknowledging these communications. So far as the first one was concerned, that is, the one that came after the Nagpur incident, I was rather overwhelmed by hundreds of telegrams and a vast number of letters, and it became a little difficult for me to deal with them individually. The incident itself was, to my thinking, of no great importance, and I had given little thought to it when I was overwhelmed by these messages of goodwill.

3. But, apart from this, I have felt a little reluctance in writing to you for reasons which you will no doubt appreciate. The force of circumstances and the turn of events have produced a situation which is not a happy one for me, and I have felt somewhat embarrassed at the idea of carrying on a correspondence with you. Hence, I hesitated to write to you, as I would normally have gladly done. I was and am, however, very grateful to you for the message you sent me after the Nagpur incident.

1. JN Collection.

4. You will have seen the statement I made in Parliament in regard to Kashmir and, more particularly, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's reference to correspondence, etc. On referring to a fuller version of Bakshi's statement, I found that the previous shorter report was not quite correct. He certainly referred to certain correspondence which had passed between you and Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and me. I had not seen the correspondence with Maulana Azad or Rafi Ahmed Kidwai though, at the time, both of them had mentioned the correspondence as well as some other messages and talks between you and them. I had your letters to me and my replies to them. Those letters were rather incomplete because the background of various conversations was naturally not there. Anyhow, I stated in Parliament that we would not come in the way of the publication of any correspondence which the Jammu and Kashmir government wished to publish. This was, therefore, left to their discretion.

5. I must confess, however, that I did not fancy publication of old letters and, perhaps, records of conversations at this stage. I did not see how this would serve any good purpose. My object, as it must be yours, is not to add to the difficulties and bitterness which have, unfortunately, been created. However, as I stated quite clearly, we would not come in the way of any such publication.

6. I would add here that the statements Bakshi made about the correspondence and about the intervention of foreign agencies were unrelated to each other. The latter referred to some activities of foreign agencies separately.

7. In your last telegram to me, you were good enough to refer to what I said about you in Parliament a few days ago. What I said then represents my feelings.² I cannot, whatever happens, forget our comradeship and friendship of old days. I had added that, in my opinion, you had committed some errors which had harmful results. You have asked me to tell you what these mistakes or errors were.

8. I am very reluctant to enter into this controversy at this stage, and I have avoided doing so, in so far as I can, during this past year and a half or more. You will remember that we had many discussions on various occasions and, when I went to Sonemarg, I wrote a long note³ analysing the then situation. This note was addressed to you and was considered later in Srinagar by the members of the Executive of the National Conference. Subsequent to that, many

2. Speaking in the Lok Sabha in Hindi on 31 March, Nehru stated that the mistakes committed by Shaikh Abdullah had given a jolt to his affection for Abdullah, yet that affection had not lessened because Abdullah had played a great role in the history of Kashmir which could not be denied. He also said that "to err is human" and that he would be happy to see Shaikh Abdullah released. But this matter concerned the state government, he added.

3. For Nehru's note of 25 August 1952 addressed to Shaikh Abdullah, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, pp. 322-330.

things happened and we met on several occasions and discussed matters. There was a marked difference in our approaches which distressed and disturbed me. You had every right to your opinion, but, in the circumstances, the situation deteriorated. When I went to Srinagar,⁴ on the eve of my departure for England, I had again long talks with you especially as well as with some of your colleagues. These brought out still more clearly that the situation was a bad one and that neither the Government nor the National Conference was functioning harmoniously. A considerable majority of your chief colleagues did not agree with your views at the time. I was rather alarmed at all this inner conflict and felt very helpless.

9. You may remember that I begged of you then not to take any step which might worsen the situation during my absence from India. You agreed to that. When I was in England, I had further reports which indicated that my hope for a quiet period was not being fulfilled and that the situation was rapidly deteriorating. The same news having reached Maulana Azad induced him to pay a visit to Srinagar,⁵ while I was still in England. On my return, I learnt that he had been treated with active discourtesy in Srinagar and his advice was rejected. I communicated with you by letter, telephone and telegram begging you to come to Delhi.⁶ In the course of your reply, you indicated that there was not much point in our carrying on our correspondence. You also did not think it worthwhile to come to Delhi. This made me feel completely helpless and I became a passive spectator of the march of events.

10. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was naturally deeply interested in affairs of Kashmir and was worried at these developments. He offered to go there and I welcomed this suggestion of his. When this was communicated to you, you indicated that you would not welcome his going there, and that, in fact, there was no point in his going there. Naturally, he could not go in the circumstances. Ajit Prasad Jain happened to go there for personal reasons, and he had a talk with you, which he repeated to me on his return. That talk also indicated that you had decided to pursue a line of action which appeared to me to be very harmful for the future of Jammu and Kashmir. Vishnu Sahay,⁷ who met you in Srinagar and had talks with you, also created the same impression upon me.

11. All these developments made me very unhappy. At no time, ever since the troubles began in Kashmir in October 1947, did I feel quite so frustrated or helpless as I did then. Previously, whatever the difficulties, my mind was clear

4. In May 1953.

5. In June 1953.

6. For Nehru's letters to Shaikh Abdullah asking him to come to Delhi for discussions, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 22, pp. 193-199, and Vol. 23, pp. 284-286.

7. (1901-1989); Special Secretary for Kashmir Affairs, 1949-51 and 1953-57.

about the action to be taken. But the new situation that had arisen and the wide difference of approach between you and me, made me feel completely helpless, a feeling which I have seldom had in all the difficulties and crises that we have had to face in India during the past seven or eight years.

12. I am writing reluctantly about some of these past events. This is, of course, only a scrappy reference to some matters which influenced me and distressed me. Many other things happened during this period but, reluctant as I am, I felt that I owed it to you to write to you and to tell you how I felt during this troubled period. I am not saying all this with a view to bring any charges against you or to condemn or justify. We, who are in charge of heavy responsibilities, have to deal with all kinds of forces at work and often they take their own shape. We see in the world today great statesmen, who imagine they are controlling the destinies of a nation, being pushed hither and thither by forces beyond their control. The most that one can do is to endeavour to function according to one's judgement in the allotted sphere.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Lanka Sundaram¹

New Delhi
April 11, 1955

My dear Dr Lanka Sundaram,²

Thank you for your letter of the 11th April and the record of talks you have had with Mridula Sarabhai³ and Mirza Afzal Beg.⁴ Broadly speaking, I know what Mridula has been saying about these events.⁵

1. JN Collection.

2. (1905-1967); Independent Member of the Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

3. (1911-1974); a prominent social worker and daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai, a textile industrialist of Ahmedabad and a devoted Gandhian.

4. (1908-1981); founded the Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front, 1955.

5. Mridula Sarabhai had stated during a discussion with Sundaram on 7 April that the Jammu Praja Parishad, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh had been in league with Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad before the events of August 1953 and that the arrest and detention of Shaikh Abdullah was due to a conspiracy of senior civil and military officials in Delhi and Srinagar. She completely exonerated Abdullah and maintained that Bakshi was the villain of the piece.

Mridula is certainly one of the most extraordinary women that I have met. Her courage is amazing. I saw her repeatedly during the troubles of 1947-48 and often she faced a hostile and bloodthirsty crowd without flinching. Her energy is tremendous. Her organising capacity is very considerable. Her motives, so far as I know, have always been good.

I have known her for more than 35 years, ever since she was a little girl, and have a great deal of affection for her.

In spite of all this, she is a very difficult person. She can seldom function in any organisation except as a boss. She is inflexible and obstinate and will not accommodate herself to another person. She is credulous and easily believes stories which she wants to believe.

In this Kashmir matter, she has got a fixed obsession and it is almost impossible to deal with it. I spoke to her on two or three occasions about it about a year ago. Since then I told her that there was not much good my discussing the matter with her, and we have not spoken on this subject again although I have seen her some times about others matters.⁶

I am afraid I have a very poor opinion about Mirza Afzal Beg.⁷ In fact, I think that he was largely responsible for many of the difficulties that arose in Kashmir. I have no good opinion either about Maulana Masoodi.⁸

For Mridula to say that Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad or D.P. Dhar⁹ are stooges of the Americans, is so absurd and fantastic that it is difficult to deal with it.¹⁰ Others, perhaps you know, say that they are in league with the communists, which is also wrong.

I have been in intimate touch with all these people in Kashmir for many years—about 20 years. More especially, of course, during the last eight years or so. I do not pretend to know everything but I do know a great deal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 303-304.

7. Sundaram wrote that at a meeting with Afzal Beg and Maulana Masoodi held on 8 April at the instance of Mridula Sarabhai, Beg narrated a story similar to that presented by Mridula Sarabhai.

8. Mohammad Syed Masoodi (1905-1990); a National Conference Member of the Lok Sabha and a close associate of Shaikh Abdullah.

9. (1918-1975); Deputy Home Minister, Jammu and Kashmir state, 1948-57.

10. Mridula Sarabhai had told Sundaram "that the Bakshi group is a pro-American group, and that the American Embassy was at the back of the coup which led to the removal of Shaikh Abdullah."

NATIONAL PROGRESS

I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(i) Planning

1. The State of the Economy¹

... Mr Nehru said that India's economy was stable and progressive. The problem of food production, which had been serious two or three years ago, was now on the way to solution as a result of increasing the amount of land under cultivation and raising the yield per acre. India was now able to export rice. There would be a further substantial improvement in the food situation as the development schemes now in progress reached fruition.

The targets under the Five Year Plan, which had been started 3½ years ago, had in some sectors been reached or exceeded. This was not only good in itself, but increased national confidence. A second five year plan on a bigger scale was now being prepared, which would provide for increases in both heavy and light industry, and also for the expansion of cottage and village industry which was so necessary to combat unemployment. The Community Development Schemes,² which had so far reached about 70 million people, had been of great benefit in the rural areas and had been greatly helped by the enthusiastic response of the rural population. It was hoped that in the next five year plan these would be expanded to cover the whole country; but this was a formidable task, which would be particularly difficult because of a shortage of trained technical staff.

Agricultural prices in India had indeed fallen lower than was desirable and same were therefore being supported. The balance of payments had improved, but a strict import policy was still maintained, although restrictions on capital goods and industrial raw materials had been reduced. Economic aid was being

1. Minutes of the fourth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 3 February 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Fifty-five Community Projects, aimed at intensive development of the resources of the areas concerned, notably by increasing agricultural production, fostering social education, improving the health of the rural population, and introducing new skills and occupations, were inaugurated on 2 October 1952.

received through the Colombo Plan³ and also from the United States and Norway. Loans had also been received from the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund, but in some cases attempts had been made to attach to these loans unacceptable conditions, based on ideological considerations. It was the intention to quadruple steel production over the next five years, to reach 6 million tons. In general, India faced the future with confidence....

3. Based on an Australian initiative at a meeting of Commonwealth Ministers in Colombo in January 1950, the Colombo Plan was intended as a means by which the richer Commonwealth countries could assist the poorer members.

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi

February 27, 1955

My dear Sri Babu,²

I hope you are coming here for the Working Committee meeting.³ I shall look forward to meeting you then. I am particularly interested, as you know, in the Kosi project⁴ and, more especially, in the public aspect of it.⁵ You must have seen that reference was made to this in the President's address.⁶ I have referred to it at various functions and people have been much impressed.

This experiment at Kosi is of the greatest significance to us. We look upon it as something not only good in itself but as a beginning of a new approach to

1. File No. 17(201)/50-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1887-1961); Chief Minister of Bihar, 1946-61.
3. The Congress Working Committee meeting was held from 5 to 6 March 1955 at New Delhi.
4. The multipurpose Kosi project in Bihar envisaged flood control, power generation, irrigation, navigation, soil conservation, silt control and other benefits, for which an agreement was signed between India and Nepal on 25 April 1954.
5. A significant feature of the Kosi project was its emphasis on manual labour. The organisation of manual labour through public cooperation was undertaken by the Bharat Sevak Samaj in three ways: (1) persuading local people to surrender land for the embankment, (2) calling for unpaid labour and (3) the organisation of work through gram panchayats on payment basis.
6. In his address to both Houses of Parliament on 21 February 1955, President Rajendra Prasad made a special reference to the Kosi project and the public cooperation it was receiving.

such problems elsewhere. This is the first time we have done it in this way and we have thus far succeeded. Personally I would like it to be done on a much bigger scale, the bigger the better.

I gather that the PSP people have been protesting and objecting in the Bihar Assembly.⁷ I am sorry for this, although I do not expect anything better from them. But I am a little surprised to learn that some of our own Congressmen have been critical. This indicates that they have not understood the real nature of this great and far-reaching experiment.

Because we want to learn from this experiment, so as to do this kind of work elsewhere, an engineer was sent by Nandaji there. The object of sending him was not to interfere with the work but for us to know how to do it better elsewhere. Indeed it might be desirable to train some of our engineers for this kind of work. I do not quite understand why that engineer was sent back.

Apparently the Administrator⁸ of the Kosi project has not taken kindly to this public aspect of the work. This is unfortunate, because it is of the most vital importance that people in charge of our projects should understand how much importance we attach to it. Indeed we wish to build our future work on this basis.

I know that your deep interest in this kind of work and that it is largely because of that interest that the work has prospered thus far. I do hope that it will be pushed further. In fact our attitude towards this work should be dynamic and aggressive advance. Ultimately we will be judged by the work done and not by any other standard.

One thing appears to me most important. We must provide adequate amenities to these workers. This is the way it is done elsewhere. Apart from some kind of residential accommodation and sanitary arrangements, etc., there should be radios, some documentary films shown, some lectures given about

7. On 22 February 1955, a PSP member, Ramnarain Choudhary, pointed out in the Assembly that all the glory about the taming of the Kosi paled into insignificance when the untold sufferings spread over the past many years were recounted. The wisdom had dawned on Government so late that there was little to be jubilant about it, he added. On 24 February, another PSP member, Tanuk Lal Yadav, told the House that some important functionaries of the Bharat Sevak Samaj had taken Rs 40 lakh worth of contracts in the Kosi project in the name of their relatives and friends; contractors dominated the scene; and the public cooperation experiment was slipping into oblivion.

8. T.P. Singh.

the nature of this work and the importance of it and the public partnership in it and so on.⁹

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Nehru again wrote to Sri Krishna Sinha on 24 May 1955: "I was... very anxious that this particular experiment should be proceeded with and that we should learn from it so as to apply it elsewhere. I had no doubt that we had to do this in many places, the object being not only to get large-scale work done but to associate the public with it. This sense of public partnership is of the greatest importance to my mind.

During the last few days, I have been surprised to notice criticisms of this, even amounting to condemnation, appearing in the press....

What has troubled me is the fact... that the Chief Administrator, T.P. Singh, has been all along opposed to this kind of work... the whole attitude appears to be one of basic opposition to the idea and, consequently, of trying to strangle it in operation."

3. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi,
March 6, 1955

My dear V.T.,²

Some days ago I wrote to you about the Durgapur project.³ In your reply you told me that the committee considering this matter was likely to report by the end of March and this will be taken up with Dr Roy.⁴

I was surprised at the great delay in the work of this committee. Here was a scheme which has been more or less with us for about a year and a half. It has been sent to us not only by a chief minister of a state but by one of the

1. File No. 17(265)/52-PMS.
2. (1881-1964); Deputy Chairman, National Planning Commission, 1953-60.
3. The project for the establishment of a coke oven gas plant and ancillary industries at Durgapur was estimated to cost Rs 115 crores and to give employment to 12,000 people. The Ministry of Production and the Planning Commission raised various technical and financial objections to the project in spite of West Bengal Government's assurance that they did not need any monetary help from the Central Government.
4. Bidhan Chandra Roy (1882-1962); Chief Minister of West Bengal, 1948-62.

outstanding personalities in India who takes personal interest in these matters and gets them through. For the last six months or so I have been interested in this and attracted towards it, chiefly because of the employment possibilities in it. This problem of employment is probably worse in Bengal than anywhere else. I was told that the Bengal government asked us for no grant or other financial help. This matter, I have been suggesting, should be treated as one of high priority, and yet months pass and the committee cannot even report.

If something that we consider of high priority in which both the Chief Minister and the Prime Minister are greatly interested and want to be expedited, takes over a year to get through its preliminary stages, our pace of progress is likely to be terribly slow. Quite apart from the particular project, I have been much concerned at this tremendous delay, as it indicated that our method of working is wrong somewhere.

I do not know who the members of the committee are, except that the Bengal Government is represented on it.

Today I had a further talk with Dr B.C. Roy, who, as you know, has been exercised over this matter. In fact, even his health has suffered because of these long delays. He showed me some papers, which seemed to me very odd and which indicated partly how this delay was taking place. It almost seems to me that some members of the committee have deliberately delayed this because for some reason they do not like it. Various excuses for delay have been put forward from time to time and months have passed. Are we then to appoint another committee to consider why this delay has taken place? Because this is a serious matter and, if I may say so, the whole prestige of the Government is at stake. Certainly my prestige is at stake. It seems to me quite absurd that some members of the committee should play about in this loose way with an urgent and important matter when we repeatedly remind them of its urgency.

I do not know who appointed this committee—some Ministry or the Planning Commission. In any event, some Ministry must be concerned. Is it the Production Ministry? I should like to know, as I want to take this matter up seriously now and deal with it myself.

I know that it is not your fault or that of the Planning Commission. I am concerned with the committee and its dilatoriness and repeated delays. I think it will be worthwhile for you to send a copy of this letter of mine to the chairman of the committee and ask him for an explanation for these long delays.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi
March 10, 1955

My dear Medhi,²

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 21st February. In paragraph 10 of that letter you say that "Without knowing the amount available for the Second Five Year Plan, it is difficult to prepare the schemes in any systematic manner." I think this is a wrong approach. We are trying to proceed not so much on financial lines, but on the lines of physical means of the people. Of course, financial considerations will come in. Our difficulty thus far has been the inability even to spend the money allotted because of lack of personnel or equipment or slowness of administrative machinery. Probably this lack of personnel, etc., apply even more to Assam than to some other states. A plan cannot be a paper plan which has little bearing on resources and personnel available. Subject to this, any plan can be made provided it is in touch with reality and we can give effect to it. Therefore you should, for the present, not pay so much attention to the financial part, but to the actual things to be done keeping in view what you can do given the finances.

This involves often planning for training of personnel as well as obtaining equipment and the rest. Planning is not just making a list of schemes, but considering all the aspects and the actions and directions.

I am anxious about the Dibrugarh flood protection work.³ It is obvious that this must be completed before the monsoons. Otherwise it will be of little use.

In this matter we might learn something from the popular cooperation in the Kosi project in Bihar. I think you should be able to get a great many workers from the people to help you in your undertakings.

If I can help in any particular matter, I shall try to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(5)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. (1890-1981); Chief Minister of Assam, 1950-58.

3. Under the town protection scheme launched by the Assam Government at Dibrugarh a chain of protective spurs were built to protect the town from floods.

5. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

Camp: Nangal
March 19, 1955

My dear V.T.,

I have come here to Bhakra-Nangal on a brief visit. I am not an expert. But the general opinion I gather is that work is being done efficiently and with speed. Also that there is a good deal of team work and every person appears to be at his job. The work is also probably ahead of schedule.

2. We have now arrived at a difficult stage, that is, the building of the dam itself. In this every possible care has to be taken. Unfortunately there has been some controversy about changing chief engineers, etc.² I have made it perfectly clear that in this matter we can take no risks whatever. We must have not only the best advice but also complete harmony in the working of this great project, which is, I believe, the biggest and toughest job in the world today. I hope that our conversations here will lead to a satisfactory solution of this problem, or at least as satisfactory as possible. I am myself sure that Slocum³ must remain here. He is a man who impresses me, in spite of frequent complaints and the like. He is certainly fully competent, hard-working and conscientious. Even in his general behaviour he has improved greatly. Most of the senior engineers speak highly of him and get on with him well. I have discussed all these matters with the Governor and the Chief Minister⁴ here.

3. There is one particular aspect which I should like to place before you. This is the quantum of electric power to be produced here. I was a little surprised to learn that a decision was taken only two or three days ago about some additional power to be produced. There has apparently been some reluctance to come to such decisions because probably it was felt that the demand for power would not be too great.

4. I am convinced that the demand for power will always exceed our supply, whether here or elsewhere. In the Punjab the demand is already there. All round this neighbourhood farmers and others are asking for it. There is of

1. File No. 17(50)/56-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to Gulzarilal Nanda.
2. C.P.N. Singh, Governor of Punjab, wrote to Nehru on 12 March that according to D.C. Lal, Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, an attempt by one of the senior engineers to whitewash some corruption cases about the Nangal canal works lay behind the move to obtain a change in the chief engineers at Bhakra.
3. Harvey Slocum (1887-1961); headed a corps of American engineers as an advisory team to the Bhakra-Nangal irrigation and power project, 1951-55.
4. Bhimsen Sachar (1893-1978); Chief Minister of Punjab, 1952-56.

course the fertiliser-cum-heavy water plant and the Delhi state has increased its demand.

5. I believe that the maximum capacity for power production is about a million kilowatts. I am sure that much more of this can be consumed. In fact I am beginning to think more and more that our future industrial progress, whether a big industry or a small industry or even cottage industry, depends upon the amount of electric power that we can produce and supply. It is, therefore, desirable to think of this in big terms from now onwards and not wait for later developments. Here in Bhakra-Nangal we have a big and efficient team working and it is relatively easier to undertake an extension or a fresh job. If we undertake anything separately later, we shall have to build up a new set-up. That will be more costly and will take more time.

6. We have often discussed the question of training personnel of various kinds in the Planning Commission and we have all felt that this must be given top priority, or else we shall have bottlenecks and work will stop. I do not quite know how far we are tackling this problem in a big way. Of course I know that something is being done. But it seems to me that perhaps we are proceeding rather slowly in this matter. In fact, our general progress is slow.

7. The other day I read an article in *The Hindustan Times* by Thomas Balogh,⁵ a British economist. This article set me thinking and made me feel that our advance is very slow.⁶ It is clear now that there is no lack of money. In fact it is highly desirable that we should put as much money as possible in productive works and thus give more purchasing power to the people. That is the only way we can meet the falling price situation as well as speed up our progress.

8. The difficulty apparently is not lack of money but lack of proper schemes. Many of our states are not fully equipped even to draw up proper schemes.

5. (1905-1985); economist; Visiting Professor, Universities of Minnesota and Wisconsin, 1951 and of Delhi and Calcutta, 1955; Reader, Oxford University, 1960-73; Minister of State, Department of Energy, UK, 1974-75.

6. In his article "The Indian Experiment," published on 18 March 1955, Thomas Balogh wrote that the success of India's First Five Year Plan "turns out to be built on unsafe foundations. Two-thirds of the rise in agricultural yields must be attributed to the accident of two consecutive excellent monsoons; while investment in irrigation and other agricultural improvements has reached only 50 per cent of the target. The land reform law, limiting the size of individual holdings, has in many areas been made ineffective by landlords nominally "dividing" their land among their own families. Religious conservatism still forbids the slaughter of the huge, useless cattle population that battens on India's narrow food base. Lack of storage space has prevented the building up of a substantial grain reserve from the harvest surpluses. The attack on the moneylenders by creating a new rural credit systems has only just started with the proposal to nationalise the Imperial Bank for this purpose."

They make vague proposals. Then we are still less equipped to implement them. What then are we to do about it?

9. We come back to the question of training people. Should we not start a number of training institutes of various kinds all over to fill this gap. Otherwise later we shall be hung up completely.

10. A day or two ago Mahalanobis sent me a long note which is called recommendations for the formula of the Second Five Year Plan. I have not read it yet, but I hope to do so soon. I presume that we shall be considering this in the Planning Commission. Later it would be desirable to convene a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council. The sooner we come to some decisions about these matters, the better, as then we will be cleared for further action, whatever that might be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
2 May 1955

My dear Deshmukh,

A few days ago, you wrote to me about the Community Projects expansion programme and said that a paper was being prepared for the Cabinet. This is as it should be. I have now received a paper from the Planning Commission to say that the meeting of the Central Committee to consider this matter will be postponed till a decision is taken on the general issue.

It would be right, of course, that first a general decision should be taken. I was under the impression that this decision had been taken long ago, though of course we can revise it in view of any fresh facts or considerations. But what worries me is that we are going to have a meeting of the National Development Council in three days' time and this presumably was one of the important issues to be considered by them. If we tell them that we are not sure what we can do about it and we are considering the question still, then we have uncertainty on a subject to which great importance has been attached. I

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to V.T. Krishnamachari.

do not know how we are to get over this difficulty. Probably, nothing which we have done has attracted more world attention than our scheme for community development and more especially the Community Projects. At Bandung, people were asking me about them and many representatives of other countries are coming to see them.

Is it our intention to hold, fairly soon, another meeting of the National Development Council to consider this?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The Second Five Year Plan¹

In his opening speech the Chairman (Jawaharlal Nehru) observed that the Standing Committee of the Council might have to meet a little more often during the course of this year and the National Development Council might also have to meet earlier than it normally did. As the pace of development was becoming faster, they might have to meet more often to consider matters relating to the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan.

Referring to the Second Five Year Plan he said that while a detailed plan had yet to be prepared, some ideas had already been thrown out and rough drafts had been prepared to enable them to consider certain lines of development, to discuss them and then to go into greater detail. They had passed from the stage of planning in which lists of projects were put together and the complexity of the task was now increasing as also its interest. The implications of planning in terms of production, consumption and employment had to be carefully thought out. There were a number of uncertain factors to be taken into account and above all the uncertain human factor. Naturally, the Plan had to be based on such information, data, statistics and experience as was available but constantly through experience and in the light of further information modifications and revisions would be made. The Planning Commission during the past four or five years had collected considerable information, data and experience and so had the state governments. Statistical information available to them was also increasing, though it was certainly not as much as many advanced countries

1. Minutes of the fourth meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 6 May 1955. File No. 17(17)/56-PMS. Extracts.

had. The planning process would not end with the Second Plan, since it was a continuous process. The Second Five Year Plan would naturally be as detailed as they could make it but for the whole period of the Plan it might not be very detailed. It could be more detailed for the first year of the Plan. The Plan had to be flexible and not a rigid thing which could not be bent slightly this way or that way.

Referring to the conditions in the country, the Chairman observed that there was a much more favourable atmosphere for planning in India now than four or five years ago. Five years ago the very idea of planning was not fully understood or appreciated by many people. It might be said now that everybody accepted planning. There might be differences as to the methods of planning, but everybody in India accepted planning and realised that without planning they could not make effective progress and such resources as they had might be wasted or might not be utilised to the best advantage. Further, the achievement of the targets of the First Plan, notably in regard to the increase in food production, had created a sense of satisfaction and a sense of confidence. The targets of the First Plan were no doubt very high but the fact that they were laid down and realised had increased the feeling of self-reliance, and self-confidence and strength in one's capacity to do things.

From the larger point of view of the public, probably the most effective, the most far-reaching and the one producing the greatest results in the public mind generally were the community schemes. Firstly, they were spread all over the country. Secondly, they dealt with an essential part of the population and with the rural sector, without moving which the Indian economy could not be got into a dynamic state. These Community Projects had set up an example. They had attracted tremendous attention in other parts of Asia and delegates or representatives from other countries, who came to India, were much impressed by them. While to a small extent these community schemes had been worked out with help from outside, they had essentially been developed in India with Indian thinking and keeping in view the Indian conditions. They had aroused tremendous enthusiasm. In regard to future planning, these Community Projects should be thought of as the focal centres which would be utilised to push ahead the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan.

Referring to the development of village and small industries in the Second Plan, the Chairman said that the present approach to this question had been thrust upon them by the compulsion of circumstances. Apart from the question of providing more employment, there was the need to increase the production of consumer goods. In the Second Plan they were going to give greater attention to heavy industry because without heavy industry the foundations of rapid progress could not be laid. Production of heavy industry had, however, to be balanced by large and rapid production from cottage and small-scale industries. These small-scale industries did not absorb so much capital as the large ones

but being widespread they were far more difficult to organise. The work of organisation had to be undertaken all over the country and should not wait for the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan. For this purpose also Community Projects would serve as excellent units.

As regards resources required for the Second Plan, the Chairman said that if the present methods and approach were continued, the rate of advance in future could not be rapid and there would be a great deal of frustration and disappointment among the people. They had to decide what the pace of progress in future should be and how rapidly reduction in unemployment had to be brought about. It had been estimated that in the last four or five years there had been an annual increase of three per cent in the national income. This had no doubt yielded some results but the rate of progress was not rapid enough to meet the problem of unemployment. In the papers relating to the plan frame it had been suggested that the national income should be increased at the rate of five per cent per year on an average i.e. by twenty-five per cent over the five year period. For achieving this rate of advance additional resources would have to be raised. If people thoroughly understood the Plan and saw the direction in which it would take them and the results it was likely to achieve, they would put a larger measure of effort. It was, therefore, essential that the people should join them in their thinking about the Plan. If the Government or the Planning Commission brought out the Plan themselves and placed it before the public the latter might not understand many things and might not accept some of them. On the other hand, when they are associated with the thinking of the Plan they appreciate the difficulties and know that if they want something worthwhile they have to pay for it by hard work. In that way it became easier to tackle the question of resources. Members of Parliament, members of state assemblies, ministers and others should encourage in their states thinking about the plan not only with reference to the limited area with which they are concerned but also in regard to the larger aspects of the Plan.

Even in regard to the raising of resources Community Projects could make a distinct contribution. Through Community Projects and the National Extension blocks they were able to cover 98,000 villages, one half of which were developed in a more intensive way. These could be used as organs for the implementation of the Plan in those areas. The people could be reached more effectively through them than through advertisements in newspapers or even the normal administrative machinery. The Chairman thought that in regard to the loans raised by Government, if the public were reached adequately, their response would be greater. Ultimately, in regard to resources or other matters they could go only as far as the people of India were strong enough to go. It was, however, difficult to guess how the people were prepared to go, because under certain circumstances they had shown extraordinary capacity to do their share.

Referring to the planning in India the Chairman observed what they were doing in India was something unique in history. While countries of Western Europe had built up a magnificent industrial civilisation after 200 years or so of development by drawing upon the resources of their colonial possessions and while countries like Russia had considerable achievements to their credit obtained at a tremendous cost in terms of human life and suffering, India was pursuing an entirely different way which was democratic and peaceful. No other country pursuing this peaceful and democratic method had dealt so rapidly with its problems and raised the living standards as was intended to be done in India.

Concluding, the Chairman said that by the democratic and peaceful method which they had chosen they could accomplish the task before them. His basic reason for this belief was his enormous faith in the Indian people. He felt that if anything is put to them straight, honestly and in a way they are able to understand and if they are taken into confidence, they can be made to do anything.² He was greatly excited about the tremendous adventure, the mighty problem of developing the country, and suggested that in that spirit they should consider their problem and prepare the ground for their next jump—and not step.

The Chairman invited those Members of the Council who had not been present during the meeting of the Standing Committee on May 5 to express their views....

Closing the discussion on the Second Five Year Plan, the Chairman observed that their discussion had revealed broad agreement about the targets proposed in the draft plan frame papers. The question of resources would be considered further at the Centre by a Cabinet committee, which included the members of the Planning Commission. Every state should, however, go into the question of resources more fully. The problem should be considered not only in connection with possibilities of additional taxation but also for raising revenue in other ways. They should suggest what they considered feasible for their states and also from the point of view of the country as a whole.

As regards the backward areas to which reference had been made, obviously special attention had to be given to them. It was, however, not possible to ignore what had been inherited from history and if the suggestion was that programmes in the more advanced areas should be slowed down until the

2. In his letter of 4 April 1955 to V.T. Krishnamachari, Nehru stated: "The one thing on which I laid great stress at our last informal meeting (on 1 April), you will remember, was what I called taking the public into confidence. In this matter, if I may say so, I am a good judge. Nothing is so helpful as the public knowing that you want their advice and you rely upon them. In fact, of course, the actual help coming, in so far as planning is concerned, will be very limited. But the mere approach creates a good atmosphere. This is, of course, even more so in regard to the state governments."

backward areas caught up, progress might come to a standstill. Their objective must be that India as a whole went ahead.

Referring to the question of technical personnel on which several chief ministers had made observations, the Chairman said that measures for the training of such personnel should not wait until the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan. They had to consider whether courses of training could be reduced for specialised work of a lower order so that the number of persons trained could be increased. It was of course dangerous in any field to lower standards, but in their attempt to retain standards they should not create the other difficulty, namely, that enough people might not be available to do work requiring some technical skill. It might be worthwhile to give short-term training to persons needed in large numbers for specialised work of a lesser character.

It had been mentioned during discussion that the provision of Rs 200 crores for the development of village and small industries in the plan frame might not be adequate. The Chairman pointed out that so far it had been found difficult to spend the sums which had been provided for the development of small industries in the First Five Year Plan. The main reason for this was that a great deal of organised effort was required. If it was found possible to utilise effectively Rs 200 crores and more money was required, the additional provision would be forthcoming.

Referring to the suggestion for a larger provision in the Plan for housing schemes, the Chairman said that while the need for more houses was widely recognised, it had to be appreciated that expenditure on housing was not immediately productive except in a social sense. An equal expenditure on productive enterprises would enable them to raise standards of living. It was, therefore, necessary to balance one thing against another and then to work out the Plan.

The work of Community Projects and the National Extension Service should not be judged in a narrow way by referring to the contribution they might have made to the increase in food production. The essential thing about these projects was that they made men and women dynamic and it was ultimately the human beings who counted. Community Projects sought to build men and women and they were the most hopeful sign of growth in India; they were bringing about a social revolution in the country. This was important because the main thing that they had to do was to get out of the state of stagnation which usually characterised underdeveloped countries.

Referring to the observations of some chief ministers regarding the uncertainty about the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, the Chairman said that it would be wrong to hold up the work of planning because of this uncertainty. Even if the boundaries of states had to be adjusted, India would still remain the same and the problems of development would remain unchanged. They should, therefore, go ahead on the existing basis and

if any changes came about as a result of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, the necessary adaptations could be made.

The Chairman suggested that on return to their states the chief ministers might apply their minds to the various ways of raising resources—by taxation, savings and so on. They should give the fullest publicity to what had been discussed in the Council and let the people know about the targets aimed at and the difficulties in regard to the resources. The people must pull their weight and the necessary enthusiasm has to be created to enable them to do so....

The Chairman then explained the programme for the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan. Detailed discussions would be held with the Central Ministries, state governments and industrial and other panels from June to September this year. By October-November, an outline of the Second Five Year Plan would be published and placed before the Parliament for consideration and by March 1956 the Second Five Year Plan would be published. The Chairman suggested that it would be desirable for the National Development Council to meet in October to consider the draft outline before it was published....

8. Community Projects¹

Three years ago I inaugurated the first conference of Development Commissioners for Community Projects.² I spoke bravely then of the great task ahead. None of us knew at the time how this new adventure would shape itself and what results it would bring.

Now, three years later, the fourth conference³ of Development Commissioners is meeting to review their work and to plan for the future. Last year at Ootacamund,⁴ after considering the work done during two years, they

1. Message to the fourth conference of Development Commissioners of the Community Projects Administration, New Delhi, 7 May 1955. JN Collection.
2. The conference was held at New Delhi on 7 May 1952 and was also attended by cabinet ministers and representatives of the US Technical Cooperation Administration. For Nehru's inaugural speech at the conference, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 18, pp. 51-56.
3. The four-day conference, attended by 150 Development Commissioners from all over India, began at Shimla on 9 May 1955 with an inaugural address by V.T. Krishnamachari.
4. The four-day conference began at Udagamandalam on 27 May 1954 under the chairmanship of V.T. Krishnamachari. For Nehru's message to the conference, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 80-82.

decided to increase the pace and to spread out this network of Community Projects and the National Extension Service⁵ all over India. They laid down as their objective that they would cover the whole of India by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. This was a very brave decision, but I take it that the men who came to this decision did so realistically and knowing fully the nature of the task. They were, in fact, men who were themselves shouldering the burden of this vast scheme and were, therefore, talking with full knowledge of both the success obtained and the problems and difficulties ahead.

They are now meeting on the eve of our drawing up the Second Five Year Plan. Within six months' time from now we hope to present a draft of this Plan and within less than a year the Plan should be finalised and should begin functioning. I say finalised, but there can be no finality or rigidity about such a plan. It must be flexible and capable of change and improvement as fresh experience is gathered. But some targets have to be kept in view and worked up to. There are obvious limiting factors and we cannot merely translate into the words and phrases of our plan our hopes and aspirations. While we should be idealistic, we have to be realists also. We have to calculate our resources. These resources can partly be calculated in terms of past experience and partly in other and more uncertain terms. If our progress is to be faster than in the past, as we hope it should be, then a mere projection of the past is not adequate. The future must necessarily excel the past.

Resources are of many kinds—in money, in labour, in human beings properly attuned to the task before them. This latter is a very flexible and uncertain factor. It may, under fortunate circumstances, exceed any estimate that we can make of it; it may also belie our expectations.

But we have now a certain experience to guide us and this experience of the past few years has increased our faith in our people, made us more self-reliant and emboldened us to think in much bigger terms than in the past.

Much has happened in these few years which has led to this result. But I think that the most significant development of these years has been in the domain of Community Projects and the National Extension Service. Apart from the practical results which have been achieved, and these are both visible and considerable, there is something even more important, even though it cannot be measured and weighed. This imponderable factor is the spirit of the people, the removal of inertia in thought and action, the development of a team spirit in national work and the sense of partnership of the people in great undertakings.

This represents the new dynamism which is so essential to all progress. It means a social revolution in our ways of life and work which is creeping gradually but surely over the vast land of India.

5. The National Extension Service scheme was formulated in April 1953 for rural welfare in India. The scheme was inaugurated in all states on 2 October 1953.

It is because of this that the Community Projects and the National Extension Service have become, more than anything else, the symbols of the resurgent spirit of India. They have not only moved our own people, more especially in the rural areas, but have attracted the attention of other parts of the world, more especially of countries in Asia and Africa which have to face problems rather similar to ours. These community schemes are not a replica or a copy of something from abroad, although we have learnt much from other countries. They are essentially an Indian growth, suited to Indian conditions and therefore with a solid foundation in the soil and the people of India. That is the reason for their strength and their vitality.

The National Extension Service lays a broad foundation all over the country for this work. The Community Projects are the bright, vital and dynamic sparks all over India from which radiate rays of energy, hope and enthusiasm. Both are necessary.

The country is committed to a socialist pattern of society. To bring about this change, we have to do many things in many spheres of activity. But the essential thing is to make freedom secure and broad based, to bring the people in close association and partnership with the apparatus of administration and, more especially, with the working out of our five year plans. We talk of the people's Plan and we talk of the people's Community Project. That is the essence of our approach to this question. No great change can be brought about merely by governmental functioning although that is important, and we aim at great changes.

Therefore it is necessary that these community schemes should be based on the intimate cooperation of the people.

I send my good wishes to this conference and wish it success in the great adventure in which it is engaged.

9. Planning for a Socialist Pattern of Society¹

Planning has become essential for the development of an underdeveloped country like India. With the attainment of Independence, it will not do to merely declare broad objectives. Programmes have to be laid down in concrete terms. No government in the world, however powerful, can establish socialism in the air.

1. Speech while moving the resolution on the Second Five Year Plan at the AICC meeting, Berhampur, 10 May 1955. From the *National Herald*, 11 May 1955.

This is because socialism is something that grows with the social fabric. Government can gradually, by laws or otherwise, change social relationships. But the people have to grow into socialism. One can not thrust it on them.

Let me tell you why I prefer the use of the word "socialism" to *sarvodaya* to describe the country's objective. Although I think *sarvodaya* is a better word than socialism, I am not quite sure whether we deserve to use it. Only men like Acharya Vinoba Bhave have the right to use it. After all he is not only living up to it but also trying to make others live up to it. But if you use the word and water it down, it is not good. The time may come when we shall use it, after we become worthy of doing so.

Moreover, *sarvodaya* has no historical context. It is, of course, true that socialism has also a thousand meanings. But there is a certain historical context behind it. When we say we want a socialistic pattern, it does convey something more or less precise.

The only way to give a firm base to the nation's economy is to build heavy and capital goods industries. Otherwise, a modern state will remain dependent on others. But this alone will not bring in immediate relief to the hard-pressed people. The question, therefore, is one of balancing the two needs: consumer goods and provision of employment. Therefore, encouragement to village and cottage industries becomes necessary.

This argument is not a normal Congress argument although the normal Congress argument is good. But I have deliberately come to the question of village and cottage industries by another argument.

You see, therefore, that while people in the past looked with strong disfavour on village and cottage industries, those thinking today in a planned way have been forced to come to the conclusion that large-scale development of village and cottage industries is essential to our future growth as well as present well-being. If you have heavy industries on one side, it becomes quite essential to balance it with a large-scale growth of cottage and village industries.

We have not done anything big in this respect. In a huge country like India such work requires a great organisation at village level.

The Second Five Year Plan needs to be drafted in concrete terms. In this connection, the Planning Commission has prepared some papers embodying the general approach to the Plan. They were laid before Parliament last week. They can be considered as a tentative draft of the next Plan. But the Commission is not yet quite committed to it. It has published these papers for public information, comments and suggestions. The Commission would profit by these things.

The papers represent a certain approach to the Second Plan. One has now to consider how far this is the right approach. The whole point in putting forward these papers is that the people should be associated not only with the implementation of the Plan later, but also with thinking about it now.

There has been some argument about the rate of advance. It has been calculated that in the past few years the rate of progress (increase in production) has been three per cent per annum. This means that during the Five Year Plan the progress achieved would be fifteen per cent. This was appreciable. But it is not enough to catch up with what is happening. What is happening is that a large number of fresh Indians are being born, I believe, 45 lakhs a year. About 18 lakhs have to be provided employment annually. This makes an increase in the rate of progress necessary.

For the next plan the rate of progress of five per cent per annum has been suggested. This will mean twenty-five per cent increase at the end of the Plan period. In the Third Five Year Plan, the rate will be faster still. Now, all this will require hard work and austerity. It has already been seen that the people of India are capable of bearing enormous burden. But it will be wrong to think of planning in terms only of such heroic levels for all time. For planning hard work is necessary but one should see that there will not be too great burdens. Nevertheless, the point to remember is that to advance at a faster pace, the people must be prepared to shoulder some burdens.

I invite the attention of the members to the portion in the resolution calling upon Congressmen to assist in the formation of cooperative societies and in the working of small-scale and village industries. The Community Project schemes are another field of activity. These schemes are a real growth out of the Indian soil and suit the Indian people. The areas of these schemes have become centres of vital dynamic activity.

10. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1955

My dear Mohanlal,²

Your letter of May 3 with the note on the State Housing Corporation.

I have looked through the note. There is no doubt about the need for housing all over the country and I imagine that such housing corporations are desirable and necessary. But I am of course quite unable to judge of the details of any scheme. I am, therefore, forwarding your note with a covering letter to the Planning Commission. This might be discussed when the chief ministers

1. Mohanlal Saksena Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1896-1965); President, All India Housing Association, 1952-55, and Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

come here. I do not think it will be feasible for me merely to suggest this to the states direct over the head of the Planning Commission. Every such scheme must find some place in the Second Five Year Plan. Broadly speaking, all available resources have to be accounted for in the Second Plan. While housing is undoubtedly very important, there is another aspect of this matter. If a large sum of money goes into housing all over the country, that sum is not available for any other purpose, like the development of industry. Therefore, a balance has to be struck. Housing, though necessary, is not income producing as industry is likely to be. Thus, a large sum is locked up for the present without that measure of increase in capital as might be obtained otherwise. In Germany, some years after the war, there was a terrific shortage in housing owing to widespread destruction by bombing but, deliberately, they paid more attention to the growth of industry first and not to housing. Housing came in the second stage.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

11. The Plan Frame¹

Certain pamphlets recently issued by the Planning Commission have been sent to you separately. These pamphlets were placed before the National Development Council, which consists of the members of the Planning Commission, some ministers of the Central Government and all the chief ministers of states in India. This Council broadly approved of the objectives and the general line of approach contained in the plan frame and in the papers of the economists. It was of course not possible for the Council to consider all the detailed calculations contained in these papers. Essentially these papers were working papers and not final documents. But the general policy has been approved.

2. The Planning Commission will now consider these in much great detail. It is intended that the draft Second Five Year Plan would be prepared by the end of October or the beginning of November. This will be published for public

1. Note on Planning, 28 May 1955. File No. FY II/CD I/12/55, 1955, Coordination Branch, Planning Commission.

information and criticism and five or six months later the final Second Five Year Plan will be issued.

3. Of course, in planning there can be no finality and there is likely to be constant revision of the details in the Plan as further information comes in. When the First Five Year Plan was prepared, the data available was very limited. Now we have not only the experience of the working of the First Five Year Plan, but we have much more data and statistics. Even now, this information is far from adequate and it is added to from time to time.

4. Planning thus becomes a continuous process based on additional information and experience. It must have, however, a definite objective and targets. The broad objective has been laid down to be the realisation of a socialist pattern of society. The narrower objective is to increase production, raise standards and progressively lessen unemployment. It is hoped that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, that is, in about ten or eleven years time, we shall be able to deal adequately with the enormous unemployment problem that we are facing today and practically put an end to it.

5. This is a very ambitious objective to keep before us. But we feel that we can do it, provided of course that we work hard and plan carefully.

6. Planning is of course not merely giving a list of projects and schemes and priorities. It is something much more intricate and complicated and it has to balance the various activities of the nation. Production and consumption have to be balanced. The tackling of the unemployment problem has always to be kept in view as a very immediate objective. All this requires full statistics and calculations not only about production but also of increased consumption as standards rise and, above all, about the additional employment created.

7. You will see that great stress is laid on two factors: the growth of heavy industry to produce capital goods and the wide expansion of village industries for consumer goods.

8. Our resources, financial and other, have necessarily to be kept in mind. But the main approach is what might be called the physical approach, that is, providing for the increasing needs of the community. We are prepared to go far in what is called deficit financing. But we have always to keep in view that this does not create inflation or other evils. If we produce enough, the balance will be maintained.

9. During the last two or three years, there has been a gradual shift in public thinking. This has moved progressively from the political plane to the economic plane. Our people have become plan-conscious. All this is of course a sign of maturity in our people and is to be welcomed. We are now facing real problems which affect the living conditions of our people.

10. A second shift in our outlook is the greater stress laid on physical needs and in what might be called real planning and not merely financial planning. All this is to the good, but this requires careful thinking and an

intensive effort at implementation. This can only be achieved by the widest cooperation of the public. That cooperation can only be obtained by a frank and full approach to them. The people should be taken into our confidence and made to understand not only our objectives but how we are thinking now and the burdens we shall have to carry.

11. It is desirable therefore for this broad approach as contained in these pamphlets to be widely known and discussed.

12. In foreign countries it is not necessary for any detailed consideration of these problems, but it is necessary for our missions abroad to understand these new trends in India and the direction of our thought in planning. As further papers are issued, they will be sent to our state governments as well as to our foreign missions.

12. Aiming at a Higher Growth Rate¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... Now I shall say a little about the Five Year Plan. Although I have spoken now for about an hour about other subjects and elsewhere also I speak about other subjects, my mind is full of the Second Five Year Plan, almost in fact, to the exclusion of other subjects.... Another interesting fact to which I would like to invite attention is this, that in India a marked change has come in the thinking of the people, generally; I don't mean the thinking of the brainy people or the so-called intellectuals, but the thinking of the people generally.

The thinking of India has gradually shifted from the political plane to the economic plane. Not only that; of course, people have to deal with political and international issues and all that and basically it is more and, if I may say so, it is a sign of far greater maturity in a nation to think of economic issues, to think of issues that raise the level of the people, to think of the real problems rather than political issues which however bad or good they may be, are not the real problems. That is a major factor in the country. To some extent that is happening in some other countries of Asia too, but it is happening in India. It is happening in China, but China is part of Asia and it is a very good sign of growing realisation, of growing maturity, realisation of one's problems and a

1. Press conference, New Delhi, 31 May 1955. From the Press Information Bureau. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see *ante*, pp. 300-303 and 328-332 and *post*, p. 431 and pp. 503-505.

determination to tackle them. Many things have led to this but one of these things has been our planning, the First Five Year Plan, a fairly modest effort.

I remember, when we started this Five Year Plan, there was not much understanding of planning, and even amongst some of our senior colleagues, there was not that appreciation or understanding and much less in the case of people generally. It may be said today that the people are plan conscious. They may not understand the intricacies of planning, and they may think planning merely consists of making lists of projects and all that, and each state and each district demanding that this should be done. That, of course, is a part but that is not planning. That is merely making lists of projects and giving priorities to them. It is important but it is not planning; planning is something more definite and more precise. You may make some kind of an objective estimate of your capacity; you may make an objective estimate of your physical needs—needs, of course are tremendous but the immediate needs should be brought in—and you may put certain objectives and targets before you and then, keeping that before you, and determining your resources, trying to calculate how you can achieve those objectives—calculating in the greatest details, not merely saying that we shall have 100 factories or 100 this or that. You have to calculate minutely; you have to see that everything that is produced is consumed; if it is to be consumed, you have to be sure that the person who has to consume will have the purchasing power to consume; you have to calculate its effect on employment and unemployment.

Suppose we have a railway programme—many people want railway lines here and there, but we have to calculate what kind of transport agencies we require, when we have 500 more factories producing various things. Take, for example, the steel plant. We have to calculate how the steel will go out, how the raw materials will come in and so on. A special line will have to be laid and so on, so that it becomes a complicated system of not merely putting up production plants. You may produce but that may not be consumed; the people may not have got the money to consume. So all these factors have to be balanced. You may have to proceed on physical terms which, ultimately, will be checked by our resources which are, I would say, financial plus others. Whatever you produce cannot obviously be the final word; there are so many uncertain factors but, at any rate, you have got something to go by and may be a little later, six months later or a year later, you get more information, more statistical information, and you may have to change your previous plan. We change and gradually we approximate to reality. You must have something carefully calculated before you; otherwise, you will develop an unbalanced economy, you may have inflation; you may have bottlenecks in transport, things being produced cannot be sent anywhere; all kinds of difficulties.

Therefore, planning means something much more than mere listing of projects and giving them priority, and it requires careful planning, collection of

a great deal of data and information. When we made the First Five Year Plan, we did not have all these at our disposal and we took certain big river valley schemes, locomotive engine shops, fertilisers, this, that and the other, plus the agricultural side, land for more production of food. By and large we succeeded in that, and that has given a sense of satisfaction, self-reliance to our people which is very good. In our Second Five Year Plan, we have to proceed in a real planned manner....

All of you may have seen some documents and pamphlets that have been issued by the Planning Commission. In the main, they are three or four. There is something that is called the plan frame which bears the name of Professor Mahalanobis. That, of course, is not quite correct; Professor Mahalanobis is one among the twenty or thirty persons who have framed that, and if I can call him so, he is the convenor of the committee which is doing it, and his name has been given but numerous people advise. That is called the draft of a plan frame; that is, it is the barest skeleton of it, to enable people to think on certain lines. The main thing to understand is that that is the approach; the figures give some idea of our thinking. That draft frame was considered by the economic section of our Planning Commission, and the economic section of the Finance Ministry, and they have produced a pamphlet by and large agreeing with the projects and largely agreeing even with the estimates. All these papers were placed before the panel of economists selected from all over India under the chairmanship of Professor D.R. Gadgil, one of our most eminent economists. They produced a memorandum. Being cautious people they did not say anything about the figures; there they said, "we do not know; they will have to be checked but we accept this subject and the general plans."

Question arose—basic questions—about what our rate of advance should be. That is, what the target should be, because all the planning will depend on that target. Roughly speaking, our rate of advance has been, in the last five years, an addition of three per cent per annum to our national income. That is to say fifteen per cent for the five year period. They came to the conclusion, all of them, that this is not enough. It is barely to keep going, not to go back. Now we could go ahead because we make it four per cent or five per cent or more. What does that mean? Roughly speaking, every one per cent increase involves an investment in some way or other of Rs one thousand crores. It is quite a sum; it is not a joke putting a higher figure. Of course, the investment may come, largely in money, etc., but that means putting a far greater burden on the people. Naturally, if you invest Rs 5,000 crores, it makes a difference of Rs 2,000 crores. Where is the money to come from—either taxation or loan or aid or services, whatever it is. So we have to choose a figure which must tend towards the solution of the problem. It is absurd choosing a figure which does not even make us advance. Let us remember the population is advancing; the employable number is increasing. I think the population increase is $4\frac{1}{2}$

million people or 5 million every year. Out of this, I believe, 18 lakhs are supposed to be employable people, and that is the addition every year. Now, we must not only absorb all these but expand the reservoir of employment. Now, three per cent is not enough; four per cent is enough and a little more, not much more. Five per cent makes a fair deal on this problem. Well, the economic panel said, let us have five per cent not because we like five per cent but because they said we feel that five per cent is within our capacity, provided, we work hard. It will be a great burden but we can just do that. It appears there is five per cent on the one hand and there is the other objective of reducing unemployment. Now, according to figures, about 12 million persons need employment. That does not mean Government employment, but employment in the country in various ways.

Now, all this was placed before the National Development Council. It consists, as you know, of the Planning Commission, central ministers and chief ministers of all the states. They considered all these papers. They could not go into detailed figures. They accepted broadly this approach of planning contained in the plan frame and they said we can't go below five per cent annual increase....

We are now proceeding on the basis of the plan frame of the economic plan paper. All those figures are being examined with state governments, with the central ministries, so that in the course of some months we should produce a plan frame which is more realistic so far as figures are concerned. That is the present position.

In this connection, in some newspapers, periodicals, weeklies, etc., I have read some criticisms. It is hardly any criticism. I might mention that on that economic panel there were 20 or 22 economists. They all agreed with this approach except one who presented a kind of minute of dissent.²

So far as we are concerned, we have agreed with the majority of 21 and not with the minority of one. Now I have seen some criticisms on this basis. What is this panel? It is said that it is the introduction of authoritarianism, or communism. "Professor Mahalanobis has five or six Soviet panels in his institute and puts across these communist ideas, authoritarian ideas. Dr J.C. Ghosh³ has

2. In his note of dissent, dated 22 April 1955, on the memorandum of the economists' panel, B.R. Shenoy, Professor of Economics at the Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, stated that the plan frame and the memorandum were "overambitious" as there was unrealistic estimation of the existing resources and, with savings falling short, there would be deficit financing leading to inflation or a "communistic control through controls". He also criticised the proposed nationalisation of industries, higher taxation, and creation of a national labour force to implement the Plan.
3. Ghosh was appointed a member of the Planning Commission on 17 May 1955 to deal with planning relating to education, health and scientific and industrial research.

come into the Planning Commission; he is a communist or he has leftist tendencies. And so far as I am concerned, I am always a doubtful quantity. So we do not know where we are." Now, it would not be worthwhile dealing with this type of approach instead of dealing with the actual things said. If there is good in anything communistic, I am going to have it. If anything anti-communistic is good, I shall have it. I do not function in that way, communist or anti-communist. I take what is good for my country. We have got a democratic framework or structure of Constitution. We value it. We propose to adhere to it and to plan within that democratic structure. Now, if anybody is going to tell me that a democratic structure means no planning, I am not prepared to accept that statement. And if there is that conflict, then we will have to think what structure to have because one has to make progress. Confusion comes in by some people imagining that a democratic structure necessarily involves absolutely free play to private enterprise and no interference from the state. Now, there is absolutely no assumption for that, no reason, no justification for that assumption. Obviously in a democratic structure, you cannot adopt authoritarian methods and force them down the throat of the people. We won't do it. We can take the people to the extent they agree to go. That is admitted. Within the framework of that democratic structure, we have to do that.

After all whatever you may do—even if you have a large plant, the directors of that plant have to plan production, every big undertaking which you have, the undertaking of running a state, this huge thing, India, with 360 or 370 million people, you can't leave it to chance. You plan with date. You plan with many uncertain factors too, because every human being is an uncertain factor and there happen to be 360 million uncertain factors in India. But, gradually, with experience, you get nearer and nearer and you learn from experience. No plan can be a final plan. It is always a plan which will improve with experience.

We want to add to our national wealth. We feel almost that no great progress can be made unless we develop our heavy industry. Now, in the First Five Year Plan we did consider heavy industries so much, to some extent we did; many things we did in the nature of heavy industry, but essentially we paid attention to agriculture and river valley projects, which river valley projects produced power which was necessary for the development of industry, big and small. Now, we have to develop heavy industry in a big way. If we put in any figure, say, a thousand crores or two thousand crores, in heavy industry, that money is locked up, that is, the heavy industry does not produce anything for four or five years. So money goes into circulation, but it is not balanced by goods produced, with the result that inflation might occur or some such things might occur. We must have heavy industry to produce machines. But it does not produce goods. So we have to balance that with the production of goods,

other goods to be consumed, so that the additional money that we pump in, say, two thousand crores, from the people's wages, salaries, etc., can be utilised in buying goods which are available. Therefore we have to think of the other side. In thinking of the other side, that is, consumer goods, we have also to think always of the employment side. Heavy industry would no doubt employ people but relatively few. It may be a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand or even a quarter of a million, it is a large number. But in heavy industry, if you consider the relative proportion of capital put in and man-power used, man-power is less ultimately, making heavy industry capital intensive, not labour intensive.

Now, we came to the conclusion that to balance this heavy industry, we must have village industries and small industries on a wider scale, for consumer goods. We are not leaving out or ignoring what might be called the light industry. That grows and that will grow, but so far as the state is concerned, we want to lay stress on heavy industry on one side and village and small industries on the other. In the latter case for two reasons. One, it gives employment to large numbers of people and, secondly, they would produce goods and, we hope, in large quantities, of a certain type, chiefly for the rural area, sometimes even for the towns. When we talk about village industries, they include small industries too, Khadi, etc., and we want to use as far as possible, the latest techniques in village industries. We do not believe in old techniques because they are old. They must be the latest provided we can use them in the household, in the cottage in the village. We certainly want to use electric power if we can get it. Therefore we have several institutes to think of these improved techniques for the village and better methods of production of household industries. Now, that is the main approach to the problem, and I take this village industry business. Probably it is the most difficult thing that we have to do. It is not so difficult to put up an iron and steel plant, as it is to organise India on the basis of this production, of raw materials to be supplied, higher techniques to be employed, marketing facilities, credit facilities, and, finally we want to do it in a cooperative way, that is, through organised cooperatives. It is a terrific job, bigger than the big plants that we have put up. Now, all this comes in our Five Year Plan.

Then again, you know that one of the biggest things that we have done and are doing, is the Community Projects and the National Extension Service blocks. I wonder how many of you have been there; you write about it of course but I wonder how many of you have been there, because it is something really remarkable that is happening over the face of rural India and, without exaggeration, I say that is a revolutionary thing that is happening over rural India wherever these Community Projects are going on. People coming from other countries have been astonished at what they have seen, but our own people do not realise it. People from diverse countries, England, the United

States of America, Russia, Indonesia, Burma, West Asian countries, all these from different viewpoints have all been surprised at this development, development not merely of more production, more this and more that, but the development of the human being here. That is the important and the revolutionary thing. Now, obviously we have to tag this on to the large-scale village industry programme, but we cannot have two separate vast organisations. How to do it is not an easy matter. So I should like to think of these projects, planning these broad and big objectives which we have, and I should like you to bring this home to the people through your newspapers, etc., because we want to carry them with us. We can never succeed in this programme unless we have the wholehearted cooperation of a few hundred million people in India. We propose to have it fast. Only then will we get adequate resources and only then we will get the atmosphere. Now we feel that we have got the beginnings of that atmosphere, self-reliance, etc., partly because of the success of the last Five Year Plan, the food position and some other things. We get a good beginning especially because the successful Community Projects have produced a new atmosphere in these areas and, the Community Projects and the National Extension Service blocks are functioning today in a hundred thousand villages of India, a large number, and by the end of next year it will be 150,000 or so. It is going fast. Our main problem in fact is training of personnel for these on the lowest grade, the village level workers, the supervisor, this, that and the other. Having done that, our main problem still remains that these should be run by non-official sources by public cooperation.

Q: What is the experience of Kosi, of public cooperation?

JN: My experience in regard to Kosi has been, broadly speaking, very pleasing. I know of the criticisms that were made about Kosi⁴—we have a habit of criticising. You can criticise Bhakra-Nangal, that this engineer misbehaved and that engineer misbehaved. Perfectly true, but you forget you have put up something which is amazing. You forget that you have done something in Bhakra-Nangal which will stand for generations and centuries. Now, we have

4. N.R. Malkani, MP. in an interview to *The Hindustan Times* correspondent after a four-day tour of the Kosi project area, said that work on the eastern embankment which was being done with public cooperation was not making headway. "I doubt ... of even 25% work on the embankment will be completed by the end of May and I honestly do not understand as to what kind of an embankment it will be or what will be its fate in the first monsoon rush of the Kosi." He was of opinion that the engineering-cum-administrative staff employed in the project was too occupied with making payment of wages to the numerous workers, to do full justice to the important task of supervision of work on embankments.

done plenty of work, *shramdan* and that type of work and thousands of miles of roads have been made and all that. But Kosi was the first attempt that we tried, to get this kind of labour, public cooperation on a large scale in a large project. It is our first experience. Many persons doubted if people would come. Many good people who were favourably inclined said: "How can we get twenty or thirty thousand people voluntarily coming and helping in this?" The engineers were doubtful as to how they would have to deal with this public factor. Normally they are used to functioning in particular ways. A set of trained people come usually under contractors and they do the job. But this was an unheard of thing, to adjust to large numbers of villagers who were coming and offering to do work. The engineers were considering as to how they should deal with them.

The first reaction to this was that far more people came than anybody had imagined—a very large number, twenty to thirty thousand people—in fact, we had to stop them from coming.⁵ Now, that itself, even if nothing else had happened, was a very encouraging factor, that large numbers are prepared to come. Of course, they were given wages. They were paid slightly less than the others, I think... But the fact is that they were normal peasants and came not so much to earn wages, but because they were interested in the Kosi project. The appeal was: "Here is this Kosi river causing floods every year, disastrous floods. Come and help". So they came to help. That response was most encouraging—regardless of what they did afterwards. I cannot say their work was hundred per cent up to standard or fast enough. That is another matter. We came to the conclusion that we had succeeded in the first major phase.

Then, in regard to the work they did, it was, of course, not any skilled work. But we had many reports from engineers of very good work. We had some reports from some areas which were not well done. And they did not work as fast as we had hoped that they might. All these difficulties arose. Then, on the eastern bank of the river, conditions were difficult. Even supply of drinking water was difficult. They came and went away. So it is quite easy to point out difficulties and where we did not quite succeed in reaching our target. But basically the Kosi experiment of public cooperation succeeded, I think, remarkably well. Now, we have learnt from that and will do better next time.

Q: Sir, as a result of the success of the First Five Year Plan, the food prices have gone down and that is worsening the condition of the

5. In response to an appeal made by Gulzarilal Nanda, the Members of Parliament from Bihar set up on 2 April 1955 a seven-member committee to help mobilise labour for public cooperation work through the Bharat Sevak Samaj on the Kosi project.

peasants. How do you propose to safeguard the agriculturist in the next Five Year Plan? While the food prices have come down by more than 40 per cent, the prices of manufactured goods have not come down at all?

JN: Everybody knows that food prices have come down considerably, and the others, though they may have not come down much—I am not going to discuss this matter—prices coming down is a good thing, not too far down certainly. This is not due to the Five Year Plan alone, but due to many causes. In a sense, lower prices are better than higher prices; it makes it much easier for us. Let us take one thing: deficit financing and all that. We can go ahead much more, give money to the people in wages, salaries, etc. I do not mean to say that we want the prices to go on falling. I do not like that. We have to help them in as many ways as we can, but we must not be—I do not think we need be—frightened by that.

Q: Sir, you said that the national income is to be raised by five per cent in the Second Five Year Plan. You also anticipated that an investment of a thousand crore of rupees would be necessary to raise the national income by one per cent. So roughly it would require 5,000 crores of rupees. Has any of these economists or Professor Mahalanobis calculated with equal precision the resources that would be available for the Second Five Year Plan?... Usually it is the Planning Commission which calculates the resources, etc. But it is left to Professor Mahalanobis and the note was drafted by him...

JN: You seem to forget that he is part of the Planning Commission. His organisation is part of the Planning Commission....

The Planning Commission specifically referred this matter to our statistical people headed by Professor Mahalanobis; and he and his colleagues and a number of foreign advisers and professors who come to the Indian Statistical Institute to lecture there—a remarkable variety of them with somewhat different views. But when thinking of the terms statistically, apart from high views, there was a good deal of common thinking. Professor Mahalanobis and his colleagues produced this plan frame.

The actual resources calculation can be done by them, of course, as it can be done by you to some extent. How can you do it? Well, in the last four years our revenue has been so much—Central revenue and states revenue. We may presume that certainly we can raise—perhaps we might say we might be able to raise 20 per cent more—by taxation. Then we calculate how much loans we can raise. Again you take loans. You calculate as to how much more we can get. Then you count what aid you may get from foreign and other sources.

Then you calculate, apart from money resources, how much we can get in the shape of labour, etc. The device is that you make a calculation—the lowest limit is the present because we know it from the past 3 years; the upper limit is as far as we can go. There is one limit beyond which we cannot go. So we have to go between the upper and the present limit.

The statistician can do it to the best of his knowledge and we have in fact our finance committee who can do it. The Planning Commission can consider it and then we combine all these—we get all these people to do it and finally the Planning Commission comes to the conclusion. In fact, the Planning Commission has appointed a special committee of some experts—of themselves, the finance committee and others—to calculate our resources. In doing that I have given you certain factors but one factor is uncertain or rather certain to an extent, but uncertain to another extent. That is about how the 360 million people of India will work. Will they work hard, are they prepared to undergo some burden, some austerity or not and to what extent? I will give an instance. In wartime a country does infinitely more than in peace. They work hard, they put up with dangers and burdens and they produce more, because it is a life and death struggle for their country, and they do it. Well, it is rather difficult to expect that in peacetime, but they may function nevertheless somewhere between normal peacetime and wartime level if they are eager enough and conscious enough that what they are doing will certainly make the resources go up. Take the loans from the public. Take the last loan—National Loan that we issued.⁶ It had a fairly good response—not a terrific one but a fairly good one. If you analyse it, you will find that in some areas where the popular approach was greater than in others, the response was much greater, unexpectedly greater. Where it was a purely governmental approach more or less, the response was less so that much depends on what the approach is to the people. When people realise that when they give the money to government they are giving money which will come back to them, and they would get better facilities and more wealth, then of course they pay more. These are problems about resources, etc., which have to be carefully considered....

6. The Government of India floated the National Plan Loan on 19 April 1954 to meet the requirements of the Central and state governments.

(ii) Social Welfare Legislation

1. To Meenakshi D.S. Bakhle¹

New Delhi
March 5, 1955

Dear Mrs Bakhle,²

I have received your letter of the 4th March, together with the resolutions you have sent. Any communication representing the views of your Council deserves attention. I might inform you, however, that we have given the closest attention to this matter, and I do not think that your fears or your interpretation of the amendment to the Constitution³ are justified. I shall not discuss this matter here. It will, no doubt, be considered by the Select Committee fully.⁴ I should like, however, to draw your attention to the Directive Principle of the Constitution about social justice. There can be no social justice so long as there is a great difference in wealth, income and opportunity between different sets of people. Individual freedom has been guaranteed by the Constitution, but I am not aware of any provision of the Constitution which lays down the freedom for the rich to remain very rich and the poor to remain very poor.

The right to compensation has not been taken away at all except in some very few and obvious cases. Nor is there any interference with trade or business or the right to hold property except when this infringes a social purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Meenakshi Bakhle was President, Bombay Presidency Women's Council, at this time.
3. The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, introduced in the Lok Sabha on 20 December 1954, was aimed at amending the Constitution following the Supreme Court's interpretation of Article 31 in the three cases (*Dwarkadas v. Sholapur Spinning Company*, *State of West Bengal v. Subodh Gopal*, and *West Bengal Cooperative Society v. Bela Banerjee*) decided by it in 1954. The Court held that if state action withheld any property from the possession and enjoyment of the owner or materially reduced its value, the abridgement of the owner's rights would amount to deprivation, and in every such case the law provided for compensation to the owner. The Bill sought to empower the legislature to determine the scale of compensation, keeping the authority to probe into the reasonableness of the compensation outside the purview of courts.
4. The Bill was referred to a Joint Committee, consisting of 45 members of Parliament, on 14 March 1955.

2. To P.N. Singh Roy¹

New Delhi
March 7, 1955

Dear Sir,²

Your letter of the 25th February has only reached me today.³ I hasten to reply to it.

2. I have read this letter with considerable surprise. I can understand some difference of opinion about any matter of policy, but your letter puts forward, in intemperate language, a viewpoint which I thought had ceased to have any significance long ago. It is, therefore, a little difficult for me to deal with out of date notions and a passionate fervour for the protection of vested interests, whatever the consequences.

3. You refer to the Constitution and suggest that it should not be amended as it is sacrosanct. I happen to be one of those who took some considerable part in the making of this Constitution. If you will take the trouble to read what I said in the Constituent Assembly, you will find that I expressed even then the opinion which I do now. I interpreted these articles on those lines and the House did so also. The law courts, however, have, in their wisdom, disagreed with that interpretation. We have to accept their views in regard to interpretation. But the formation of policy is not a matter for law courts. If an error was made in the drafting of our Constitution, which has been pointed out by the law courts, that error has to be remedied. No private interest can have precedence over the national interest or the social welfare of the people. That is a fundamental axiom in which we have believed for the last 35 years at least.

4. You will also remember that the Constitution lays down as its Directive Principle—social justice. It is apparent that you are not interested in this social justice or the welfare of the people as a whole. You only appear to be interested in private vested interests.

5. I regret I cannot agree with you or the Committee of Management of the British Indian Association whose views you have represented in your letter.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Singh Roy was honorary secretary, British Indian Association, Calcutta.

3. Singh Roy wrote that the Constitution was a sacrosanct body of laws and Parliament should not assert its "undisputed supremacy" to alter it too often. The Committee of Management of the British Indian Association, he added, were astounded to find that while Government admitted its moral responsibility to pay compensation on acquisition of private property, it empowered itself to determine the scale of compensation, and that the authority of law courts to probe into the reasonableness of the compensation was also proposed to be taken away.

3. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

April 3, 1955

Nan Dear,²

You sent a telegram to me sometime ago about apprehensions of businessmen about certain matters. These were three: changes in the Income-Tax Law, the proposed legislation of Managing Agents and the amendment of the Constitution.³

So far as the Income-Tax Law is concerned, I enclose copy of a letter from the Finance Minister.

As regards the legislation of Managing Agents, Butler spoke to me about it and subsequently wrote to me. I sent him a note prepared by our Finance Ministry. I enclose a copy of it.

I have already replied to you about the Constitution amendment.⁴ This amendment is exactly in line with what I and others had said at the time of Constitution-making. The courts, however, interpreted the Constitution differently and came in our way in regard to the zamindari legislation. We are now correcting that. It is true that compensation has to be given, but the quantum and the principles of it will be determined by the law and not by the courts, i.e., the courts will not be able to judge about the adequacy. This is the law in England.

In all these amendments, we are chiefly thinking of large-scale schemes of social reform or social engineering as it is sometimes called, and not of individual acquisitions. In any event, we have no intention of not giving proper compensation. In fact, we have no intention of acquiring these industrial concerns except when there is some utter mismanagement or some wider considerations of policy require it.

1. JN Collection.
2. (1900-1990); Indian High Commissioner in the UK, 1954-61.
3. In her telegram of 31 March Vijayalakshmi wrote that a group of British businessmen came in deputation and requested an authoritative statement by Nehru in Parliament, in order to allay serious fears in prospective investors' minds and impairment of India's credit abroad. They wanted the Government to ensure payment of compensation for extinguishment or modification of rights which would be fair and reasonable, particularly in case of foreign investors.
4. On 1 April, Nehru telegraphed that the select committee had reported on the Constitution Amendment Bill, simplifying previous proposals. It proposed that in cases of acquisition of property, compensation must be given but the principles governing this compensation would be decided by law and not the courts. Government had no intention of penalising Indian industry and foreign investors whose cooperation they required, Nehru added.

These amendments, of course, are chiefly to meet Indian conditions, and have not much to do with foreign investors here. Thus, there is a reference to minerals and mineral oil in the amendment. The fact is that, just before independence, some of the old rulers of states gave ridiculous concessions about mineral rights.

So far as foreign interests are concerned, we have to consider always another aspect. It never pays to destroy one's credit in the foreign market, and we have no intention of doing anything which might have that effect. Also, all major investments by foreigners are usually by contract with the Government of India. For the Government to break its own contract would be bad. Governments do not do this kind of thing. Therefore, there really is no question of apprehension on the part of foreign investors in India. I have made this clear already in Parliament and elsewhere. This evening, I spoke at length at a huge public meeting in Delhi⁵ and again made this clear. I shall refer to it when the Bill comes up before Parliament again.

It might interest you that, a few days ago, the Chairman of the ICI came to India. One of the reasons for his visit was apprehensions about our recent policies. He came to see us a few days ago, after he had been some little time in India. He told us that, after seeing things as they are in India, he was completely satisfied and he had no fear about the future. Indeed, he intended to advise his company to make further investments in India.

With love from
Jawahar

5. See *post* pp. 433-440.

4. The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, as reported by the Joint Committee, be taken into consideration."²

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 11 April 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. III, Pt. II, 1955, cols 4830-4846. Extracts.
2. On 31 March 1955, the Joint Select Committee recommended that all questions relating to the adequacy of compensation be decided by the legislature outside judicial purview.

The House will remember that when this matter came up on the previous motion to appoint a Joint Committee, we had a fairly full and, if I may say so, a very profitable discussion in this House. As a result of that discussion, the House agreed to send this Bill to a Joint Committee and, if I remember right, the House agreed by a rather unusually big majority—in fact, only 8 or 9 persons disagreed in all this House. When this matter went up to the other House also, in connection with the appointment of the Joint Committee—it went up there with our recommendation—that other House, if I may say so, went a step further and unanimously agreed to send it to the Joint Committee. I mention these facts to show what an astonishing, almost unanimity of opinion there has been in Parliament over this matter, and quite rightly so, if I may say so with all respect.

One would imagine, sometimes reading or hearing some criticisms made outside this House, that this was a measure over which opinion was rent in twain, that it was a highly controversial measure which proposed something to be done which was very extraordinary. And, yet, when one comes to see actually what has happened in this House or the other House, one finds that those persons who were most intimately connected with this matter in the sense that they are considering it directly, Members of this House, Members of the other House, those who have listened to arguments for and against, have, by and large, nearly all of them, come to one broad conclusion in favour of this amendment of the Constitution. This should be remembered because an attempt is made—outside this House, of course, outside Parliament—to create an impression contrary to this.

Now, this Bill went up to the Joint Committee and I am not, I think, saying anything that may be considered secret when I say that the proceedings of the Joint Committee were quite remarkable for their, shall I say, cooperative approach to this problem, for their understanding approach and for their near-unanimous approach to this problem. In fact, the Bill as it has emerged from the Joint Committee might almost be considered—because, naturally, every Member of the Joint Committee has the right to say what he has to say or may say—but, it may almost be considered to represent the opinion, the views of almost every Member of the Joint Committee, which consisted of people of various parties and various views. I merely mention this to place the House in possession of the background. Now, after the report of the Joint Committee was prepared and passed in this cooperative manner by almost every Member of the Joint Committee, some minutes of dissent have been received....

Now, we come to the major and the longest minute of dissent of the honourable Member, Shri Chatterjee,³ in which he has quoted from high legal

3. N.C. Chatterjee (1895-1972); President, Hindu Mahasabha, 1952-55, and Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

authorities, apart from the fact that he is himself a high legal authority. Now, exactly what is this Bill? What is the attempt to amend this Constitution? It is odd that words are thrown about confiscation of property, of expropriation when actually what the Constitution or the amended Constitution, if you amend it, says is that there will be no such thing except by law and except on payment of compensation. Remember that. The quantum of compensation is to be determined by the legislature. Now, there are so many quotations given by Shri Chatterjee about due process of law—for instance he says:

“A distinguished American Judge observed “a great desire to improve the public condition is not enough to warrant achieving the desire by a shorter cut than the constitutional way....”.

Well, I say, this is the constitutional way, and what is proposed is the definite, legal and constitutional way of doing it and we are varying or amending the Constitution in the constitutional way. I do not quite understand this throwing about of words, about expropriation and confiscation and doing things apart from the law. Remember this that the sole major change is to make clear one thing which I submitted on the last occasion, was clear to us at the time this Constitution was framed. That is to say, according to the Constitution as put forward before the Constituent Assembly and as it emerged from the Constituent Assembly, the quantum of compensation or the principles governing compensation would be decided by the legislature. This was made perfectly clear. Now, it is obvious that those who framed the Constitution failed in giving expression to their wishes accurately and precisely and thereby the Supreme Court and some other courts have interpreted it in a different way. The Supreme Court is the final authority for interpreting the Constitution. All I can say is that the Constitution was not worded as precisely as the framers of the Constitution intended. What the framers of the Constitution intended is there for anyone to see. All that has been done now is to make that wording more precise and more in accordance with what the framers of the Constitution at that time meant and openly said. That is the only thing. So, I do not understand this measure of excitement and agitation in people's minds—not in this House, but elsewhere—about this matter.

May I say straight off that I think, with all respect, that the Joint Committee has certainly improved the Bill from what it was previously? Naturally, I accept this Report and their recommendations completely. Of course, there might be one or two minor changes that we might agree to—we have one or two minor changes in view—but apart from that, I think that it would be a pity to amend this as it has emerged from the Joint Committee's consideration of it. It has emerged, as the House will see, in a much simpler form. It is shorter and simple than before and that itself is desirable. Because of a change made—I am sorry I forget the numbers—to Article....

T.T. Krishnamachari:⁴ Article 31(2).

JN: Yes. This slight change makes the point clear and as a consequence of that change, it was not necessary to add in the next clause, the third clause, a long list of matters. We have shortened that. That is practically all that has been done.

What exactly is our approach to this basic question? Shri Chatterjee has written at length and has begun by referring to the makers of the Indian Constitution having deliberately conferred certain Fundamental Rights. I was one of those humble individuals who had something to do with the making of the Constitution; there are others sitting here who had recorded their views in their speeches then. I do submit that those makers of the Constitution were perfectly clear as to what they meant and I do submit that what we are putting before the House in this Joint Committee's Report is precisely and exactly what they said at that time, so far as 31(2) is concerned. There is nothing new about it and there is nothing very terrible about it. The whole Constitution is based on the proposition that it must proceed by law and, secondly, that compensation should be paid, except in certain specified cases of a small number. Generally speaking, compensation must be paid, but in regard to the determination of what the compensation should be, it is left to the legislature. To repeat what I said four or five years ago, if anything is done by the legislature which is considered a fraud on the Constitution, it is a different matter—then the courts may come in—but otherwise it should not be open to the courts to challenge the decision of the legislature on this point. It is a simple issue. Where does expropriation or the rest come in? I really do not understand it. The view in regard to property which Shri Chatterjee has put forward in his minute of dissent and in which he is supported by some high legal authorities, is one with which I cannot agree. It may be that, as Shri Chatterjee says quoting a great political thinker, "men will sooner forget the death of their relatives than the confiscation of their property". We rather not encourage such men in this country. It is a monstrous thing that property should be made a God, above human beings. To put it this way, that whatever a man may do—he may even commit murder—it is nothing, but property is a God and must be worshipped—well, this Government is not prepared to accept that view of property at all.

Repeatedly, Shri N.C. Chatterjee refers to the use of the phrase "the sanctity of private property", as though there was something divine or semi-divine about it. It is a right—property. The possession of property is a thing which we recognise, which we protect, and it is defined here how compensation is to be given if a man is deprived of it. There it is. But to talk in these terms, if I may

4. (1899-1974); Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, 1952-55; and Iron and Steel, 1955-56.

say so, of sanctity, divinity, etc., being attached to property is very much out of date. It has no relation, not only to present days but to present-day facts. I am not referring to what may be called socialistic or communistic countries, but to countries which are presumed to be capitalistic and the like. The whole conception, the whole approach is changing. If Shri Chatterjee quotes something from the judges of the middle of the 19th century, that may have been the way of thinking then. It is not so now. The whole idea and approach to this question is changing. These questions do not arise in this particular amendment to the Constitution.

Again, Shri Chatterjee quotes—rather, he quotes someone who quotes an eminent English jurist as having said that “the public good is in nothing more essentially interested than in the protection of private property”. I would like the House to consider these words: “Public good is in nothing more essentially interested than in the protection of private property”. That is what I call an astounding and amazing statement—that the highest public good is the protection of private property, more than everything else. I do submit that not only we should not agree to it but we should reject it summarily and absolutely—such a statement—whoever might have made it.

Shri Chatterjee goes on to say that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property. I agree completely. Who is doing so? Is this arbitrary deprivation of property? Firstly, the law does not do it. Secondly, the law lays down rules and regulations on the principles of compensation. Where does arbitrariness come in? I mention this because quite unnecessarily people do not see what is being done and I regret even some people who write in newspapers do not see exactly what is being done and they write about things without understanding the purport of them. They talk loosely and use these words: expropriation, confiscation, arbitrary action. There is nothing of the kind anywhere.

Then, Shri Chatterjee has referred to the United States Constitution in this respect. Now, the United States Constitution is a great document, but I do not think it is quite appropriate to compare it with our Constitution or to compare our Constitution with it or to say that our Constitution is based on it. Of course, we have taken a good many things from it and many more things from the Constitution of the United Kingdom. But, nevertheless, our Constitution is neither the Constitution of the United Kingdom, much less of the United States. The whole basis of the United States Constitution dates back to sometime of the 18th century. It is not obviously a very recent document. It represents the idea of the fathers of the American Constitution and the American nation at that time and they produced a very fine document, but for us to consider it in another country, in India, in the middle of the 20th century is hardly a reasonable proposition.

So, I should like Parliament to remember these basic things. Here is something that is being proposed which in effect is clarifying, elucidating, the

Constitution and bringing it completely in line with what the makers of the Constitution intended. Unfortunately, they did not do so in clear enough language, and therefore the courts have interpreted it differently. So, firstly, it is a matter of elucidation. Secondly, it is wrong to say that we are suggesting any arbitrary action, any confiscatory action or any expropriatory action. In fact, the Constitution has said that there should be compensation by law. But it is true that the quantum of compensation will be determined by the legislature. I cannot say offhand what in a particular case the legislature might do. But, by and large, if you have to govern this country democratically, you have to trust the legislature not only in this but in a hundred other matters of far greater moment. This legislature might decide on some far-reaching change affecting, well, the question of war and peace—a tremendous thing. Surely the Supreme Court will not decide that. It may decide technical questions in other ways which directly or indirectly will even affect property, planning, and all kinds of things may be done which will have a powerful effect on our social structure and economic structure and everything. But it is the legislature's will in such matters that is bound to prevail. There is no way out of it. To single out this question of the compensation to be given to property and to take it out of the purview of the legislature in the sense of somebody else revising the legislature's decision seems to me a basically wrong approach, unless of course you think that property is something semi-divine and that the protection of private property is to the largest good of the nation which obviously hardly any one today can say.

I venture to place before this House this simple amendment which, I am glad to say, is an improvement in the select committee, and it is simpler and clearer. I should imagine that there is really not much room for argument left. After all, it is a simple provision.

Now, I do not know how one has to deal with the fears and apprehensions. There is no remedy for fear except the absence of fear. Today, in the larger context of the world, nations are afraid and because they are afraid they often say and do the wrong things, afraid of each other, and things get worse. I do not know what we shall do about it in the international sphere. It is true perhaps that some people in this country, maybe some outside, have got all manner of apprehensions. Also sometimes it is said that "well, it is all right in the present Parliament but what about other Parliaments?" "It may be all right in the present government". In fact, Shri Chatterjee himself has hinted darkly at the picture of the time when this government may be no more. I am glad that Shri Chatterjee appreciates the virtues and values of this government. Now, at any time, for us to think of a distant future, a distant time, as to what may happen is not a very useful or profitable occupation at any time, much less so at the moment when it has become a truism to say that the world is in a state of great transitional stage. All those kinds of things may happen. Even if we manage to escape big wars, other enormous changes have happened and may happen—technological

changes which are changing the structure of society—as it happened when the Industrial Revolution came and when it changed the whole relationship of human beings. The whole thing changes, everything. The idea of property changes with the coming of the technological revolution. It is changing. Now, these enormous technological changes are taking place and their pace becomes hotter and hotter—atomic energy and the atom bomb. I am not thinking in terms of war now, for the moment. But atomic energy is releasing enormous forces which are bound to change and which are changing human life.

In this tremendous age, to think in a static way and to imagine that property has exactly the same place in human life as it used to, means that you have stopped thinking at all. So, these apprehensions and fears appear to me completely unjustified. There is nothing to be apprehensive about in this world. Far bigger and far greater things and disasters might suddenly confront the world and in this context for somebody to be afraid of some mill or plant or factory being acquired, seems to me to be a thing completely out of proportion. So far as this government is concerned, so far as I am concerned, my mind is perfectly clear on this subject. Mind you, I have no respect for property. I have no respect for property at all except perhaps some personal belongings. I respect the other person's respect for property occasionally: that is a different matter. But I am speaking—the House will forgive me—in a personal sense: I have no property sense. It seems a burden to me to carry the property; it is a nuisance. In life's journey one should be lightly laden; one cannot be tied down to a patch of land or building or something else. Maybe, I cannot quite appreciate this tremendous attachment to property—the property sense. But, while not appreciating I realise and recognise it is there. But, anyhow, I think the proposition that some honourable Members on the other side advanced about acquisition or confiscation without compensation seems to me a basically wrong proposition from the point of view of the public good—not from love of property or anything like that. It is basically a wrong proposition. In a particular case if a person misbehaves, that is a different matter. I am talking in the broad sense: I do not want anything to be acquired except—normally speaking—on payment of just compensation.

I need not refer to any foreign capital here. I am always surprised to hear this proposal being put forward repeatedly: confiscate or expropriate foreign capital. Anything which is more unthinkable, unthought of and unrealistic, I cannot imagine; it has no relation to reality—this kind of thing—quite apart from what we may do within our country. Because no country, I say and I repeat, whether it is socialist or communist or any other country that may arise, except in a thunder of war or revolution which is a different matter—things happen there not because of law or decision but because of forces which are at motion—no country does that to a foreign country. I am quite certain that the Soviet Union will never do it in regard to any foreign capital that may be

there: it will never do it because it affects one's relations—international relations. No country wants to break its international relations or its credit in the world by doing this kind of thing in order to save some money—a few crores or a few millions. It is an unthinkable proposition; it is not done in international society except as I said during huge commotions when nobody knows what may be done. In Soviet Russia—leaving the revolution aside—the Soviet Union has had dealing with other countries and it has developed a reputation of always honouring its word—financial word. Sometimes, other countries had not done so in Europe but the Soviet Union has. It is very careful about preserving that reputation. Let us not talk about this matter of trying to get rid of it by suddenly expropriating foreign capital or anything; that is not worth it. We are not such a poor country as to go about indulging in these tactics and losing the goodwill and the credit of the world and maybe, having a feeling of wrongdoing in our minds and hearts.

Even in regard to our own country, when we consider any large scheme involving maybe land, or maybe anything, wider considerations come in. We deal with the zamindari system; we deal with other schemes relating to land. Sometimes, this is referred to as a scheme of social engineering and all that. One can understand that; it becomes quite impossible to deal with the situation in the normal way of land acquisition or actual property. We cannot do that; we cannot acquire the whole land in that way. It is not possible. Therefore, one has to go in graded ways; one has to find out something of your capacity to pay. And then it is graded. That is, if you acquire the property, as we had done in the zamindari cases, the relatively poor zamindar gets full compensation—hundred per cent. The other person may get about 80 per cent; the third 70 and the fourth 60. As you go up this grading is perfectly justified. Even Mr Chatterjee agrees to that....

N.C. Chatterjee : I object to the word 'even'.

JN: There is no trouble there. But take the other cases. Let us see to the industrial ventures: other things—banks, this, that and the other. We are acquiring the Imperial Bank; we have decided and so far as I know we are paying pretty full compensation in whatever form it may be. I am not going into morals or into the practical aspect of it: It is not worthwhile. It does not pay. It injures one not to do so. You save a little money here and there. It will be completely wrong in the case of what may be called the small owners not to give them full compensation. Small owners—I am talking about them. I am surprised that Mrs Chakravarty⁵ in her note—I do not know whether it is she or Mr Chatterjee;

5. Renu Chakravarty (1917-1994); CPI Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-67.

... (interruptions). I am sorry to mix up the two—has thrown a hint that we are out to harm the small owner. I do submit that it is practically an unfair charge. Nobody can do it; how can we—this Parliament and this government? Because the power is given to the legislature. Can one conceive this Parliament or even any other legislature to go out to harm the small owner? Even the petty self-interest of the average Member will shout out against it, if nothing else.

Take the big owners. I am talking about industrial property—plants and the like. My approach to industrial plants and the like is that the government should never acquire anything—any old plant—unless for the purpose of planning or for the purpose of holding some strategic point, we have to acquire it. Why do I say that? I have said that previously too, perhaps in a different context. Because whatever we are—we are an underdeveloped country, industrially speaking; we want to industrialise the country; we want hundreds of factories to go up—should I not use all the available resources at my hand to put up new factories—state factories—instead of acquiring old—maybe worn out—plants of somebody else? I just do not understand it.

I am not going to acquire anything unless it comes in the way of my planning. That is different matter. But the idea which is sometimes put forward by some honourable Members opposite that a kind of a general scheme of nationalisation would bring about great advance in the matter of equalisation, socialisation and all that is I think not correct. It will not. It is always bound to be by some drastic steps of equalisation. Whether you succeed or not is another matter. That drastic equalisation in that way simply means equalisation of the lowest stage of poverty. That is not good enough. We want to raise our country's standard and yet to bring about this equalisation and try to go towards an egalitarian society. The whole idea of nationalisation, of this plant and that, does not come into my picture at all except that when our planning requires some measure, that is to say, to take possession of a strategic point which comes in the way, the state should control it. Otherwise the state should go ahead and build up the state plants. The public sector becomes bigger and more and more important and there is more and more production, letting the private sector advance at all times. But if the public sector is nibbling and eating into the private sector, there is no total advance, even though there might be some advantage from the social point of view, because you are losing your resources, shifting one factory from the private to the public sector. Unless that is desired and required by overwhelming reasons, I would not do it.

The House will forgive me. I am often talking about atomic energy and the likes. Because I wish people to realise how the whole basis of our future industrial living patterns may be affected. I have no doubt that just in the same manner as it was affected with the advent of steam and later electric power, we are having something like atomic power in the next ten, fifteen or twenty years which again may make a vast difference to the running of all our factories and

other things. Well and good. This is another reason why I should not go about wasting national resources in mere acquisition of property when I can build other plants and other things.

Therefore, these questions do not come up. And if we have to acquire property I think we should pay just and equitable compensation. I am talking about individual properties. Normally there may be a number of rich men interested—there are here and there—but many of these properties, big properties, are limited liability companies with a large number of small shareholders. We do not wish to deprive them. So that, all this apprehension and fear is completely misplaced, and it ignores not only existing conditions in India but the probable future line of advance.

It is true that inevitably if we have our way—when I say “we” I am not talking about myself nor even of the Government, but of this Parliament and I think of the overwhelming opinion of this Parliament and of the people—we go towards a socialist pattern of society. Inevitably it means building up the public sector. The private sector remains. The private sector always remains, I say. Because the private sector includes—as I reminded the House, it includes—cottage industry, so many things. That itself is a huge chunk of the activity in this country. And it may include some big industries too. I do not know twenty years later what will happen. But the dominating feature will be the public sector. And the planning will be for the public and private sectors. The private sector will have to function within the ambit of that plan too.

In all these approaches we talk about, many words we use, good words, socialist pattern of society; we talk about industrialisation, removing unemployment, higher standards—all good things. May I put it somewhat differently. that the thing that is really necessary is somehow to activate and dynamise the base of the Indian social structure? I want you to appreciate this phrase. The approach from the top has to be made. The top has to function. But there has been too much thinking of activating from the top all the time, that is activating the top layers of society. It has to be activated, and it activates other layers. But you do not solve the problem unless you activate this base of Indian society, which means millions and millions of villagers, millions of workers and small earners, unemployed people on the land; this is the base of Indian society. If you merely grapple with it from the top, what happens? By that you gradually draw away people from that bottom into the middle layers, which is a good thing. You activate them, and gradually this domain increases, of people who are being activated. But the base, fundamentally the tremendous base of Indian population is not affected. Therefore, while you do this from the top, which we have to do, we have to think in terms of affecting that vast

If you merely grapple with it from the top, what happens? By gradually draw away people from that bottom into the middle layers, and thing. You activate them, and gradually this domain increases, are being activated. But the base, fundamentally the tremendous population is not affected. Therefore, while you do this from we have to do, you have to think in terms of affecting that vast u activate and make it dynamic to some extent, the progress of e rapid. Going from the top all the time, progress would be

Indian society. that you gradu which is a goo of people who base of Indian the top, which base. Once yo India would b there, but no

always was to activate the lowest strata. What way you should do it, we need not go into that now. The bottom, the base of Indian society, that is the real thing. The view of many of our leading people, able people, interested in industry and others, is that it somehow starts from activating the top and seeping down to the bottom. I am not criticising this, but I think that the emphasis and the outlook has to change. It has to be from the top, of course; we have to do it; but we have somehow to activate this base. And in activating this base one may have to take numerous social steps of all kinds. To approximate this and so as not to have the big gap between the top and the bottom, all these things have to be done. So that, that is the basic approach, not the approach of acquiring or depriving somebody of his property and seizing it, and thinking you are doing good to the people because you are not paying compensation. I am entirely opposed to that.

So I would plead with this House that this particular amendment of the Constitution removes a slight obstacle that had come in our way, clears the path for us, as far as we can see at the present moment, to go ahead with these vast schemes of planning, etc., that we shall have to undertake, and is one which is eminently suited not only for this House and the Parliament to accept but also for the people to accept.

5. Justification of the Amendment¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: After these two days' discussion of this Bill I hardly think it is necessary for me to say much, because this House has been generous in the consideration of this Bill, very generous, and only a very few voices have been raised in opposition to it or any of its clauses.

Yesterday I mentioned, rather casually, that when this Bill was introduced by me and voting took place there was a very great majority in favour of its consideration and not more than eight persons voted against it. In the other House, when it went up at our instance asking for a Joint Committee, no one voted against it. An honourable Member, Mr Chatterjee, criticised my saying it and referred to what he calls, I believe, the brute majority in this House. Now, how far it is ever right or proper to refer to a majority in this way, an elected

1. Reply to a debate on the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, Lok Sabha, 12 April 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. III, Pt. II, 1955, cols 5114-5124. Extracts.

majority, I leave it to the House to determine. What is the consequence of the majority not having its way? A minority should have its way. I do not know if that is the honourable Member's conception of democracy. But when I referred to this I was not referring to the brute majority of a party, my party or any other. It was obvious that in so far as this Bill was concerned not one party but, barring a few individuals, all parties in this House voted for it. That was my intention in referring to the voting on the last occasion. And that has been confirmed in the consideration of the various clauses and the voting on them. As the House knows, the voting has been roughly three hundred to eight—sometimes seven, sometimes nine.

V.G. Deshpande²: Sometimes sixteen also.

JN: And about 298 or three hundred on the other side. That itself is adequate proof of the fact, and so far as this House is concerned it is as near unanimity as one is likely to get in a measure of such importance and which has certain features which may be considered controversial. Because of that, hardly any argument is necessary. But, some remarks were made yesterday and some today, about which I should like to say something.

Shri Jaipal Singh³ spoke eloquently about the Damodar Valley and about adivasis, questions of interest and importance, but having nothing to do with this Bill. In the case of Damodar Valley, his point was that the people have been given compensation in cash, not in land. I am not saying anything about it. So far as I am concerned, I should very much like to give land. The point was not inadequate compensation, but whether compensation was given. It has been adequate now. I hope that if it is possible, they will be given land. He referred to adivasis and said that land is sometimes taken away from them, I do not exactly know what he had in mind. But, the Constitution itself provides, I believe certainly in regard to the North-Eastern Areas, for preventing the alienation of lands belonging to these tribal people. I am personally of opinion that every protection should be given to the tribal people and their land.

Much has been made about the small owners or the small holders, and their being dispossessed without adequate compensation being given. Obviously, the whole object of this particular amendment is not to affect them at all. Whether it has done or not is another matter which we can consider. The object of this Bill in fact, is not to give, in the normal cases, any illusory or unjust compensation. There may be such cases, I can concede, when dealing with large schemes where compensation may be calculated in a special way. But,

2. (1911-1975); Organising Secretary, All India Hindu Mahasabha; Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

3. (1903-1970); Jharkhand Party Member of Lok Sabha from Ranchi.

even there, it won't be, I hope, unjust. However that may be, to refer to the small holders in this connection, I do submit, is entirely unjustified. It is true that cases have been mentioned here, where there has been injustice. My primary reaction to the cases mentioned in regard to Delhi is that there does appear to have been injustice which should be rectified in the best way possible. We certainly are going into it. I cannot say in what manner or to what extent it would be possible. That depends on a careful consideration of the problem. In Bengal or anywhere else, we shall certainly consider that matter and move the state government to take action where injustice has been done. These are important matters by themselves; but they are not really relevant in the consideration of this major measure.

General objections were raised or criticisms made, apart from the one made by the honourable Member who spoke last, by Shri V.G. Deshpande, who opposed this Bill tooth and nail and who perhaps hardly requires any reply from me because our views on men and things are very far apart. I can only sympathise with him for the very little support he has here or in the country.

On the other side, Shri H.N. Mukerjee,⁴ while supporting this Bill, nevertheless wanted to point out that this Government suffers from what he called the pessimism of the prosperous—a happy or unhappy phrase which I have never heard before. The prosperous are not pessimistic. The prosperous are usually the reverse of pessimistic. Why should they be pessimistic if they are prosperous? It is they who lack prosperity who may be said to be pessimistic, frustrated, and all that kind of thing. If he had said, not pessimism of the prosperous but, if you like to say so, passivity or lack of care of the prosperous—they do not care—that might have some meaning. However, he raised some basic considerations as to the direction of progress, of the pace of progress and the manner of progress. These are basic ones, of course, which we have to bear in mind in whatever law we make or whatever plan we may make. These are important. It will be for the Parliament ultimately, of course, to decide all these things, the manner, method and pace of progress. All of us, or very nearly all of us, want as fast a pace or rate of progress in this country, economic and other, as we can have. But there are certain inherent limitations in a country as in an individual. It does not matter whether you have any kind of revolution, violent or non-violent. There are inherent limitations which one cannot get over, which take a little time to get over. No country, to my knowledge—unless the circumstances force it—and no people indulge in just what might be called upsetting everything in the vague hope of achieving something. That kind of thing is only done when it becomes inevitable or unavoidable circumstances do it—you do not plan it—specially when there is no other hope of progress left.

4. (b. 1907); CPI Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-70.

There is a certain advantage as well as a certain disadvantage in continuity, in proceeding on the basis of where you are. There are certain disadvantages, one might say, because it tends to pull you back a little, naturally, because you do not wish to break that continuity. On the other hand, there is a great advantage, provided it does not stop your progress, provided it does not come in the way. The advantage is obvious because any active break leads not to progress immediately. It may give you hope of future progress. For the moment, it is a going back for a considerable time, maybe for a generation or whatever it might be. So, these vague talks of sudden jumps are not, if I may say so with all respect, from mature thinking, having regard either to history or even to the history of revolutions. Unless, I say, circumstances overwhelm you, you think in terms of progress on the basis of a certain continuity, certain links. A break of that link, if it comes, one faces. But one does not deliberately break it.

We have in India achieved independence by a process of continuity. I am free to confess that that process of continuity has brought a number of disadvantages in its train. It has. But I am quite convinced that the advantages are far greater than the disadvantages that it has brought. We gradually get rid of these disadvantages, and if I may say so, this amendment is a small measure to get rid of certain disadvantages of continuity in a certain phase, whether it is continuity in regard to the legislature or the actions that they take and how they can by their interpretation, perhaps come in the way of social legislation or whatever it may be. That is the deliberate policy which has been our policy ever since we came in. We may make a mistake; that is another matter. But, we have to be clear. Are we progressing—however fast we may go—making it a continuous process or a process that breaks and jumps and spurts?

My first submission about jumps and spurts is—I am not talking about individuals—normally speaking, people do not actually plan for breaks. Honourable Members opposite might think of them. I submit even today, as far as I can make out from the very logic that they try to follow, that it is not a reasonable proposition, even from them. At any time, it is a very wrong thing to do, looking at the world context and everything else. As it happens, we have a fair field to advance. As it happens, what comes in our way today? Minor things may come in our way. We may talk about bureaucracy and this and that, minor things which are now improving. I do not like many of the things that bureaucracy does. But I have not a shadow of doubt that the fact that we have a trained and well-trained service has been of enormous advantage to India in the last seven years. I know that when I see other countries roundabout Asia who have achieved their freedom, and who have not had that advantage, and who have suffered because of the lack of that advantage. So we must see this broad picture. It is not a good thing; I do not want to compare my country with other countries. But nevertheless I would invite honourable

Members to compare what has happened in this country during the last seven or eight years with what has happened or not happened in other countries roundabout, countries which are comparable to India. I cannot compare at the moment with countries like the United States of America, or the Soviet Union or England or France, because they stand on a separate category. You cannot compare them with India, but you can compare other countries. And I think that if you do that objectively, you will come to the conclusion that by and large what has been done in India is very very notable and creditable, in spite of all the mistakes which we have made; and we have made many mistakes; every government makes a mistake, and certainly our government has not been free from them. Now, I am not talking in terms of my government or any other, but rather of the main approach to these problems.

Here we are on the eve, I hope, of a bigger advance, a more rapid advance; after having stabilised our position politically, economically, having developed a strong foundation and a strong enough foundation and base, we now go ahead with greater faith, courage and pace. How far we go ahead is not the point to discuss now, but we will no doubt discuss it sometime or other. And talking in terms of not going ahead, as my honourable friend Shri V.G. Deshpande might do—and if he does not do it, he thinks that way because his is a static, or not static, if I may say so.....

V.G. Deshpande: Dynamic.

JN: It is an outlook of looking backwards—obviously that can be ruled out as of no consequence in the present day world. There are other friends who think that we ought to go ahead faster. In theory, nobody can disagree with that. We should go as fast as we can. But it is no good at all using a slogan. Sit down and work it out and say this and that can be done and should be done, these are the consequences of this and that.

Yesterday I said something about nationalisation. I am not against nationalisation. But to make that as if that was the emblem of progress, an emblem of increasing our wealth and production and equalisation has no meaning in it. One should consider each case separately.

Now it may interest honourable Members, if I read out what the Burma Constitution is. The interesting part of it, if I may say in confidence, is that this constitutional draft was drafted by one of the principal draftsmen of our Constitution, that is, B.N. Rau.⁵ In this matter it is said there:

“1. Subject to the provisions of this section, the state guarantees the right of private property and of private initiative in the economic sphere.

5. (1887-1953); Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-49.

2. No person shall be permitted to use the right of private property to the detriment of the general public.”

This is a broad generalisation.

“3. The private capitalist organisations such as cartels, syndicates and trusts formed for the purpose of dictating prices or for monopolising the market or otherwise calculated to injure the interests of the national economy are forbidden.

Private property may be limited or expropriated if the public interest so requires but only in accordance with law which shall prescribe in which cases and to what extent the owner shall be compensated.”

More or less this last clause is in line with what we said, and what we are saying much more clearly now. Now this is the normal approach I want, not the approach of my honourable friend Shri V.G. Deshpande which means no approach at all, sit or lie down and do not get up, or the other approach of dancing about in a frenzy till you faint. That surely is not the way to facilitate the march of a nation.

We are not considering the other problems. This is a relatively small matter in this large sphere to which I have referred. But small as it is, it is an important matter, as every amendment to the Constitution must be considered important. I agree that we must not deal lightly with the Constitution. But having said so, I also would like to say that we must deal with the Constitution when necessity arises, when it is clear that there are rules in the Constitution itself to change it; and so it is the Constitution itself that tells us to change it when we want to do it, and it has laid down rules for that. So, what is the good of saying, you must not touch the Constitution?

Therefore I am submitting that so far as this motion is concerned I think it has been amply shown that this little amendment that we have proposed is justified. Also, there is nothing in it which will frighten people; we do not want to; it is not the case. I am afraid honourable Members opposite might think I am afraid of angering somebody or irritating somebody who may be rich or who may have vested interests. Well, if they think so, I cannot help it. But I have no sense of frustration in regard to either foreign capital or Indian capital. I think this government or any government that functions here is adequate enough to deal with these matters as they are dealing with them.

But I just could not understand what the honourable Member Shri H.N. Mukerjee has got in his head, like some “King Charles’s head” business about foreign capital. I just do not understand it. What exactly does he expect us to do? What exactly does he expect, I say, any country to do in the world in these circumstances? I say, and I say very definitely, that in these circumstances, no country in the wide world, communist, non-communist, socialist, non-

socialist, would proceed in the manner that he apparently suggests about expropriating foreign capital—I believe that is his phrase. I just do not understand it. Countries do not behave that way....

I put it to the honourable Member that I should like him to tell me of any country, whatever its social structure might be—I am leaving out that particular period when there is an uproar and civil war and the like going on, when, of course, no law holds, when large numbers of people run away, they leave their properties, they are seized, other things happen, all kinds of things happen, there is no law, and it is the might of the strongest that prevails there. But leaving that particular period out I do submit that countries do not behave this way, whatever their social structure or policy. In regard to foreign capital, foreign interests, you control them; of course, you control them, you deal with them, but you do not expropriate them. These are things which in the ultimate analysis are very bad for a country. After all, when you judge of it, you can judge of it in two ways. Anyway, we may be acquiring some money or acquiring some property without paying for it. That is one thing. Or you can judge of it in two ways. Anyway, we may be acquiring some money or acquiring some property without paying for it. That is one thing. Or you can judge of it from the point of view of acquiring something that is strategic to your plan, something that comes in the way. I said yesterday that so far as anything is concerned, which from the point of view of our larger planning we think should be state owned, will be and should be state owned, it does not matter whether it is foreign or Indian or whatever it may be, because that becomes an essential part of our plan to hold that strategic point. That is a different matter. But apart from that, just to push out this person and that person does not bring about any particular thing, and so far as foreign capital is concerned, it merely brings about a hostile world, a hostile opinion; your credit goes. India's credit is much too valuable a thing to be bartered about for a few crores or whatever sum of money that you get.

Therefore, I submit that this amendment fulfills all the normal qualifications that you might apply. It removes certain difficulties in our way; it makes it easier for us in future to proceed with our social plans, and at the same time, it does not injure really any interests; and certainly it does not injure the interest of the small producer or small owner. I trust, therefore, that after all this debate, even those eight or nine Members who have raised discordant voices will fall in line and pass this amendment unanimously.⁶ I have little hope of my honourable friend, Shri V.G. Deshpande, doing so—so I am prepared to leave him in solitary glory—but I hope others will certainly do so.

6. The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 12 April and by the Rajya Sabha on 20 April 1955. It received the President's assent on 27 April 1955.

6. Public Sector and the Economy of Abundance¹

...I shall say a few words if you will permit me. First of all, I entirely agree with Mr Avinashlingam² that normally speaking a Bill, an important Bill of this kind, should go to a select committee and should be fully considered. But, as has just been pointed out, this particular matter was brought in, really, when I was away in Indonesia. I think it was brought in rightly, because of complications, speculations, and all kinds of things that might happen. So it was decided to go through it as rapidly as possible. But normally speaking, this kind of thing should go to a select committee.

Now, I was wholly and totally unable to understand Mr Mohanlal Saksena's indignation that this (the bank) is not wholly nationalised. I say nothing should be wholly nationalised. I just do not understand this business. Is there some virtue in what is called complete nationalisation? It is complete control that is the thing. We should never, I say never, as far as possible, waste state's money when you have full control. I just do not understand that proposition. In fact, I advanced the contrary proposition, as the one to be followed. The state wants control of it, full control and there is no harm, there is no injury in part of it—shares, etc.—being owned by private people. The whole proposition of Mr Mohanlal Saksena is completely wrong, I think, not only in regard to this but in regard to any undertaking, situated as we are today, or in the foreseeable future, we have got. This word, nationalisation, has become some kind of a magic word with strange meanings and people seem to think that socialism inevitably comes by a state nationalising with compensation or without. I say that that is a completely wrong notion. Do not mix the two things up. You will see the difficulties of this in countries which are at present, well, communist countries which have no inhibition about it at all. They have no inhibition in regard to—possibly in expropriation, possibly giving no compensation and taking possession. Yet, they do not do it, and where they have done it they are often in trouble. It is interesting.

1. Speech at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party held to consider the State Bank of India Bill, New Delhi, 29 April 1955. From the AICC tapes. Extracts. The Bill sought to nationalise the Imperial Bank of India and transform it into the State Bank of India.
2. T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar (1903-1991); participated in freedom movement led by Mahatma Gandhi; President, Coimbatore DCC, 1930-46; founder, Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Coimbatore, 1930; member, Central Assembly, 1935-46; Minister for Education, Madras, 1946-49; Member of, Lok Sabha, 1952-57, and of Rajya Sabha, 1958-64.

China is a country where they are proceeding more cautiously than, say, in some of the Eastern European countries, like Poland, Romania and Bulgaria. I do not pretend to know all that has happened and I am not criticising anybody, but all kinds of difficulties have arisen, naturally, by the rapid industrialisation, sometimes at the cost of agriculture. But in China, they have gone very cautiously, not because of any inhibition, but because they are wise people, and there is a vast extent of state, of privately owned small industry.... They invite private capital. They invite it from overseas Chinese who are very rich, give them guarantees of it, because they want it. Why do they do it? Chairman Mao Tse-tung openly says that they will give every protection to private capital, because they want a dynamism in their progress. It is true that, undoubtedly, the state control there is far greater. They can do what they like. But my point is that even in a place like that, fully committed to a communist goal, how they proceed is remarkable. They have got, not in the same way as we, a private sector. They do not call it a private sector in that way, but they have a pretty large private sector, apart from land, even in industry. They start industry in a much smaller way; they are starting at a lower base than we in India today. We are not very industrialised, but we are more industrialised, far more than China, at present—maybe five years later they may catch up, that is a different matter. We have certain advantages, communications like roads and railways, which they have not got. But my point is that they are trying to introduce a dynamic element, even in their private sector, by encouragement, because they want progress and because the essential thing is production for them. The essential thing is to create greater wealth because they say, there can be no socialism without greater wealth.

Somebody put this very question only last week, in my presence, to Premier Chou En-lai, "Are you going to introduce communism in Tibet, push communism there?" He laughed. He said, "Either you do not know the nature of what Tibet is today, or the nature of socialism, when you put that question to me. You cannot introduce socialism or communism into Tibet, you just cannot do it; maybe 50 years, 100 years later they may do it, I do not know."

Socialism, the whole conception of socialism, came from industrial development.... My point is, let us not get lost in words. If India is going to have a socialist pattern of society, you may have it, it is conceived in theory—you may have it at such a low level of poverty that it is socialistic in theory but at a very low level of poverty. Surely, that is not our aim. We want it at a high level. That is, when your production is great both from land and industry and more so from industry, that is quite essential, otherwise you cannot have really the wealth to distribute. You may cut off the top heads but it does not make much difference to the structure of the country.

Therefore, this business, this aim, why not nationalise completely, has no meaning to me whatever—we may, in a particular case, well, prefer to do it—

because it is easier to do without it. That is a different matter. But, normally speaking, it is far better, situated as we are, to gain full control without necessarily having all the shares and supplying all the finance for it.

Then, the second point was about the face value. Why should we give more than the face value? That too seems to me a completely unjustifiable proposition to advance. I do not understand it. Well, I may ask, what is the face value of a house? There is a price a fellow paid for it 30 years ago, 50 years ago in Delhi; it is 50 times as priced today. Now, would you call the face value of the house what you bought it for before Delhi became a capital—a 101 things have happened, things have advanced, things have progressed. Whatever it is, the face value has no meaning here. But when you take a thing you have to see what is its present value—you may not pay that value, that is a different matter. But the face value of a share which was issued about 50 or 100 years ago, has no meaning; it may have changed hands dozens of times. Well, somebody asked me as to the price fixed in this Bill for payment for these shares, whether it is just or equitable or too much. I cannot give any opinion obviously. I have no knowledge.... I agree, entirely, that the test should be that this is just and equitable, not the test necessarily of its market value. But there is another test, another consideration which should always be applied in these and other matters, that is, does it help you in what you do, does that help your main objective or not? Now, thinking that your main objective is always helped by paying lesser and lesser, it does not necessarily follow, that is a false argument. It may occasionally help, I do not know. But it is a false argument to think of that for the public treasury you have saved 10 lakhs or a crore. You may have saved 10 lakhs or a crore, and you may have lost a 100 crores in what you own otherwise by all kinds of indirect effects. What is capital today? It is very largely credit. I am not talking about the banks' credit structure, but something wider. Everybody knows that the whole conception of capital has changed, property has changed, because of more and more credit. You may have an upward and dynamic economy, you may have an aggressive economy, all these things. Now, if you do something which has an effect to stop the processes which you wish to encourage, then obviously it is a wrong move, and merely by our saying that you saved 10 lakhs, has no meaning to me, because when you ought to have advanced a hundred steps, you can only go two steps then. I am merely putting some considerations for you to think.

Now, in this particular matter, I can give no opinion; it is too complicated for me to judge whether Rs 1,750 is a right price or less. In regard to this, I wish to say only one thing, and as far as I can make out, most of the members here and the Executive Committee, agreed with that.... The government has been committed, even before our amendment and all that. And it seems to me that we have arrived at a stage now when it will be not very creditable for the

honour of the government to go back upon it. That is my main consideration, otherwise I have no views about this particular price—it may be more or it may be less, you can fix it, and I do not think that this particular matter can be made just a precedent for the future. We have to consider the whole thing whenever it comes up as an individual matter. So far as this particular matter is concerned I do feel that we have gone so far in this that we cannot withdraw without some loss of credit to government. So far as the future is concerned, therefore, we have to be careful about these matters.

But I submit to you that this rigid old-fashioned idea of socialism, does not quite fit in. I mean to say that our friends of the Praja Socialist Party have embraced this idea of socialism to such an extent that they just have ceased thinking about anything. They merely repeat some slogans. Let us not fall into that error. Take Marxian outlook. Now, I have been a great admirer of Marx and I have learned more from Marx than from almost any other book of this type. But it is patent, I think, to any logical thinker, that there are many things that happened since Marx which are not explained by Marx, which cannot be explained by his theoretical approach. We should profit by Marx, we should profit by socialist thinkers, but we must see the world as it is today, with its enormous, colossal productive apparatus, which science and technology give us. Now, instead, what we have got to do is to take advantage of this enormous colossal apparatus for wealth production to take advantage of it, more and more, in the socialist sense. We have to establish a socialist society, and to see that the wealth that is so created is distributed evenly. Now, we give less thought to it, and we give much more thought to the factories that are lying about, how shall we seize them and how shall we deal with them....

I think, there is really no choice before us, between having a private sector, and allowing it and encouraging it to function and not having it at all—there is no choice. It is foolish to have a private sector and then undermine it and prevent it from functioning. There is no point of it; you simply undermine your own policies that way. Now, whether you should have a private sector or not, that is another matter, one can discuss it. I think, personally, that there is no way out for us except to have a private sector, continue private sector today and even encourage it. That does not mean that I am going to encourage it at the cost of the public sector. The public sector will always be number one, and will, I have no doubt, grow at a much faster pace than the other sector and will gradually, really determine the economy of the country. The rest will have to fit in and anyhow even now we try to make it fit in, we ought to, in consideration of our Plan, etc. But, if we have a private sector, we really have not got the capacity at the present moment, either in personnel or in many other ways. If we took over the whole of the private sector, I have no doubt that the immediate result would be a tremendous loss of production in this country. We just could not run the whole thing. I do not know when we can

run it. It takes a long time. Even, as I said, China thinks in terms of 20 years to lay the basis of the socialist economy, not a fully developed economy. Now, if you have it then you must not make it something which cannot function. It has no meaning. You fall between two stools, you are neither here nor there. And, therefore, personally I think that even for the proper functioning of the public sector, it is desirable to have a competitive private sector. It will be kept up to the mark to some extent. It is true. Sometimes because of our governmental working, the state working, etc., the public sector tends to become like a government department. We do not want it to become that. We create a separate autonomous organisation in order that it might not function as a government department, which is rather a static way of functioning.

Now, take banking. We want banking to expand tremendously, in India, the credit structure to expand. We do not expect private banks to take much initiative in this nevertheless, they can help. Mostly government will do it, but if government wanted to do the whole thing by itself today, it will be a mighty long time before it will be able to do it because of various obvious considerations. Take banking in England or most European countries—every village there has a bank. Practically speaking, we are hundreds of miles away from that condition. Well, we may prevent others from doing it, and take everything in our hands. In theory, it may be all right but the result will be, instead of an expansion of banking, the restriction of banking. So that you must see that even in order to reach the goal you are aiming at, what is the best method of doing it, you must not become tied up with some theoretical consideration, which you have read about in books, and imagine that we are going towards that goal, when you are actually putting an end to the spirit of dynamism that should come in your economy in the public sector, in the private sector, everywhere.

Now, much has been said about the differentiation between land and industry, etc. First of all, broadly speaking, one should not imagine, I am merely expressing my views, that giving less compensation is any part of socialism, except one part: that is, we want to reduce inequalities, that I understand. Are you going to reduce inequalities by giving less compensation? The obvious method is, of course there are more obvious methods, whether it is a capital levy or taxation or any other. Compensation necessarily has nothing to do with that. It is true that compensation, as calculated often enough, has been very unfair, has been too high and all that and we should take care not to give it. What I mean to say is we must distinguish between the two. This equalising process is something that we should aim at, and if it is helped occasionally by other processes we should adopt them. But the mere compensation clause does not necessarily equalise. It is a complicated thing. You may lay down that compensation to a person who has so much money, who has already got a lot, should receive less than the others, or should not receive it at all. But, normally

speaking, compensation for any odd bit of land, whether it is land, a factory, or a house, one gives a compensation which is normally fair, equitable and, I do not wish to bring in the market value of it, but which is normally considered the value of it, one gives it. One does not give it when that comes in the way of something or the other. There is no virtue in not giving it. You do not give it, because it comes in your way, in some way or other, therefore you are unable to give it. Take something like *jagir*. The man who possesses a patch of land, I have no doubt, that he has at least a good right to get full compensation as a man who has a house, or a man who has a factory. There should be no distinction in regard to that. But a distinction does come in regard to, say, *jagirdari* rights; that is something different. One has to treat them differently, and in any larger process, I cannot commit myself what it may involve, how we can do it when we are bringing about land reform on a big scale. One cannot help that. One has to, but even so, I should like the small owner to get full compensation. One may be able to pay even in regard to other matters, compensation graded, I do not know how far it is possible, but there is no basic difference in my mind in the two. There is a certain difference; it may work out when you are proceeding on some big scheme or other but I should not like even then for the small owner to suffer.

You see all these are rather complicated problems, and any principle laid down may not be applicable. And I do not want you to pick up any sentence that I have said, as if that is my final opinion in regard to everything. I am merely putting forward ideas to you, for your consideration, so that we may have the full picture in this changing, dynamic society of ours today, which is, you see, our whole thinking, as a thinking is based, if I may say so, on scarcity economy. There is not enough to go round, therefore you must take something from those who have to give something to those who have not. Now, there is some virtue in that. But we must think more and more from the point of view of an economy of abundance, which we are aiming at. We want to reach that. If, in trying to equalise the scarcity economy, we never reach that economy of abundance, then we never move. That is my difficulty, otherwise, we can certainly—the two processes will go on together. You work for the economy of abundance and at the same time you work for equalising. If you only work for equalising and not for abundance then you equalise poverty and you never reach the other stage. Therefore, we have to consider always this, not to do anything to reduce the dynamic element in our economy. I do not mean to say that the dynamic element is represented very brightly by the private sector; I do not mean that. But in the whole of our economy, and keeping that in view, consider each case definitely and decide. As I have understood in the Executive Committee meeting and more or less today, it is not so much this particular matter that worries members, but rather the approach to the general question in future, that we should not consider ourselves as sort of laying down precedents

and rules which we have to follow. I think that is an important consideration and I am personally very glad that we have had this discussion, so that these points have been raised for all of us to consider, and think out. As a matter of fact, as I said in the Executive Committee, the most important thing before us is probably the Second Five Year Plan which is gradually being incubated and which—at least the principles of it—may see the light of day in some months, and then gradually, no doubt, we should discuss it fully. That is far more important than any of these petty measures here and there, because that will give the basis for production specially and I hope for some vague outlines of the future pattern of society that we are aiming at.

Well, if I may say so, giving my opinion personally, I am not interested in acquiring factories. I have said that many times. I do not want to acquire a secondary factory from anybody. I said I am not interested in acquiring factories at all. I am interested, at the right time, in acquiring banks, insurance companies and mines—these I am interested in, because these are basic things, and again I would not, I would, it is a question of timing, I want to judge even acquisition by seeing whether at that time it does not come in my way of advance, I may say, it does not have repercussions which come in my way. If I want to extend banking in India, as I do, tremendously, I do not want suddenly to take a step, in banking, which, though theoretically correct, may at that time result in a backward move, come in the way of our extension of banking; or rather that private banks existed than no banks at all. Therefore, I would like the private banks to exist, so long as I cannot expand rapidly enough.... Why should I worry about a private bank? If it comes in, it comes in. So these are the things which I think in terms of ultimate acquisition, mines, insurance companies, banks, but for the rest, other things, I am not interested, let them function, and I shall help them to function and we shall meanwhile develop our public sector which will be overwhelming in its extent and quality later on.

Now, I take it that so far as this particular State Bank Bill is concerned, you agree that this has to go through some minor amendments suggested by Mr Dasappa² and others and the Finance Minister. For the rest, we shall no doubt consider these broad aspects in future, on many occasions.³

2. H.C. Dasappa (1894-1964); Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha, 1954-57.

3. The Lok Sabha passed the State Bank of India Bill on 30 April 1955.

(iii) Industry and Labour

1. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
February 21, 1955

My dear T.T.,

Your letter of the 20th February.

I am glad that you liked our meeting² and removed some of the apprehensions from your mind.³ But I confess that I am a little disappointed at the latter part of your letter.⁴ After our full talk yesterday, I had hoped that there would be no further difficulty in your mind about your coming here. The best solid foundations for cooperating in any work are mutual respect and the ties that bind colleagues. All the rest follows from this.

There is no question of arrangements of a makeshift nature, but rather of our evolving, in consultation with each other and our colleagues, the best and most effective method of working and producing results. After all, it is the work that counts most. As I wrote to you, I am not particularly satisfied with the present arrangements. I mentioned to you that we should evolve something more in keeping with our development programmes. Thus perhaps we might have heavy industry in a group, light industry in another and possibly cottage industry in another. Or we may have some other suitable arrangement. Of course, each branch of industry runs into the other and there has to be a great deal of coordination. In fact, the main thing is the fullest coordination and cooperation in the Government, which should function as a single organism. Naturally, particular responsibility rests on the minister in charge of any portfolio.

1. T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML.

2. The meeting was held on 20 February at Nehru's instance after Krishnamachari insisted on resigning blaming Nehru for going back on his promise of merging the Production and the Commerce & Industry Ministries. Krishnamachari had been maintaining since November 1954 that he could function only if the control and direction of industrial policy was unified.

3. Krishnamachari wrote to Nehru on 12 February 1955. "Any cut and dried separation of Ministries on the basis of public and private sectors generates a great deal of conflict in the matter of industrial initiative.... I cannot agree with you that the psychology to be created in the country should be a psychology of conflict." He added that his own Ministry, being only in charge of the private sector, not only took a second place in determining industrial policy but would also prominently attract adverse notice.

4. Krishnamachari wrote that he could not reconsider his position "except on the solid foundation of a change in the set-up in which I have to work in future. Any arrangement of a makeshift nature will neither help nor be abiding."

It is obviously not feasible for me to produce some kind of a scheme at short notice. That is a matter which has to be considered by all concerned. Nor will this be a very happy approach to this problem.

I still think that you should come here as soon as possible and continue your work. We can then consider the various aspects of this question. For you to remain in Madras waiting for something to happen here would be rather odd.

Anyway, as I told you, I do want you to come back and I hope you will do so soon.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Informing S. Radhakrishnan the same day of Krishnamachari's conditions for returning to his post, Nehru wrote, "That is not possible for me and it would not be the right way to deal with this matter. However, I have written to him again...."

2. Sugar and Gur Industry¹

Item I of the proceedings of the meeting of the Economic Committee should be drafted as follows:

"The Committee was of opinion that in view of many uncertain factors in regard to the proposal for the establishment of sugar refineries, this matter should be postponed and no further action should be taken. This matter might be considered about six months later. It was pointed out, however, that a licence had already been granted for a proposed refinery in Saurashtra. If any definite commitments had been made in regard to this refinery, those commitments should be honoured.

The Committee was of opinion that it should be possible to make gur presentable, cleaner and more marketable. If this is done, gur would come into much greater use than at present. The Committee, therefore decided that this question should be examined fully with a view to reorganising the gur industry."

1. Note to Y.N. Sukthankar, Cabinet Secretary, 4 March 1955. JN Collection.

3. Workers' Tenements at Kandla¹

Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai² objected to "the austere standards prescribed by Government" for the quarters building at Kandla. These standards, according to the above note, have undergone a further reduction in the scale of accommodation for each type. This is exactly what Kasturbhai Lalbhai objects to most strongly. He points out that these tiny rooms or tenements will become like slums very soon. In fact this is likely, as we have seen in many of the refugee colonies. Kandla is likely to be one of our principal ports, according to Kasturbhai. It may well become one of our big windows to the outside world. He is anxious that the window should be attractive. We are spending crores of rupees over the port and economising over some workers' tenements. Whatever standards we might apply elsewhere, Kandla should put up a fine appearance.

So far as I am concerned, I am entirely opposed to single tenements. The Cabinet has decided also that there should not be any more single room tenements. Why then are these going to be built in defiance of the Cabinet's decision? Why also has the size of these rooms been reduced repeatedly? Economy appears to be specially applied to the reduction of these quarters. I do not agree with this approach to this question and I am inclined to agree completely with Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai.

1. Note to Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister of Transport and Railways, 29 March 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to Swaran Singh, Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.
2. (1894-1980); prominent industrialist from Gujarat; Chairman, National Research Development Corporation, 1954-69.

4. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
April 1st, 1955

My dear Reddy,²

At an informal meeting of the Planning Commission this afternoon, the question of steel production was mentioned. Neogy³ said that a proposal had been made by your Ministry for the expansion of steel production at Rourkela. This, though

1. JN Collection.
2. (1902-1976); Union Minister for Production, 1952-57.
3. K.C. Neogy (1888-1977); member, Planning Commission, 1953-56.

by itself desirable, involved delay in the functioning of the plant probably for ten months or so, which would be unfortunate. This will upset several aspects of planning, and Rourkela and the other plants might go into operation at the same time.

This indicates the difficulties that might be caused by considering one aspect of the question without relating it to others. We have to keep the whole picture in view all the time. It is for this that we have appointed the Steel Committee.⁴ I think we should have a meeting of the Steel Committee fairly soon to consider the picture of steel production both in the public and the private sectors. As I wrote to you, I want this Committee to be kept in touch with every development and not merely convened when a point for decision arises.

I suggest that we might have a meeting of the Steel Committee on Monday, the 4th April, at 3.00 pm in the Parliament House. You might, therefore, issue notices accordingly to all the members. Please invite Neogy also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. A Cabinet Committee consisting of K.C. Reddy, T.T. Krishnamachari and Swaran Singh was formed in January 1955 to deal with all proposals relating to establishment of steel plants.

5. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
May 12, 1955

My dear T.T.,

You wrote to me on the 2nd May about spinning mills. This question was discussed on more than one occasion at Berhampur. Vinoba Bhave mentioned it and then in the Working Committee it was raised again. There was a strong feeling against the establishment of spinning mills when it was said that the Ambar charkha² could meet the requirements of the situation.

1. JN Collection.
2. Since 1923, the possibility of introducing an improved charkha was being explored. In 1949, Ekambaranathan of Papankulam in Tamilnadu successfully developed a miniature ring-spinning frame with four spindles according to the specifications laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. It came to be called 'Ambar charkha' and consisted of three units: the carding unit (*dhunai modia*), the silvering unit (*belni*) and the spinning unit (charkha).

I have no idea of the capacity of the Ambar charkha. I am told it was really a kind of household mill and that its capacity for production is very great.³ Has this so-called Ambar charkha been tried at all by you? We should at least try it and find out what its capacity is before coming to any decisions in regard to it or relating to it. Why not get a number of them for such a trial?

Apart from this matter, Vinoba Bhave and some other people mentioned that Vaikunt Mehta⁴ was very unhappy. I did not go into the reasons for his unhappiness, but apparently he felt that he could not do much in existing circumstances. I told Vinobaji that while I had great respect for Vaikunt Mehta's judgment, I found some of his colleagues very limited in outlook. Morarji Desai agreed but said that we should try at least to discuss these matters fully with Vaikunt Mehta and carry him with us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Ambar charkha could give an average production of six hanks per day (eight working hours). Its yarn was fairly even and strong and suitable for weaving on handlooms.
4. Vaikunt Lallubhai Mehta (1891-1964); Chairman, All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, 1953-54, and 1957-63.

6. To Swaran Singh¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1955

My dear Swaran Singh,²

Your letter of May 14 about the report on the price of oil.³ Surely you do not expect me to read this report. The newspaper summary is quite enough for me.⁴ It is for you and for your Ministry to consider the report fully.

1. File No. 17(205)/56-66-PMS.
2. (1907-1994); Union Minister for Works, Housing and Supply, 1952-57.
3. Swaran Singh wrote that the report of the UN Economic Commission for Europe on the prices of oil in Western Europe had concluded that there was no longer any justification for the price of Middle East crude oil being tied to the price of Texas Gulf crude oil and that inter-governmental action was required to protect the consumer. He also suggested that if as a result of the report the prices of Middle East crude oil or refined products were changed in Europe, "we may then take up with the oil companies the question of revising the build-up of prices in India."
4. On 20 March, Nehru had drawn Swaran Singh's attention to a report on the subject published in *The Hindustan Times* of that date.

You say in your letter that as the report refers to Western Europe, we should wait and see what happens there. Anyhow we have to wait and see. But would it not help, whenever occasion arises, to point out to these oil magnates what we think about this matter and how the criticism of the Committee for Europe might well be applied in an even greater measure to India, etc? It is for you to judge how and when to do it. My point is that we must be completely wide awake and go on exercising such pressure as we can. I am returning your report.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
May 24, 1955

My dear T.T.,

You wrote to me on the 19th May about the machine tool industry.

There are many points in your letter which require careful consideration and the Cabinet or some Committee of the Cabinet might deal with them. But there are some points which seem to me clear. You say that the machine tool industry is not one of those included in the public sector in government announcements of policy. That is so. But in your note, you say that the importance of the machine tool industry cannot be overemphasised. It is the key industry without which the engineering industry cannot really become self-sufficient.

Surely if it is a key industry, as it undoubtedly is, then the essential place for it is in the public sector. I do not mean that the private sector should be excluded from this. But the basic development of the machine tool industry will have to take place in the public sector. We may at the same time encourage private enterprise to deal with some aspects of it which are likely to be in a smaller scale.

In your note you mention that this industry is often decentralised into a number of medium size units. That is so and therefore there is some scope for private industry to deal with some smaller units which specialise in particular types and varieties. But the bigger units should certainly be in the public sector.

1. JN Collection.

I do not quite understand why a state-owned concern should be kept within limits lest it might be regarded as a competitor to private enterprise. We owe no such obligation to private enterprise. Certainly, in planning for any particular industry, we should bear this in mind so as to prevent needless competition and overlapping. We should also provide a stable market for the products of private industry where such industry is encouraged. But the preference will almost always be, I imagine, to the state concern. After all, we intend going towards a progressively larger ownership by the state of all key industries. Ultimately it becomes a question of planning.

There must certainly be complete coordination in the production of machine tools. But in the nature of things, machine tools are likely to be produced in a variety of factories both public and private. Railways, Defence, etc., all do it to some extent. In fact, every major industrial concern to some extent manufactures tools. Some may do it more than the others. It is hardly possible to put all this varied lot in one ministry. But it is necessary and most desirable to have close coordination.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Reorganisation of Ministries¹

I have been thinking for some time past about the possibility of the reorganisation of the work allotted to some ministries with a view to greater efficiency and more rapid execution of projects. The Second Five Year Plan is likely to lay great stress on the development of heavy industry on the one hand and village industries on the other. Both will require intensive effort. Probably the development of village industry on a big scale will require more imagination and organisation than almost anything else.

2. The heavy industries which will grow up, in addition to those already functioning or in view, will be very largely in the public sector. The village industries, though not in the public sector, will require a great deal of assistance from government in a variety of ways. Both the central government and the

1. Note to the Cabinet, 27 May 1955. JN Collection. The note was distributed to the members of the Cabinet when it met on 29 May 1955.

state governments will have to make their plans for the development of village industries in a big way. Provision will have to be made for the supply of raw materials, improvement of techniques, marketing and the organisation of cooperatives.

3. The basis for all heavy industries is the production of steel. Steel plants, therefore, are being given high priority. Apart from the steel plants already functioning in the private sector, which are going to be expanded in future, we have already two projects which have been approved of. There is the Rourkela project (German) and the Bhilai project (Soviet). Then there is the third about which negotiations are going on with the British Government and certain British firms.

4. It seems to me necessary that all these steel projects should be under one central direction. This will ensure coordination and the best use being made of the expert technical personnel available.

5. The Ministry of Production was constituted² with a view to plants and factories in the public sector being placed under its charge. This did not mean that all such state-owned plants and factories should go to the Production Ministry. In fact, there were big plants functioning under Defence and Railways. There were other plants under the Communications Ministry and there are also some state-owned concerns under various other Ministries. Since the Production Ministry was constituted, a number of new factories and plants have been placed under its charge and its work has grown considerably.

6. It is not practical to put all state-owned plants and factories under one Ministry. That would become too heavy a charge and, in the case of some, for instance Defence, it is considered preferable for them to be associated with the Ministry of Defence. As the public sector grows, as it is intended to grow rapidly, it may become necessary to have additional ministries to look after parts of the public sector.

7. For the present, I have recommended to the President to constitute a new ministry called the Ministry of Iron and Steel. This ministry will deal with:

- (i) the Rourkela steel plant,
- (ii) the Bhilai steel plant,
- (iii) the proposed steel plant in association with British concerns, and
- (iv) state-owned foundries.

8. This Ministry of Iron and Steel will deal with part of the public sector only. It should not be necessary for any substantial addition to the staff because

2. An independent Ministry of Production was set up on 13 May 1952.

of the formation of this new ministry. Most of the staff can probably be obtained from transfers from other ministries which have thus far been in charge of these projects.

9. The Ministry of Iron and Steel should be in charge of Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, who will continue to be in charge of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Thus, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari will be in charge of two Ministries:

- (i) the Ministry of Iron and Steel; and
- (ii) the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

10. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry will continue as at present except for the transfer of village industries and handicrafts from it to the Ministry of Production.

11. The Ministry of Production will continue as it is at present, except for:

- (i) the transfer of the steel plants and some foundries to the new Ministry of Iron and Steel, and
- (ii) the addition to it of Village Industries (including the Khadi and Village Industries Board) and Handicrafts (including the Handicrafts Board).

12. I have indicated above broadly the constitution of the new Ministry of Iron and Steel as well as the consequential changes in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Ministry of Production. It will be necessary, however, to consider these consequential changes more carefully in regard to details as well as some other minor transfers. I suggest that a Committee of the Cabinet consisting of the Home Minister, the Minister of Iron and Steel (who is also the Minister of Commerce and Industry) and the Ministry of Production should be constituted to consider these consequential changes and issue necessary directions.

13. It is of the utmost importance that there should be the fullest coordination between all the heavy industries in the public sector and indeed in all the state-owned concerns. This coordination should be at all levels. At the top level, we should engage the best available technical advice which could be used by the different concerns. At other levels, transfers of technical personnel might be necessary for the efficient working of these various concerns. At the worker level also there should be facilities of such transfers. It often happens that there is a surplus of workers in one state-owned concern and a lack of them in another. The obvious step to be taken is to transfer the surplus to the other place, if the workers are prepared to go there. To retrench in one place and recruit in another is not desirable. I am told that sometimes our rules come in the way of such transfers. If so, the rules should be changed, as they are obviously not practical. At the present moment, there is a definite surplus in

defence industries of trained and semi-trained personnel. It would be wrong and a pity to retrench them and lose them. At the same time, to continue them where they are is wasteful. Therefore, an attempt should be made to utilise their services in our new plants.

14. In order to bring about this close coordination at all levels in our heavy industries in the public sector, a Committee of Heavy Industry is being constituted consisting of: the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the Finance Minister, the Minister of Iron and Steel, the Minister of Production, the Minister of Railways, and the Minister of Defence Organisation. The Cabinet Secretary will be the Secretary of this Committee.

15. Some other Ministries owning state-owned plants might also sometimes be interested in this coordination. But on the whole it is not desirable to add to this Committee, as it might become a little unwieldy. But other Ministers, where concerned, should certainly be invited to it. I want this Committee to keep in close touch with our heavy industries and to meet frequently with this object in view. In regard to transfers of labour from one place to another, the Labour Minister would be interested and should be invited whenever necessary.

16. There should also be a Committee of Secretaries to deal with this coordination. This Committee should be called the Committee of Heavy Industry. This Committee should meet regularly and at least once a week to keep close touch with all developments in the field of heavy industry, and each member of it should take an active part and may initiate any proposal. In view of the importance of this Committee, I have requested the Secretary General, Shri N.R. Pillai, to be Chairman of it. Apart from his wide experience, he has special experience in some of the matters connected with heavy industry. The Cabinet Secretary will be the Secretary of this Committee. The other members of this Committee should be: the Commerce and Industry Secretary, the Production Secretary, the Iron and Steel Secretary, the Defence Secretary, and the Chairman of the Railway Board,

17. The Committee of Heavy Industry should, to begin with, make a survey of the various heavy industries in the public sector so as to be able to be fully seized of the present position and to use the present plants to full capacity. Where necessary and desirable, equipment or machinery may be transferred from one industry to another. Wherever there is a bottleneck or any delay in carrying out work, an enquiry should be made as to the causes of this bottleneck or delay, and action taken to remove them. There should be a constant watch of the progress of all state-owned undertakings in the field of heavy industry.

18. There is, at present, a Steel Committee of the Cabinet. This Committee will no longer be necessary in view of the formation of the Committee of Heavy Industry.

19. The two most important aspects of the Second Five Year Plan, which is being prepared now, will be the development of heavy industries on the one hand and the widespread development of village and cottage industries. The question of village industries has been with us for many years, and much thought has been given to it, but the new developments likely to be envisaged in the Second Five Year Plan are on such an extensive scale that they will require intensive study and the building up of great organisations. They will also necessitate the closest coordination between the Central Government and the State Governments. I have suggested to the Planning Commission that a small expert committee might be appointed to give thought to this question of village industries in the new context.

20. Within a few months time our draft Second Five Year Plan will be issued for public information and criticism. Much is expected of this Plan, and we have to put our own machinery in order, to be able to tackle the great problems that the Second Five Year Plan is bound to raise. What I have suggested above is an initial step in this direction. Other steps may be necessary later. Our objective, it should always be remembered, is to work towards a socialist pattern of society. We cannot achieve this quickly, but we must always look in that direction and move towards it. The importance of the public sector, therefore, is very great, and it will become progressively greater. We wish to encourage private industry but where there is a choice, preference will have to be given to the public sector. In particular, in all key industries, we have to think of the public sector.

21. When the changes envisaged in this note have taken place, Shri N. Kanungo,³ Deputy Minister, at present in the Commerce and Industry Ministry, will naturally be attached to the Ministry of Production. He will continue to deal with village industries and handicrafts there.

22. I shall be going away from India for about five weeks early in June.⁴ At first, it was my intention to postpone any major changes till my return. But this will unnecessarily delay matters and retard work. I am, therefore, taking steps now, and I hope they will be given effect to as soon as possible without waiting for my return. I have advised the President accordingly.

3. Nityanand Kanungo (1900-1988); Minister, Government of Orissa, 1937-39 and 1946-52; Director, State Cooperative Bank, Orissa, 1952-57; Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry, Government of India, 1954-55; Minister for Industries, 1955-57, and 1962-64; for Commerce, 1957-62, for Civil Aviation, 1964-65; Governor of Gujarat, 1965-67; Governor of Bihar, 1967-70.

4. Nehru left New Delhi on 4 June 1955 for his tour of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy and Egypt. He returned to India on 12 July.

9. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
May 30, 1955

My dear T.T.,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th May.²

You are right in saying that when I spoke to you, I said that the new Ministry would be called the Ministry of Heavy Industries. This name had been previously mentioned and, without thinking much about it, I accepted it. Later it struck me that it was not quite a correct name and in this matter precision would be better. As it happened, that very day, Pantji raised this point with me and himself suggested that a better name would be the Ministry of Iron and Steel. As my own mind had been thinking of this, I found no difficulty in agreeing with Pantji's suggestion. I think this name is a more appropriate one.

Surely you have every initiative in the matter of any industry. The new Committee of Heavy Industries will be formally in charge of the Cabinet Secretariat. So will the Secretaries Committee. Obviously Committees do not initiate anything. Some Member of the Committee initiates. In fact I think I stated in my note that every member of the Committee can initiate a proposal. It seems to me that this is a fair and desirable way of giving the fullest initiative.

You refer to the National Industrial Development Corporation³ and suggest that it should be liquidated.⁴ Why so? I do not know why it has been more or less stillborn thus far. If there was need for it when it was started, that need continues. I do not know what has come in the way.

1. JN Collection.

2. In his letter Krishnamachari expressed his gratitude to Nehru for the announcement, at the Cabinet meeting on 29 May 1955, of the constitution of a new ministry of Iron and Steel and reallocation of the businesses of the ministries of Production and Commerce & Industry. At the same time he was disappointed because a Heavy Industries Ministry with some of the subjects he had asked for, namely, steel, machine tools and lignite, under it was not created. He felt the whole exercise was "a face-saving or face-lifting operation" so far as he was concerned.

3. Set up in 1954, the National Industrial Development Corporation was to formulate projects for the establishment of new industries and the development of new lines of production in the private sector. As an agency of the Government, its function included grant of special loans for the rehabilitation of the cotton textiles and jute industries.

4. Krishnamachari wanted to do away with the National Industrial Development Corporation which he considered as a "stillborn baby."

You refer to Kanungo. Kanungo is far from being any kind of baggage.⁵ I have a high regard for him. But I was under the impression that he was especially concerned with village industries and as this subject is going to be dealt with in a big way in future, it seemed to me that his dealing with it would be of advantage. I do not wish to push him anywhere against his own wishes. But I do feel that our village industries require the most competent attention and Kanungo can give this.

You mentioned to me about making him a full Minister and indeed I had that in mind. I did not realise that you wanted him as a Minister for Industries. In fact I thought vaguely (as it appears now, incorrectly) that you might also be thinking about his taking up village industries.

But this question of village industries is troubling me. As I have repeatedly said, village industries is assuming a growing importance in my mind. I need not go into the arguments. In thinking about the formation of a new Ministry for the steel industries in the public sector, the main reason was that they should be put under one direction. That appeared to me a powerful argument. I did not give much thought to the organisation of village industries at this stage. I had asked the Planning Commission immediately to appoint a committee of experts, say 3 or 4, who might straight away look into this matter. I did not want them to tour about but sit with the material in hand and indicate types of organisation that we should set up.

So far as the present division of work is concerned, I suggested in my note that Pantji, you and Reddy might consider it within the broad framework that I had suggested. You did mention at one time that you would like to keep handlooms as they were connected with textile industry and I think I said that this might be done.

Subsequently I have been thinking about this more and it seems to me that we have left this question of village industries in a completely vague and amorphous condition. The arguments that applied to bringing the steel industry under one direction, apply even more strongly to village and like industries. Village industry must include not only Khadi and the like but other like industries. That is to say, they will include normally small industries started in a village. I do not see how they can be separated. There has to be the closest coordination and direction in policy. I feel, therefore, that it would be far better to put all the village industries including small industries in the villages and

5. Krishnamachari was grateful to Nehru for relieving him of the responsibility of looking after the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board but felt that Nehru had been less than fair to Kanungo by allocating it to him, who deserved to be a full-fledged minister. He said Nehru treated Kanungo as "a piece of baggage that goes along with cottage industries wherever it goes."

handlooms under one direction. Whatever arrangement we might make, there is bound to be some overlapping as in the case of some heavy industries. We must provide for this overlapping and for close coordination by some method as in the case of heavy industries.

I discussed this matter with Pantji and he was even more firmly of opinion about this than I was. I should like you to discuss this with Pantji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Prospecting for Oil and Minerals¹

Yesterday in the Cabinet, it was decided that we should go ahead with prospecting for oil and various minerals all over India at a rapid pace. This requires equipment, know-how and finances.

2. I understand that the Ministry of Natural Resources has sent a proposal regarding the Oil and Natural Gas Division to the Planning Commission which is considering certain aspects of these proposals.

3. Since these proposals were made, our outlook has widened in regard to prospecting, etc. We are also considering certain proposals from Russia about help in the supply of technical assistance and equipment. We might thus be able to tackle a much bolder programme than was at first envisaged. Indeed, that is the direction that the Cabinet has given. The previous proposals will, therefore, require modification and enlargement. It seems to me important for the purposes of planning for us to have as full knowledge about our minerals, etc., as possible.

4. The Oil and Natural Gas Division should be vested with sufficient powers to take timely decisions and to carry out the work quickly. It might be desirable to nominate a financial adviser for this purpose. I hope the Finance Minister and the Planning Commission will give early consideration to this matter.

1. Note to Finance Minister and Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, 30 May 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was also sent to Keshava Deva Malaviya, Deputy Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Research.

11. Rationalisation in the Textile Industry¹

... Now let us take rationalisation.

I am not going into the details of the strike,² but I would say a few words about this broad question. Rationalisation is obviously a good thing. It means more efficient working, more production, but it has certain results, it may have certain results which are bad, that is, in throwing people out of work, creating unemployment. That is all. Even for the sake of greater efficiency, we cannot tolerate greater unhappiness, human misery. How are we to coordinate these two matters and come to a right decision, because we shall have to face it everywhere? We want higher techniques, greater efficiency, more rationalised system of working, but we certainly do not want people to be thrown out of work. Therefore, the broad policy the Government has adopted is that where any rationalisation takes place, the people must be guaranteed work, that is, no one should be thrown out. If that is done then we can consider it. Also, broadly speaking, our approach is this: All new plants that we put in must be of the latest technique, the newest type. But generally speaking, we should throw in our resources on additional productive units which necessarily give additional employment, rather than improving an old unit which might create unemployment. We do the latter only when we can provide employment for those who might become unemployed. That is a broad approach. Of course, in working it out, one has to consider many aspects....

1. Remarks at a Press conference, New Delhi, 31 May 1955. From the Press Information Bureau. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see *ante*, pp. 300-303, 328-332 and 380-389 and *post*, pp. 503-505.
2. The textile workers' general strike began in Kanpur on 2 May 1955 under the leadership of the Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha in protest against rationalisation schemes introduced in certain mills. The other grievances were the persistent rejection by the State Labour Department to refer these matters to fair adjudication and the alleged victimisation of workers by the management of the textile mills.

(iv) Agrarian Reforms

1. To U.N. Dhebar¹

India House
Aldwych
London, W.C.2
February 2, 1955

My dear Dhebar,

I enclose a cutting from the London *Times* of today about Travancore-Cochin politics.² I should like to draw your special attention to the general impression that the Congress party in Travancore-Cochin has withdrawn its support to the Praja Socialist government because they are opposed to land reform as proposed. This impression is a dangerous and wrong one. I fear there are some people in the Congress party in Travancore-Cochin who do not like this land reform. I told Madhavan Nair³ and Govinda Menon⁴ when I met them that on no account must they allow such an impression to spread and they must support this land reform, which is in keeping with Congress policy. I hope you will make this perfectly clear to them. If they weaken on this issue, it will be bad for the Congress everywhere. At any time this would have been bad, but more especially now that we have declared a forward policy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. AICC Papers, NMML.
2. The correspondent of *The Times* wrote that the reason for the State Congress to withdraw its support to the PSP ministry in Travancore-Cochin was chiefly to prevent enactment of land reforms, and added that the decision also showed that Congress members generally did not "understand what Mr Nehru meant when he declared a socialist pattern of society to be the party's first objective."
3. (b. 1905); General Secretary, AICC, 1955-58; President, Travancore-Cochin State Congress at this time.
4. (1908-1970); Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, 1955-56.

2. Land for All¹

This conference is called the farmers' forum in English. The word 'farmer' can be translated into Hindi as *kisan*, zamindar, *krishak*—that is, a person who works on the land. When I came here I could not see any farmer, and was a little surprised. I wondered if I had come to the wrong place. Then I saw you, Mr President.² You might have had long debates and so on. The president of the convention has thrown some light on some of the topics. I do not know what form the discussions take here. Are you seated in lines and given long lectures or is there give and take and informal conversation? Sitting in rows and listening to lectures may perhaps benefit you little. But the work of this forum does not really mean that. It means providing a common platform where conversation takes place. It does not mean one person giving a lecture while the others sit and listen. As you know I am not a farmer. There can be no doubt in anyone's mind about that, but many people who are not farmers often become *kisan* leaders and keep doling out advice as to what they should or should not do. Sometimes their advice is good but when the person who gives the advice does not belong to the same profession, there is bound to be a barrier between him and the others.

There is not so much of it now but earlier many people used to go abroad to learn modern techniques of farming, such as one of chemical fertilisers, on the plea that other countries had benefited from them and so we must also learn them. But those who come back from abroad set themselves up as officers and do not do any work and order the others around. When I went to the United States, I met some Indians—I think they were from the Punjab—in a college of agriculture. The principal told me that when the four Indian students had been asked in the beginning to milk the cows, they were terribly surprised. They thought they were upper class people who had come to be educated and had nothing to do with milking cows. They were capable only of giving lectures to others. I think the trend is changing now but in the beginning our officers who went abroad for training were quite unfit to do anything themselves. Unless the hiatus between the person who teaches and the others is removed, he cannot teach effectively and to that extent he is useless. Whether it is in agriculture or engineering, unless you work yourselves, you cannot achieve anything by ordering others around. However good an engineer or an agricultural expert

1. Speech while inaugurating the first National Convention of farmers, New Delhi, 3 April 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. P.S. Deshmukh, Union Minister for Agriculture, was President of the Convention.

you may be, your real strength lies in doing the work yourself because if that is missing, you cannot teach well and in fact you will lack the ability to learn as well.

If an individual thinks that he has nothing more to learn but can only teach, it means his mind is closed. Especially if a man goes among farmers who work on the field merely with book knowledge and without doing any manual labour himself and orders others about, it is absurd. He will be able to learn a great deal if he did some work himself. It is true that book learning teaches many things and we are rather backward in that respect in this country. The world has advanced in various fields and it has become essential for us to keep ourselves informed. We cannot learn by copying others. We must select what is good for our country and discard what is unsuitable. It is our task to do that selection.

There has been tremendous progress in agriculture in other countries. What is the yardstick to measure progress? There may be many yardsticks but the main one is the yield per acre of land of wheat, paddy, etc. Against our ten maunds, it is 20 in other countries. Why is it that they can produce 20 maunds per acre and we cannot? In the West they produce twice or thrice as much as in India and consequently their national income is more. It is a simple, straightforward matter that we must also do something to increase our income in order to remove poverty, instead of transferring wealth from one pocket to another. It means learning these new techniques. They have to be learnt not by a few officials at the top but by the farmers. What we learn must be suitable to our country.

Let me tell you another thing. Some Indians who go abroad and learn many new and excellent things come back and demand that they should be given machines and tractors and other things which we do not have in the country in large numbers. But they feel that they cannot work without them and prefer to sit idle. This means that after a few years' stay in the United States, they have forgotten the conditions prevailing in India and are fit only to live in the United States. They can work in the fields only if we import large machines from outside. But where are we to get them from? After all, we have to work in the conditions that prevail in India. We may be able to get a few tractors here and there. But they would not be enough as we have to think in terms of millions of people. We have to work on Indian soil in Indian conditions. It is more important that our young men must understand that properly and realise our limitations. I do not want them to come and demand machines and this and that. They must learn to work with what is available. What is the use of talking of the United States? No doubt there is a great deal to learn from them. But ultimately the work has to be done with what is available here.

We want that millions of houses should be built in India for there are no proper houses in the rural areas. Now some people come and tell me that we

should get good bricks and other things from the United States. They may be good but it is obvious that we cannot import them in large quantities. When it is a question of building millions of houses, it will have to be done by what is available here. Therefore I feel a little hesitant to send people abroad for training, though we have to send them in order to learn about the latest advances in the West. But I feel it will be better to establish an institute right here so that thousands of young people can be trained instead of sending a few abroad. Let me tell you a secret. I feel that even now far more people go abroad for so-called training than is necessary. I agree that a few must be sent. I do not want our country to remain backward. But I want that attention should be paid to establishing a place of training in our own land. At the most I may agree to get instructors from the United States, the Soviet Union, England, Japan, etc. But the people must be trained here and learn about the conditions in the country. Many more will be able to learn in this way. I am always prepared to learn from other countries. If there is something good to be done, I shall tell you clearly that I would get it done by a first-rate Englishman rather than by a second-rate Indian. I want the work to be done well and for that I am prepared to bring people from anywhere, even if it means getting them from heaven. I am not prepared to accept that we should become a second-rate nation by doing third-rate work and never learn to do first class work.

You have seen the grand work that is being done here in Bhakra-Nangal, for using the waters of the Sutlej and building canals and producing electricity. In no other country in the world is a task of such magnitude being done. About two thousand or more engineers are working on it. Only a few of them are Europeans or Americans—about 25 or 30 out of 2,000 or 2,500. We have deliberately invited them. We have no particular interest in calling in foreigners. But we did so because we needed first class men, skilled and trained to do that work successfully. And secondly, because working with first-rate people makes others also grow mentally and intellectually. There is no doubt about it that the experience of working on the Bhakra project has made our engineers better at their work. They are now capable of taking on big responsibilities without any outside help because they have acquired the experience. Therefore I have no hesitation in calling in experts from outside to advise us and in taking help from anyone. I am always prepared to take help. But we must try to learn from them so that we may not always have to depend on them. Secondly, we must understand the Indian conditions, problems, traditions and a thousand other things.

There is no doubt that we have to learn many things. We have learnt a little and sowed new seeds and used good fertilisers. These were small things but they have made a tremendous difference in the last few years. There is no doubt that we have increased our production in the country and for the first time we are feeling more confident about the food situation. Please do not

think that the problem has been solved. If we become complacent, we shall be in trouble again. We have to be alert and prepare ourselves to face any eventuality. Otherwise we would lag behind and get into trouble again. But at the moment we can at least say this much, that we have brought the problem under control, which is reassuring. It was essential for our progress because if we had not solved the question of food, progress in any other direction would have been very difficult. Now that we are more confident in this direction, we can move faster with the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan. If we had not been confident about food, our hands would have been tied.

The question of land is before you. There are many issues connected with it. Land is one of the oldest forms of property known to mankind that has been so for thousands of years. Industries, etc., came later. In the olden days, other things like herds of cattle were also counted as part of a man's wealth. But land was always regarded as the most valuable property. With industrialisation things began to change. Britain is an industrial country. There are farmers in Britain but, as an industrial state, it imports most of the food it needs. If we take any economic system, we must look at the laws governing land and take note of the results they produce.

For the last twenty-five or thirty years there have been widespread struggles in our country on the question of land and against the prevalence of zamindari, jagirdari, talukdari, and so on. Our opposition was not to any individuals but against the existing social system. Talukdari, zamindari and jagirdari were seen as symbols of a backward nation. We realised that to achieve progress, the economic system had to be changed, as was done in other countries. The question that arose was that if our country had to progress—which it will have to very rapidly—our peasantry had to be liberated from the oppressive burden of the zamindari system. Only then could our farmers advance and increase the production from land. Please remember that the word 'zamindar' is slightly misleading because in the Punjab and around Delhi, even small landholders are called zamindars. It is only in UP and Bihar that the word 'zamindar' denotes big landowners. We decided in principle more than thirty years ago to change the laws regarding land. Efforts have been made in various provinces to change them and in many places they have already been changed. It is taking a little longer in some other places. I am sorry about the delay. It is largely because we came up against legal complications and court cases. It is to prevent this kind of delay that we have introduced a new Bill in the Lok Sabha so that there might be no obstacles in our path when such action is taken in future. After all, laws are meant to clear the way. I hope that the Bill will be passed within the next few days and become law.

Whatever has been achieved already is in a sense a big step but it is by no means the end of the journey. We have to march forward so that the maximum number of people get land and produce something and become better off. All

sorts of complications arise in this. One is that in a large country like ours, while there is plenty of land available, the population is also very large. This makes the task very complicated.

You are familiar with our ancient epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. In *Ramrajya* everybody is said to have had enough to eat and wear and what not. Now I do not know if it was all true, for the poets are prone to praising things extravagantly. But it is true that in those days, the population of India was very much less. It has been increasing steadily over the last thousands of years and is still growing. It has been calculated that the population in ancient times was not even one-tenth of what it is now. It has increased almost thousand per cent or more. Going by these figures, the land available for farming was far more than the mouths to be fed. Much of it was forest land earlier, which has been brought under cultivation since. But the population has been increasing very rapidly. For any country the problem is to keep a balance between the land under cultivation and the number of mouths to be fed. If production is more than enough for the people, the country will be prosperous. Next comes the question of distribution. It is true that more and more land has been brought under cultivation but the population has increased even more rapidly. That is how food shortage steadily increased, and poverty grew. The pressure of the population on land is very great. We have to provide other avenues of employment for the people so that the entire pressure does not fall on land.

Another reason for India's poverty is that since there are not many sources of employment, most people depend on land. If they could get other work, the pressure on land would be reduced and all of us would benefit by it. I am putting all this before you to think about because it is my fear that the advice that might be given to you by others from this platform will be so emotionally surcharged that you may not be able to benefit fully from it. Therefore I am putting the facts before you in a simple, straightforward manner.

What are the principles and goals before this country? Whither are we bound? We want that all the thirty-six crores of people in the country should be well off and poverty must be removed. Everyone should get employment and the disparity between the haves and the have-nots must be reduced. It is difficult for me to say that all of us should acquire equal status, for that will not be feasible. But the disparity should be reduced. We must keep this in mind in everything that we do.

We want the country to be more prosperous. It is possible only when the production of wealth increases in the country and not by some aid from outside. By wealth I mean production from farms and factories and cottage industries, and whatever is produced by the people by their hard work. Then the equitable distribution of the wealth produced has to be ensured. If there is no wealth in the country, we can only distribute the poverty. It makes no sense. It is essential for us to increase production. Secondly, we must make arrangements to reduce

glaring disparities for they are harmful in every way. Everybody must have equal opportunities to progress. Opportunities must be provided for education and health care for everyone in the country. It is then up to the people to go as far as they can. As far as land is concerned, it is obvious, that as many people as the land will bear must get their own pieces of land, and the cultivable land should not be monopolised by a handful of people. In the process of redistribution, we must see to it that production is not affected. That is extremely important. We must keep both these aspects in mind.

You must have heard about the tours that Acharya Vinoba Bhave is undertaking in all the states. He is spreading a new revolutionary idea all over the country. He is asking for the gift of land—*Bhoodan*—to be given to the landless. This is a great thing that is happening. I think it is only in our country that such things can happen. Nobody thinks of them in other countries. There has been neither a Mahatma Gandhi or a Vinoba Bhave anywhere else. There is something in the very air and soil of India that produces such men. Vinoba Bhave has been going round the country on a mission of peace and love and spreading his revolutionary message about land. In other countries, revolutions have been accompanied by violence and bloodshed. But just as Mahatma Gandhi brought about a great revolution in India by peaceful methods, Vinoba Bhave is trying to bring about a social revolution.

That does not mean that we should keep quiet and let him do the work. It is the responsibility of the government to enact proper laws in this regard. I want you to think seriously about the times that we are passing through in this country, and to some extent in the world, though we are concerned more with our own country. It is a strange and a revolutionary era and a time for our country to take a big leap forward. The country has gone through many phases in the last few years but the time has come again for millions of people to take a big step forward in the march towards progress. It cannot be done by officials sitting in Delhi, for whatever they do will not have any impact on the country unless the people also follow suit and work for their own betterment.

You must have heard of the First Five Year Plan. Now the Second Plan is being drafted. We have started many schemes like the Community Project and Bhakra-Nangal, each one of which is a symbol of the changing country. The water provided by Bhakra-Nangal will go as far as the deserts of Rajasthan and make them green. The Bhakra-Nangal will also generate ten lakh kilowatts of power. I do not know if you understand the word kilowatt. Even I do not understand it properly. But we keep repeating it. It is a term for measuring electricity. Where will all this power go? Some of it will be supplied to the city of Delhi and other places. But ultimately we want every village and city to have electricity so that factories and small cottage industries can run and the farmers can also benefit by it. In this way, it will increase the capacity of the farmer and the nation as a whole as it has done in the United States of America

and other places. The same thing is happening in the Damodar Valley in the east and elsewhere.

Many such exciting things are taking place all over the country. We have put up a huge fertiliser plant at Sindri. If you ever go there, you can see how it benefits the country. Now we are putting up two or three more plants like it. One is going to be near Bhakra-Nangal because of the availability of electricity. All these things will take India very far and we can see that the atmosphere is already changing little by little. Please do not think that we can relax. The time to relax has not come yet. It is a time for all of us to work very hard. We hope that it will make the common people more prosperous in course of time. The harder we work, the more prosperous we shall be. There is no other way. We are living in revolutionary times. We want to transform the country in the next ten or twelve years so that everyone gets a job and we can achieve all-round progress. A country's progress is a continuous process. It does not stop at one point. So we must keep moving ahead. If we do not, there is a devil pushing us from behind. You must remember that we are living in the nuclear age. The atom bomb is the symbol of a revolution and there is a tremendous source of power behind it. We want to utilise it for peaceful purposes in our domestic tasks. That will come in the next five or ten years. In this nuclear age those who do not progress will remain backward. We must not become stagnant in any way in our work or our thinking. Please reflect about all the things that are happening in India. If you have the opportunity, you must go to various places in India, to Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Mysore, Andhra, Hyderabad, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Bengal, Orissa, Assam—I do not know if you can even remember most of these names! But you must have a picture before you to make you realise what India is from the Himalayas at the top to Kanyakumari. We have to work for the whole country and if anyone thinks that it is enough for their own village or province to progress and forget about India, they will be mistaken because they would have failed to understand what their task is. The task before the 36 crores of Indians is to march forward together. It is a grand task and what we have achieved so far has convinced us that we can do it successfully. But it requires hard work and unceasing toil. Work is a good thing and we cannot stop anywhere. All of us have to share in this task, but ultimately the greatest burden will fall upon the people living in the rural areas because they are in a majority. The Community Projects are a revolutionary scheme which will transform the entire country within the next few years. Already the scheme has reached 90,000 villages and it will spread further. Similarly there have been other achievements. So the burden will fall on the villagers and it is they who will benefit most. Therefore they must open their eyes and minds and ears a little and try to understand these things and learn their job.

I am happy that a farmers' conference, or whatever you may call it, has taken place. But I do not know if it has been attended only by big farmers. If the small farmers have been left out, it is not right. We must remember this because the greatest attention has to be paid to the small farmers.

3. To Nabakrushna Chaudhuri¹

New Delhi
April 5, 1955

My dear Nabakrushna,

For sometime past, I have been hearing that you are having some trouble with your Tenancy Relief Bill.² Today, I have seen in newspaper that you offered to resign at a meeting of the Congress Assembly Party because of the strong opposition to this Bill.

I do not know the exact content of this Bill but one thing is quite clear—that, in regard to land and tenancy matters, every Congress government has to follow the general policy of the Congress. There has been delay enough in giving effect to that policy. If there is any difficulty in regard to this, the matter will have to be considered by the Congress Working Committee as well as, of course, the Planning Commission here, which is specially dealing with these agrarian matters. We cannot possibly adopt a reactionary attitude opposed to Congress policy in regard to the land. I am very sorry that your own Congress Party in the Legislature should have adopted any such policy, if they have done so.

I should like you to bring my views to the notice of your Party in the Legislature.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(245)/52-PMS.
2. The Orissa Tenants Relief Bill, as it emerged from the Select Committee, raised the rent from one-sixth of the gross produce, fixed in the original Bill, to one-fourth of the gross produce, and also provided for the right of reversion to own cultivation by a landlord to the extent of 7 acres. In the original Bill there was no provision for any crop-sharer to be evicted. Expressing his dissatisfaction with the changes made by the Select Committee, Nabakrushna Chaudhuri, Chief Minister of Orissa, said in the State Assembly on 4 April that for far-reaching land reforms, he would rather approach the people direct than rely entirely on legislation. On 5 April, the Assembly adopted the Bill.

II. CULTURE AND EDUCATION

(i) Films and Film Industry

1. Influence of the Cinema¹

It has always seemed to me a sign of the remarkable synthesis which India is producing to find that the Chief Justice of a High Court is the President of our dance and music academy.² That is a healthy sign. Normally, there are strong barriers, walls separating various types of activity but when even the remote recesses of the law could come into this field of dance and song, then all must be well at least with law, if not with dance and song.

Now, I should be quite frank with you. I accepted this invitation long ago—many, many months ago—this invitation to open this seminar,³ with apparent hesitation, but, really with considerable pleasure. One has to appear to be hesitant occasionally, not to become too cheap. But even if I had been hesitant, it would have been difficult to survive the insistence of Devika Rani.⁴ Well, I accepted this invitation and forgot all about it till a very few days ago when I came back from England and was reminded of it. And when I heard that there was some turmoil about the film seminar, some things were done and some things were whispered and talked about and some things were not approved of, and some things were objected to, I did not really understand what this fuss was all about.

Here we have a number of people connected with the film industry coming to meet here to discuss the prospects of the future of this industry, an eminently desirable thing to do. Why be afraid of them? Why worry about what they say? They might talk a good deal of sense, and they might talk an equal amount of nonsense. Surely they should have the right to talk nonsense as well as sense. So, why worry! I do not quite understand what all this inner ferment

1. Speech at the inauguration of a film seminar, New Delhi, 27 February 1955. File No. 10, JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.
2. P.V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court since 1948, was also the Chairman of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, since August 1952.
3. The seminar, first of its kind in the annals of the motion picture industry in India, was sponsored by the Sangeet Natak Akademi. B.N. Sircar, founder and Managing Director of the New Theatres Ltd., Calcutta, was the chairman of the seminar which spread over eleven sessions from 27 February to 4 March 1955.
4. Devika Rani Roerich (1914-1994); Member of the Executive Board, Sangeet Natak Akademi, and Executive Director of the film seminar.

was, but because of this ferment I was a little alarmed. I said I had agreed to go to the opening of the seminar not knowing anything about it, knowing precious little about the history of the development of this great industry in India or elsewhere. Of course, every person who is a little wide awake knows something about it, I know something; but here I am coming to experts. What could I do about it? Fortunately, Devika Rani sent me a long note about the history of the Indian films which, in her haste, had only been revised in the first initial pages and the rest was a smudge. But so great was my eagerness to learn all about this that I read through it, the part which I could follow and the other which I could hardly understand.

Then an eminent figure in the film world, Mr Vasana⁵ sent me some days ago a copy of the address which he proposes to deliver at some stage of this seminar. Well, it was lying about with me. Again, when I heard of these controversies, I tried to find time to read through it, although normally, I might confess, I would not have read it. So I read it. I might tell you, I did not find anything terrible in it. In fact it was quite mild. Possibly, if I had been writing something like that, I might have used stronger language in regard to various matters. That does not mean that I agree with all that Mr Vasana said, not at all.⁶ But the point is, these are some of the subjects which are raised, obviously deserving careful study and consideration. One subject, for instance, Mr Vasana and the industry are no doubt, greatly interested in and he talks about, is the reduction or abolition of entertainment tax. About that, I propose to say nothing at all except that I am not convinced by Mr Vasana's argument. I am not talking about the rate of it—I don't know what it is in various places. But I do not see at all, broadly speaking, why entertainment should not be taxed. To what extent they should be taxed is a different matter—I cannot say, it may be more or less.

Another subject which Mr Vasana has mentioned is censorship. This is a difficult subject so far as I am concerned, because I start with a certain presumption against censorships; I am, I am sorry to say, still affected

5. S.S. Vasana (1903-1969): founder and Managing Editor, *Ananda Vikatan*, a leading Tamil nationalist weekly since 1928; entered films business in 1939; proprietor and Managing Director, Gemini Studios, since 1941; Chairman, Gemini Pictures Circuit Ltd; President, Film Federation of India, and of South Indian Film Studios Association in 1955; member of Rajya Sabha, 1964-69.

6. Vasana, in his paper read on 28 February, pleaded among others that Government take the following measures to help vitalise and solve the problems of the film industry: (i) allow cinemas to multiply without let or hindrance; (ii) reduce tax on admissions considerably, if could not it cannot be abolished altogether; (iii) allow thoughts and ideas to grow by liberalising censorship; (iv) subsidise educational, aesthetic and artistic films; and (v) help in the manufacture of raw film and other equipment in India.

considerably by old 19th century traditions in regard to such matters. So I do not take favourably to too much restriction or too much censorship. On the other hand, it is quite absurd, it seems to me, for anyone to talk about unrestricted liberty in important matters affecting the public, to leave people to do what they like. Suppose, as might well happen, that the production of the atomic bomb became cheaper and simpler. Well, are we going to allow, in the name of full liberty of the individual, everybody to carry an atom bomb with him in his pocket? Certainly not. So, this question of some high principle, in favour of censorship or against it, has no meaning to me except that broadly speaking one should not restrict and interfere. I accept that. But one has to interfere, the state has to interfere to some extent. To what extent is another matter.

Now, I do not wish to compare or rather do not like speaking about other countries in this respect, but, nevertheless, I might mention the case, let us say, of what are called "horror comics" and the like. Well, I have read about them and recently I saw some of these things. In fact, a very mild, exceedingly mild type happened to be sent as a birthday gift to my grandson. I was horrified^a looking at it that anyone, much less my grandson should have that kind of literature to read and this is literature and not the comic part. The horror comics, undoubtedly, are something which I am absolutely clear in my mind, should be suppressed ruthlessly. There is no question of freedom of the individual. That is something, which is bad, hundred per cent bad—something which is causing in some countries development of all kinds of sadistic impulses, murder—children just murdering for murder's sake, to have the pleasure of seeing a person killed. All this is through this kind of horror comic business. Now, obviously, we cannot allow that kind of thing, no government or society ought to allow that kind of thing to flourish. Therefore, it is clear that the Government must take action to prevent something which it considers, and the society considers, evil from spreading too much. On the other hand, it is a dangerous thing for a government to become too much of a judge even of people's morals, if I may say so. At any rate, I do not think it is desirable for a government to become that kind of judge or too much of that. In between, of course, there is a large latitude or freedom of the individual for things to develop and I do not see why there should be much argument about this matter. There might be, as to where the lines are to be drawn. Anyhow, with regard to that argument, the best thing is to have that argument and to discuss every aspect of it and then to arrive at some conclusion.

Now it is quite a number of years since I have been connected with government, but those years have not completely suppressed my personality, although, I have no doubt, they have had a bad effect on it. And, I do not take kindly to too much regulation and regimentation, to use governmental language—to too much protocol—and more specially in matters which obviously are things of the spirit—music, dance, literature and the like.

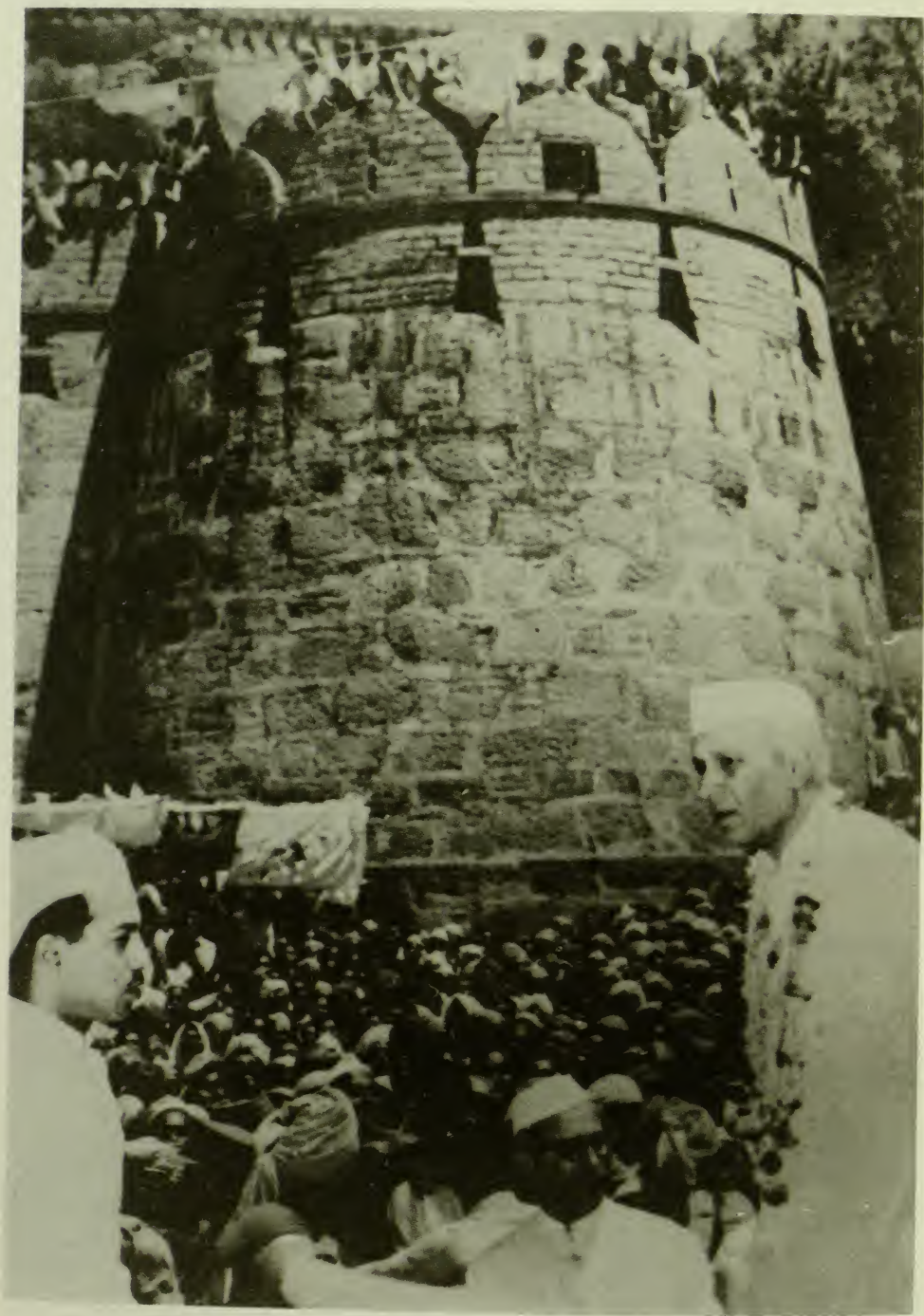
The Chairman referred to me, in my capacity as President of the Sahitya Akademi.⁷ Well, whether I am worthy of being there or not, I do not know, but I am rather proud of being there because it is an honour to be the President of an organisation which includes in its fold the eminent writers of India in various languages. Now, there too, as President of that Akademi, I may tell you quite frankly, I would not like the Prime Minister to interfere with my work. It is true, it is not always easy to draw a line between the Prime Minister and the President of the Sahitya Akademi but that is a different matter. My point is that these creative arts must be allowed to grow, encouraged to grow, with as little interference as possible. It is only when they manifestly become a social menace or a social danger that government must come in and come in with a heavy hand; we cannot allow a social menace or social danger to continue. People in government like myself are apt to have a natural tendency, some of us, to reform others, to improve others. I know I have that strong tendency but I try, on the individual level at least, to restrain myself. On the mass level, I do want to reform, I let myself go, when I am addressing the masses, but at the individual level I do try to restrain myself because not that the desire to reform and improve is not there, but, as one grows older and has more experience, one feels, more and more, that this attempt at individual reform in this way is rather crude; it does not really have much effect—occasionally it might, but it is a crude approach to the individual. There should be other and subtler approaches. Then, after all, one begins to doubt whether one is quite right about ideas of reforms. So, that typical missionary or crusading zeal which comes from single-mindedness, looking neither to the right nor to the left, becomes rather less; and more clouded.

However, here we are dealing with this tremendous business, tremendous thing, the world of the films, of the cinema. It is one of the biggest things in the modern world, let us remember that. There are many things which influence people—books, newspapers, so many other things. Well, I think it is correct to say that the influence in India of the films is greater than the influence of newspapers and books all combined. I am not at the moment talking about the quality of the influence. Books, for instance, specially, not so much newspapers, will obviously have a greater and deeper influence on many individuals—obviously those who can take advantage of them. The cinema will not have that effect on them, the newspaper will not have that effect on them. So in that sense, the quality of book reading, of course, is a powerful influence provided

7. P.V. Rajamannar, in his address of welcome, also said: "I welcome you, Sir, as the director of one of the greatest films in history—the film of new India's destiny. Politicians and statesmen, capitalists and workmen, scientists and technicians, artists and poets and millions of common men and women are participating in this great film of which you are the supreme director."



WITH PARTICIPANTS AT A FILM SEMINAR, NEW DELHI, 27 FEBRUARY 1955



WITH THE GADULIA LOHARS, CHITTORGARH, 6 APRIL 1955

you know how to read and read the right books. But, quantitatively, first of all the number of book readers in India is pitifully and woefully small. It makes me sad to think how few people in India read books, judging from sales. It is astonishing. Our publishing business is a backward business. Our reading business is still more backward. Then we come to the newspapers. Again it is astonishing what the total circulation of every newspaper in every language in India is. It is pitifully small compared to any country. We have fine newspapers in various languages in India but the point is that the total circulation of all the newspapers in India in all the languages is still, compared of course with the population of India, pitifully small. And do not tell me that that is due to people not being literate. It is true that the literacy figures in India are low, and they are going up, but nevertheless in the totality, people who are literate in India are vast in number. They may be only twenty per cent of population but twenty per cent of the population of India is a huge number. What is it then that ails our writers of books, or publishers of books, or readers of books or newspapers? Why is there this hiatus? I am not going into this question. It is only to make you think a little.

Now I come to this that, by and large, the influence of the cinema and the film is far greater than that of reading books or reading newspapers or reviews and periodicals. Anything that has, or is likely to have, that widespread influence, is of the utmost importance. It is obvious from any point of view. You may consider it in terms of high art, well and good, but regardless of that, in terms of moulding the people of the country, the new generation, it is of high importance. It cannot be treated as a joke nor can it be treated as something bad or as good. It has to be treated realistically as something of the highest importance in the life of the country, and because it is of the highest importance, a government must be intimately concerned with it. In what manner, is a different matter. As I said, I do not wish too much governmental interference in artistic and like activities. But a government must inevitably be concerned with something which has such a tremendous and wide influence. Suppose, our producers produce a war film, which encourages the war mentality; well, the Government of India would come down upon it with a big thump and stop it. There is no use telling me that you are interfering with liberty of the individual. I just do not want war propaganda in India to pervert young people's minds. So I say there are limits. There is no reason why we should quarrel about all this. The main principles, I think, must be broadly agreed to, whether it is government or whether it is the film seminar or the producers. There may be and there is bound to be differences of opinion as to where the lines are to be drawn. It may be, lines are not absolutely fixed. They may vary from time to time. Well, it is a matter to be considered and discussed and then to be decided—nothing to get excited about it and shout at each other about.

Obviously, it is a big industry to which I must pay this tribute, to those

who built it up, in the last 20 or 30 years.⁸ They built something big without much assistance and it is very creditable to them that out of scratch they have built this huge industry up, and, undoubtedly, produced from time to time some very notable films. First, the mere quantity and the mere size of the industry. It is impressive and the fact that this has been practically unaided is creditable to them. Certainly, they have made progress. Obviously, the resources in India are much smaller than the resources of the rich countries of the western world. Nevertheless, they have made progress, technical progress. So, all that goes to their credit and one must acknowledge it. Of course, many people criticise the quality of many of their films from their rather highbrow point of view and their criticism from that point of view is justified, highbrow or not. I am not speaking for myself. I am not very interested in melodrama. It bores me. I fall asleep. So, what am I to do? I don't want to go to see those films. Not that I see any other films. But, to some extent, we have to meet a problem here which is not an Indian problem, it is a common problem. It is melodrama that interests large numbers of people, whether in India, England or America or any other country. The type of melodrama may vary. Public taste, to some extent, moulds what is presented to it. At the same time, what is presented should mould the public taste—action and reaction.

One thing, I feel, India has been rather lacking in—not wholly but still largely—and that is, childrens' films, and I think they are of high importance. Again, there is a tendency, in our books that are written for children and in such films, for some person, who considers himself wise, to give a lecture to children as to how they should behave, telling them what virtues they should develop. Well, as far as I can remember, my own reaction as a child to such lectures was to hit the person lecturing. It is not the way to approach children or anybody to go about lecturing on the virtues to be cultivated. Inevitably, you drive that person to evil ways by your lectures. Don't sermonise too much. But there are other subtler ways of pointing a moral or drawing a lesson and a good children's film can be a very powerful instrument in developing the child and I hope that the Indian film industry will think of it. So far as the Government is concerned, I do not know what it is going to do about the films but inevitably the Government, not with any intention to compete, nevertheless is likely to compete with private ventures in films; it itself might produce, not of course of the same type only, whether it is documentaries or whether it is other specialised films for children and others. Not again with the desire to compete, but to some extent the results might be a setting up of standards by a certain measure of competition.

8. A survey in 1954-55, had ranked the Indian film industry, which was then about forty years old, second in respect of capital investment, fourth in respect of wages paid and fifth in respect of the number of people employed. Till then the industry had produced about seven thousand feature films; there were seventy-three film studios and about three thousand cinema halls in the country.

Anyhow, I am very grateful to you for having invited me to inaugurate this seminar and I hope that your discussions will yield fruit.

2. Comics and Films from the US¹

Some time ago I drew your attention to the horror comics that come to India from the United States of America. The matter was mentioned in Cabinet also, I think, and it was decided that we should undertake legislation if necessary to stop these coming to India, as the United Kingdom has done. I hope your Ministry is dealing with this matter.

A similar question arises in regard to certain type of films that come from the United States. Films dealing with horror scenes or with crimes should not be allowed to come to India. This has nothing to do with the quantity of films that come from there but rather the type of films. I am not a film goer myself, but I understand that quite a number of crime films come here which do no good.

1. Note to the Minister for Home Affairs, 19 May 1955. File No. 43(85)/49-PMS. Also available in JN Papers.

3. To S.S. Vasan¹

New Delhi
May 24, 1955

Dear Shri Vasan,

I have received your letter of May 18 which I have read. I have noticed also references in the press² to what you have said in your letter to me.

1. File No. 43(85)/49-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to the Minister for Information and Broadcasting.
2. In a statement issued to the press at Madurai on 19 May 1955. Vasan alleged that it was a matter of regret that the Congress Working Committee "had been less than fair to the film industry in expressing views adverse to it, without giving it a hearing." The film industry, he added, "had not been able to escape the malignant criticism of interested parties who persisted in giving it a bad name and demanding that it should be brought more and more under Government control."

You refer in your letter to a "smear campaign" and discuss the various representations made to Government by numbers of people on the subject of films. I do not quite know what you mean by hinting at someone organising all this. Somebody probably does take a lead. I am not aware who she or he is. Certainly it is not Government or the Congress organisation. It is a fact that there is a fairly widespread opinion on this subject and it is natural for that opinion to find expression in the normal democratic ways.

It may well be that those who express this opinion are not acquainted with all the facts and take a one-sided view. If so, an attempt should be made to enlighten them about the facts. It is not much good merely showing resentment at the fact that a large number of people disapprove of certain tendencies in films.

You have quoted me as saying that I do not like too much government interference. That is perfectly correct. But I added that in some matters there should be Government interference, for instance, in war propaganda or anything of that kind. I am strongly of opinion also that films dealing with crime should not be encouraged. I am not myself a habitual film-goer. But from reports I have received, chiefly about a certain type of foreign films imported into India, they deal with crime and are very undesirable. There is an allied subject of horror comics on which legislation was passed recently in England even by a Conservative Government, which normally does not wish to interfere. I am quite sure that these horror comics should not be allowed to come to India.³

Thus the question to be considered by us is to what extent and in what manner we should stop certain undesirable tendencies, whether in foreign films or in Indian ones. Opinions may differ about this and for my part, apart from certain definite objectionable features in films, I would not interfere too much. But a measure of interference there has to be on the part of Government if it considers a certain tendency highly unsocial and harmful.

I have previously expressed my appreciation of the growth of the film industry in India. That of course does not mean that I approve of all the films that are produced here. I suppose some are good, some are bad, and some are in-between. The whole question has to be considered objectively and calmly. It is no good approaching it with passion and prejudice on either side. Films are a tremendously powerful organ of influencing the public mind and more

3. The Cabinet, at its meeting on 24 February 1955, decided that the Home Ministry should examine the problem of import of horror comics and other pornographic literature into India and suggest what steps should be taken to stop the import of such literature which was having an evil influence on the general population of India, particularly on children of impressionable age.

especially the young people, and every government should try to avoid wrong tendencies from spreading.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Buddha Jayanti Celebrations

1. Coordination of Celebrations¹

I agree that we should associate ourselves with this celebration but this association should be strictly in regard to the cultural aspects of the celebration. Thus, we should help in the art exhibition and the publication of books. We should make ourselves responsible for these, with the cooperation of the Maha Bodhi Society.² For this purpose, a preliminary committee might be formed of representatives of Education, External Affairs and I&B. No doubt, our broadcasting service will arrange for special broadcasts on the occasion.

2. In our committee I think it will be desirable to associate some representative of the Maha Bodhi Society.

3. As for the All India Celebration Committee of the Maha Bodhi Society, I do not think it will be suitable at all for me to be the President of it. The right person would be the Vice-President because of his position and as a scholar as well as his deep interest in the subject.³ The President can certainly be the patron. So far as I am concerned, I shall participate in some of these activities.

4. I have just seen the estimate of cost of publications, which seems to me very heavy, and I cannot give an assurance that we would meet all this cost. It seems to me quite absurd to put down the figure of Rs 600,000 just for

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 19 February 1955. JN Collection.

2. The Maha Bodhi Society of India, established in 1891 in Calcutta, by Anagarika Dharmapala, has done commendable work in reviving centres of Buddhist religion in the country of its birth and in propagating the teachings of the Buddha. The Society has centres at Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, Sanchi, Mumbai, New Delhi, Lucknow, Nowgarh (Lumbini), Ajmer, Bangalore and Chennai.

3. S. Radhakrishnan was also the author of *Gautama—the Buddha and Dhammapada*, a Pali text in Roman characters, with introductory essays, English translations and notes.

translations of *Tripitaka*⁴ into Devanagari and Bengalee. These translations will have to be done probably by Buddhist monks or some other scholars, and very little payment should be needed. Even the publication cost seems to be much too heavy.

5. This also applies to publication cost of the *2,500 Years of Buddhism*.⁵ The art exhibition also need not cost Rs 300,000.

6. Some kind of a more realistic estimate should be made. Till this is done, we cannot commit ourselves to any large sums of money.

7. In this matter, the Vice-President's views and advice should be obtained.

4. *Tripitaka* or *Tipitaka* (three baskets), written in Pali, is a sacred Buddhist canon and is divided into three collections: the *Sutta* (discourses), the *Vinaya* (discipline) and *Abhidhamma* (a systematising and development of the doctrines of the *Sutta*) each of which was kept in a separate basket. The *Tripitaka* was translated into Hindi in Devnagari script and published in 41 volumes of 400 pages each with Jagdish Kashyap as the General Editor and assistance from the Governments of India and Bihar.
5. As part of the celebrations, the Government of India brought out 13 special publications including *2,500 years of Buddhism* in English and Hindi.

2. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
March 25, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,²

You are aware that the year 1956 will mark the completion of two thousand five hundred years since the birth of Gautam Buddha. The Central Cabinet is of the opinion that this important event, in memory of the greatest Indian in our country's history, should be suitably celebrated.³ There will, no doubt, be

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to the Cabinet Secretary.
2. This letter was sent to the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bhopal.
3. The Government of India's year-long celebrations of 'The Year of the Buddha' which began in May 1956, included the following: (i) laying the foundation-stone of a memorial monument in New Delhi by Nehru on 23 May 1956; (ii) a mass public meeting addressed by the President, the Vice-President and the Prime Minister, on 24 May; (iii) inauguration of a Buddhist art exhibition in New Delhi on 3 November; (iv) a symposium on Buddhism on 17 and 18 November; (v) establishment of a chair of Buddhist studies in Delhi University; (vi) documentary film on the Buddha in Indian sculpture and painting; (vii) issue of commemorative stamps; (viii) broadcast of features, talks and dramas on Buddhism from the All India Radio; (ix) restoration and renovation of Buddhist shrines, repair of approach roads, construction of rest houses and laying of gardens.

celebrations by Buddhist organisations, and we can give them such help as is feasible. Governmental celebrations would not be of a religious character but would be predominantly cultural.

The Central Government has decided that a provisional committee should be immediately appointed to consider this matter and make recommendations. The Vice-President has been invited to be chairman of this committee, and the chief ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bhopal,⁴ i.e., the three states intimately connected with the Buddha, are invited to be members of this committee.⁵ The Central Ministries of Education, External Affairs, Transport and Information & Broadcasting would also be associated with the committee in its deliberations. The Ministry of Education will be responsible for convening meetings of the committee.

I hope you will agree to join this Committee and give it the benefit of your advice and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Sampurnanand, Sri Krishna Sinha and Shankar Dayal Sharma, respectively.

5. Kushak Bakula of Ladakh and the Maharajkumar of Sikkim were the other members.

3. Ways to Celebrate¹

You are aware that Cabinet have formed a committee to consider how we should celebrate fittingly the conclusion of 2,500 years from the date of birth of the Buddha. Some ministries of Government have been associated with this committee and the Education Ministry has been asked to function as convenors. I hope that you will consult soon the Vice-President, who is the chairman of the committee, about this matter.

I should like to make some suggestions for the consideration of the committee:

- 1) So far as the Government is concerned, our celebrations will not be of a religious character.

1. Note to the Secretary. Ministry of Education, 27 March 1955. JN Collection. Copy sent to the Vice-President.

- 2) There should be a cultural exhibition on a big scale organised in Delhi.
- 3) There would of course be local celebrations at Bodh Gaya,² Sanchi,³ Sarnath⁴ and other places connected with the Buddha.
- 4) I think that it would be desirable for Government to put up proper buildings for visitors, pilgrims, etc., at some of these places of Buddhist pilgrimage. Also to construct proper roads to them where these are lacking as at Lumbini.⁵ I would suggest that the committee should depute an archaeologist and an engineer to visit all these places and to report their present condition and what can be done to improve them.

2. Bodh Gaya in Bihar, where Siddhartha attained enlightenment and became Buddha while meditating beneath a banyan (peepul) tree 2,500 years ago. Here the Mahabodhi Temple, containing an image of the Buddha in earth-touching posture symbolising the event of enlightenment, was probably built in the 2nd century AD.
3. Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh the site of the most extensive Buddhist remains in India, is famous for the Great Stupa constructed by Asoka, the remains of an Asoka pillar with its capital of four lions back to back, the gateways to the stupas depicting scenes from the Buddha's life, and the relics of Sariputta and Moggallana, two chief disciples of the Buddha, are housed here.
4. Sarnath (Isipatana) near Banaras in Uttar Pradesh, where in a deer park the Buddha preached the first sermon after his enlightenment. The Dhamek stupa marks this location.
5. Lumbini (Rummindei), a grove of sal trees near Kapilavastu in Nepal, is the place where Siddhartha was born.

4. Beautifying the Sacred Places¹

I suggest that we should undertake the task of improving in every way the places in India connected with the Buddha. This would include Bodh Gaya, Kushinara,²

1. Note, 10 April 1955. JN Collection.
2. Kushinara (Kushinagar) in Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh, where the Buddha in his eightieth year, attained Mahaparinirvana (death).

Sarnath, Lumbini, Rajgir.³ Possibly there are some more. In Sanchi something has already been done.

Bodh Gaya which is the most important of all these places, is at present in a bad condition. The whole place is dirty and all kinds of odd structures are being put up. Nobody is responsible because it does not come within the sphere of the Gaya municipality. Lumbini has been completely neglected and even the roads are not good. The Prime Minister of Burma has suggested that a kind of park should be made at Lumbini with certain buildings.

I suggest that we might send an engineer and an architect to visit these places and to make recommendations as to what should be done.

3. Rajgir in Patna district of Bihar, where Lord Buddha performed the miracle of subduing by the power of his love the intoxicated elephant set upon him by Devadatta. The Saptaparni cave here was the venue of the first Buddhist Council held immediately after the Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha with a view to give an organised shape to Buddhism.

5. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
May 25, 1955

My dear Sri Babu,

Your letter of the 21st May about the Bodh Gaya Temple Committee etc.

The main purpose of the advisory board, I take it, is to bring in foreign representatives from Buddhist countries. The whole idea is to make this advisory board rather an international body. I do not think it matters very much if the numbers are greater than you have indicated. After all, it is only an advisory board and we have to give a sense of partnership to these foreign countries. It is not necessary to put too many Indians on the board. The Indians should really be experts, either scholars or, as you have suggested, the Director General of Archaeology. In fact, there is some advantage in having a larger board.

I do not think you need fix the number of the Board definitely. That is, if necessary you can add to it. To begin with, I would suggest the following:

Burma	2;	Ceylon	2;	Nepal	1;
Tibet	1;	Thailand	1;	Cambodia	1;
Laos	1;	Japan	1.		

1. JN Collection. Copies of the letter were sent to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA.

These are the principal Buddhist countries. Indonesia has practically no Buddhist population or, at any rate, a very small one. China has many Buddhists and I would not mind if China (apart from Tibet) was also invited to send one. But I would not suggest this to begin with. This gives you ten members. I have indicated two for both Burma and Ceylon because both have a far greater interest in Bodh Gaya than any of the more distant countries. And, there is no harm at all in our agreeing to the proposal of the Union Buddha Sasana Council of Burma which wants two representatives.

We must remember that this advisory body will have a larger significance than merely one for the Bodh Gaya temple. It really brings India into the international picture from another point of view. Therefore, we should not mind having more representatives in it from foreign countries.

I agree with you that it would be desirable to ask the Maha Bodhi Society to nominate a member other than their General Secretary who is a member of the Committee.

There is no reason why you should want nearly this number of non-Buddhist members of the Board. In fact, I see little reason for non-Buddhists to be there except for special reasons. I would have the Commissioner of the Patna division, the Director General of Archaeology and a representative of the Ministry of External Affairs. I do not think that the Transport Ministry or the Education Ministry need have representatives, though I have no objection to either, if you desire them. We should try to get one or two Indian scholars interested in Buddhism. I do not think non-scholars should be put there merely because they happen to be prominent Hindus, and I do not see why there should be a member of the Scheduled Caste unless he is interested in Buddhism. But if you have a suitable person of the Scheduled Caste in view, you can certainly take him.

You will see that my approach is not a restricted one. I do not mind at all if the members are more. As it is what I have suggested will probably take the numbers to sixteen or seventeen. The numbers can go up to twenty. You can always add to them if you like, as there is no limitation.

I agree that the chairman of this advisory board should be a Buddhist and, preferably, a non-Indian Buddhist. The members of the advisory board should themselves select him.

The first step, if you agree, is for us, that is the Ministry of External Affairs, to write to the governments concerned to nominate their representatives. This will take sometime. There will be no difficulty about your own nominations.

As soon as you let me have an answer with your views, we shall take the necessary steps.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Education

1. To Sampurnanand¹

Camp: Allahabad
23rd March, 1955

My dear Sampurnanand,²

I enclose copies of a telegram from the President of the University Union here and the reply³ which I have had sent to him.

I spoke about the state of affairs in the University at the public gathering yesterday. I am much concerned about it, as you must be. The sooner our new Vice-Chancellor is appointed the better, for it is patent that nothing can be done till then.

What surprises me is that after all that disgraceful behaviour at the time of the convocation nothing was done except to appoint an inquiry committee which goes on from day to day taking evidence....⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1891-1969); Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, 1955-60.

3. Strongly disapproving the incidents during the convocation of the Allahabad University, when a demonstration was held against K.M. Munshi, Chancellor of the University and Governor of UP, the letter sent to O.P. Mehrotra, President of the University Union, on behalf of Nehru stated "that a university was supposed to be a seat of culture and university students were presumed to learn elements of culture and good behaviour, apart from equipping themselves in other ways. It was evident to the Prime Minister that the University of Allahabad had not succeeded in its primary function of being a seat of culture or of teaching elements of discipline and good behaviour, to some of its students at least."

4. Replying to Nehru's letter on 24 May, Sampurnanand wrote that no one among the senior cadre of professors was above taking part in intrigues and that some of the disgraceful scenes that took place at the time of the convocation were due to the machinations of some of the professors angling for the vice-chancellorship. Sampurnanand also felt that the Governor was taking undue interest in the affairs of the University.

2. Museums as Centres of Learning¹

We have been hearing about the National Museum for a very long time. So I am very happy to see that the first concrete step is being taken. Just now you heard Maulana Saheb tell us how necessary museums are from the point of view of education and to give an idea of how people lived in the past. I feel that education is incomplete without museums. There should be a museum not only in Delhi but in most places in India. I am using the word museum even in Hindi because I do not like the word *ajayabghar* that has been used as its equivalent. That word makes me feel that it is some place connected with magic and curiosities. We do not go to museums to see magic but to see how far the human mind has progressed. It would be more correct to say that a museum delineates the story of man's progress, it makes some sense. We collect beautiful, priceless antiquities to show what the past produced. That is certainly important. But it is even more important that our children and students should understand how man has progressed over thousands of years in every field. That is what we must see and understand—the different links in the long chain, the impact of one country on others, the ups and downs of nations and the things that made them great or led to their downfall, and so on.

There is a great dearth of museums in India. There is one very good museum in Calcutta but, if I may say so with all politeness, it is somewhat lifeless and very few people go and see it. The attendance is in thousands whereas millions of people ought to be visiting it. Only then would it have served some purpose. A museum is not merely a place for research scholars though that is part of it. It should attract common people. In fact it should become a large centre of learning, a university. A museum has no meaning if it is merely a collection of objects. It should be a place of learning, where students and others go in their millions to learn the various aspects of past civilisations. Museums should keep changing the items on display and not curbed the pieces permanently in one place.

Many of our beautiful works of art have been taken away from the country during the last couple of hundred years and are kept in various museums abroad. I do not know how many of them can be got back. But I am happy to say that some of the best things could not be removed from here because they were lodged in the soil. No one could have easily taken away the frescoes of Ajanta or Elephanta or the Taj Mahal. If they could have been prised out of the ground they would perhaps have by now found their way into foreign museums. But

1. Speech while laying the foundation stone of a new building for the National Museum of India, New Delhi, 12 May 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

most of the ancient monuments and antiques in India are strongly entrenched in the soil. It is only right that they should be seen in their natural surroundings. They should not be moved to some other place. You should go to them. They will not have the same impact if they are kept elsewhere.

The practice is for many things of varying quality to be collected in one place and labelled, as Maulana Saheb said, under various headings—archaeology, prehistoric section, anthropology, and so on. It is obvious that they have to be kept in different sections for display as otherwise they will get jumbled up and cannot be understood properly. But man's life cannot be divided into compartments. It has followed a momentum of its own over thousands of years, with its ups and downs. A real museum is one which shows how man has progressed down the ages. In our museum here, we are still in the first phase, namely, that of collecting material. But during the last forty or fifty years, some of the museums in other countries have gone farther and specialised on the task of presentation. I remember how impressed I was when I had the first opportunity of visiting the South Kensington Museum of Natural History in London. There were other big museums like the British Museum and big art galleries, but I was interested more in natural history. I could learn a great deal there. Later I went to many other museums. Another museum which impressed me greatly was the Deutsche Museum in Munich which was of a novel type. It showed the progress of man in every field. For example, there was a whole section devoted to showing how man had progressed from the bullock-cart to the aeroplane and everything that came between the two stages. It showed how man lived before the invention of the wheel and how after the wheel came to be built, came the railway engine and steamships and aeroplanes. When I saw it, a picture of thousands of years of progress arose before me. The same things were displayed also by what are known as working models. By pressing a button, we could see them moving.

This is how we must build museums in which things come alive. It is not enough merely to have a collection of items. We must have museums in practically all the cities of India so that children can visit them and learn all about India's past and present, how she progressed, what we assimilated from other cultures and civilisations and what we have taught others, etc. They must understand why we remained backward while the other countries went ahead. After all, the story of man's progress, whether it is in India or elsewhere in the world, is worth learning about. This is my conception of a museum—not merely a collection of items, but a depiction of man's progress down the ages.

Some time ago, one of our artists brought his pictures to show me. There were hundreds of old photographs of the various arts of India and he tried to explain the whole thing to me. First of all, he showed me photographs of cave paintings of more than ten thousand years ago. It is obvious that they were very simple. Then came the civilisation of Mohenjo-daro and others. Through

them he tried to explain to me how the simple lines drawn ten thousand years ago had come down even later in the art of the people. I do not understand these things very well to say whether he was right or wrong, but his argument was very interesting, that though there was a gradual progress, the trends which were noticeable in the cave paintings of thousands of years were very evident in the later paintings too. That threw a new light upon this matter and perhaps others who understand these things better will find it even more illuminating.

The National Museum has taken a big step today. There are many aspects to it and I hope that apart from the different wings that will be built in this building, separate museums devoted to special subjects will also be built, especially what I call the museum of man, which will show the progress of man, taking the whole world for this purpose. Only then would we understand this world a little. Museums are meant to help us understand the world and ourselves. They are not antique shops. They show the various things that have helped in the progress of man and also the obstacles that came in the way. Let this Museum not be thought of as an *ajayabghar* but as a place where the people of Delhi as well as others, especially young men and women and children, come to see the various exhibits and try to understand them. Efforts should be made to explain things to them. There are a hundred different ways in which this can be done nowadays, from giving simple lectures to showing movies. Visits to museums must become an essential part of school and college education. They are not meant for a handful of tourists. So I hope that the Director and other officials of this Museum will keep this aspect before them and make the museum grow. The test of their success lies not in the number of things that they collect but in the number of visitors they are able to draw and inform and the eagerness that is shown by people. It is not sufficient if they publish a learned treatise every six months about their collection and if very few people come to see them.

3. African Students in India¹

I had an interview today with Mr Peter Wright² of the African institute recently

1. Note, 19 May 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to Indira Gandhi.
2. A liberal Englishman who taught in a school in Kenya; strongly anti-colonial and a friend of Jomo Kenyatta, he was expelled from Kenya for his opposition to British colonial rule; on Apa Pant's recommendation he came to organise the Department of African Studies, Delhi University, from 1955-58; migrated to the United States.

started in Delhi. I asked him about this institute and about the general question of African students here. He spoke to me of the great barrier of distrust which existed between African students and non-Africans. There was, of course, this barrier as against Europeans, etc., but there was also something like it as against Indians.

2. The African students who came here came to a new world of thought and social organisation.³ They did not easily fit in to it and little attempt was made to make them understand it. The result was misunderstanding and some frustration.

3. It was important, he said, that the European or the Indian point of view should not be thrust upon them too much. In the past, of course, the European point of view was imposed upon them, whether in Africa or in other countries where they went for studies. There is no conscious attempt to impose an Indian point of view on them here but unconsciously this is done to some extent. What is required above all is for the African point of view to be understood and appreciated.

4. I entirely agreed with him about this approach. We have to realise, first of all, that there is a definite African point of view, an African background of thought and social organisation, an African culture deep-rooted in this background. Most people seldom think that there is such a thing as an African background and consider the Africans just primitive people. This, of course, is entirely wrong. Africans are backward in many ways because they have had no chance of development and they have suffered more through the ages than any people or any country. The history of Africa is a story of tragedy and a long and continued agony. We have to bear this in mind and remember that the whole world, and more particularly the Europeans and Americans, have a heavy debt to pay to the Africans for past misdeeds.

5. We have, therefore, to go out of our way to understand and be receptive to the Africans. It is only then that we can gain their confidence and both learn something from them and teach them something.

6. This should be borne in mind in the institute of African studies in the Delhi University. It is important, therefore, that as far as possible we should employ African teachers and professors there. It may not be easy to get them but we should try our best. It is better to have an African of somewhat lesser qualifications than an Indian of higher qualifications. Indians employed there should be judged not merely from their qualifications but from their general

3. According to figures given to Nehru, the total number of African students in India was 111. The main concentrations were in Mumbai (29), Delhi (17), Kolkata (12), Chennai (10) and Pune (8).

approach to the African problem and their friendliness and receptiveness to Africans.

7. This applies, of course, to the treatment of African students in our various universities and institutes where they are studying. I have often heard the complaint that there is a certain lack of sympathy shown to them by the college or hostel authorities. I do hope that this will be remedied and specific instructions issued by those in authority as to how African students should be treated in college, hostel and elsewhere.

8. Recently there was a conference of African students at Bangalore. I am told that little cooperation was given to this conference or to the people who attended it. The only people who appeared to welcome them there were the YMCA and some other like organisations. This is unfortunate. I am sure that it was an oversight. The state government should have welcomed this conference and the Africans and showed them friendship.

9. I understand that there is some suspicion in the minds of African students about the Indian Council of Cultural Relations. This Council arranges camps and there are welfare officers. I gather that these welfare officers have not won the confidence of African students. If this is true, then they can do little good to the students because it is essential that they should win their confidence and remove suspicion.

10. Repeatedly it has been urged that some steps should be taken to introduce African students into Indian families during their vacations. I am afraid little has been done in this matter so far. I think that an organised attempt should be made. *

11. Mr Peter Wright spoke to me about a scheme he had proposed for a cooperative industrial society in Delhi. This would consist of both Indian and African students. The idea is to give some part-time employment to the students. This kind of thing is fairly common in the West and especially in America. I think it is a good idea both for Indian and African students. They would learn something and at the same time earn something. If Indian and African students jointly function there, they would begin to know each other too.

12. In connection with this, or independently, it has been suggested that African students should be helped to acquire some technical skill in small-scale and village industries, etc., during vacation time. In this Commerce & Industry Ministry could help. Such training would be of real use to these students when they go back to Africa.

13. There is a proposal, I understand, for an international students' house in Delhi. The whole purpose of such an international home would be missed if such a house contains merely foreign students. The idea should be for foreign and Indian students to mix, to the advantage of both, and not only the students but the staff. Thus, in every such home, there should be about half Indians and



LAYING FOUNDATION STONE OF A NEW BUILDING FOR NATIONAL MUSEUM,
NEW DELHI, 12 MAY 1955

WHICH WAY
TO BANDUNG?



FROM THE *SHANKAR'S WEEKLY*, 17 APRIL 1955

half foreign students. Indeed, an attempt at such mixing should be made elsewhere too.

14. There is the proposal, of course, for more scholarships to be given to students from Africa. This is worth consideration. I am particularly attracted to the suggestion that the African institute should gradually develop a section dealing with African music and dancing. This is very typical of Africa and deserves study and encouragement.

15. I am told that some African students have started an African bureau in Delhi in consultation with the overseas section of the All-India Congress Committee office. I do not know very much about this but I think that it is good for these African students to have this means of self-expression. Therefore, this should be helped and encouraged.

16. I am sending this note to the Education Ministry, External Affairs Ministry, Vice-Chancellor⁴ of the Delhi University and to Kaka Saheb Kalelkar.⁵

4. G.S. Mahajani.

5. D.B. Kalelkar (1885-1981); President, Hindustani Talimi (Basic Education) Sangh, till 1957; Member of Rajya Sabha, 1952-64.

4. African Studies¹

Some days ago, I saw Mr Peter Wright of the Department of African Studies in the University of Delhi.² After that, I wrote a note embodying some points that had arisen in the course of our conversation. At my request, Mr Wright has now sent me a note on the subject discussed. This note makes interesting proposals. Some of these have been before us previously; some perhaps are new, at any rate they are new to me. I am enclosing a copy of this note.

2. The points raised in it which interest me specially, are:

(i) The proposal to include some African subjects for study in our BA courses, as well as short or part-time courses organised for students interested in particular aspects of African affairs. The point of this is to bring some

1. Note, 25 May 1955. JN Collection.

2. Nehru inaugurated the Department of African Studies, University of Delhi, on 6 August 1955. The Department was the first of its kind in Asia.

knowledge of Africa to our people, especially to our students. It is not enough for some to specialise in Africa. Others should have a background too, just as we have a background of Europe and America. In fact, there is far too much stress on Europe and America in our normal studies. Our students probably know very little about the history and background of Asian countries other than India. Of Africa, they know next to nothing. It seems to me highly desirable that there should be a more balanced approach to world understanding and, therefore, Asian history and culture should be included in our university courses wherever possible.

I have no doubt that Africa is going to play an important part in world affairs. In a sense, in these days of rapid transit across the seas, Africa is our neighbour. It is highly desirable that people in India should have a more specific knowledge of Africa than they possess. Most people here probably imagine that the African people are primitive and have no background of culture or history. This is a patently wrong assumption, and the sooner this is rectified, the better. In the past, the European or American approach to Africa has been chiefly the anthropological one. Little attempt has been made to understand this background of history and culture there. Education there has been strictly on the English model, with some degrees given by the London University and Latin being taught. Anything more absurd, it is difficult to imagine.

Anyhow, the future is going to be different in Africa, and the sooner we try to understand the real Africa, the better it would be for us as well as for Africa. Mr Wright has recommended not only the inclusion of some African studies in our normal courses but short or part-time courses. The latter should be particularly valuable. A beginning might well be made in the Delhi University in the School of African Studies there. But the subject is one which might well be taken up by some of our other major universities also. I suppose the difficulty will be to find trained personnel.

ii) I entirely agree that music and dancing which play such a vital role in the life of Africa, should be made subjects of study in the School of African Studies.

iii) Mr Wright has drawn attention to Arab Africa, that is, the northern part, which has influenced the rest of Africa a good deal. We are more acquainted with the Arab background and, independently of any other approach, it is desirable for us to understand this Arab Africa. It is at present seething with trouble, nationalism struggling for freedom against colonial domination. Therefore, this is an important subject for study anyhow, but the other aspect of it, that is, the influence of Arab Africa on African Africa, is also important.

iv) I do hope that something will be arranged to offer hospitality in Indian homes to African students.

v) The proposal for African students to be associated with our rural work, more especially in the Community Project areas and in connection with village

industries, is worthwhile and important. I suggest that Shri S.K. Dey³ might be asked about the possibility of this being done.

vi) The idea of starting an industrial cooperative society for students (both Indian and foreign) is also worthwhile from many points of view.

vii) I have myself come to know that some of the African students here are leaders of political life in their countries. They have come here not merely to learn some subject in the University but to understand our political and economic background, and to learn something from our experience. They should be encouraged to meet people. I understand that the AICC office in Delhi to some extent helps in this, but more should be done. I hope myself to meet some of them from time to time.

3. This note should be sent to: (i) Ministry of External Affairs (ii) Ministry of Education (iii) Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University (iv) Shri S.K. Dey, Director of Community Projects.

3. (1906-1988); Director, Community Projects Administration, 1952-56.

(iv) Development and Use of Hindi

1. Use of Hindi in MEA¹

Apart from other developments in Hindi, the first step should be that our formal communications, i.e., Letters of Recall and Letters of Credence should be drafted in Hindi. Let us at least complete this matter. Formal communications should be naturally in fairly precise language, though that does not mean that they should be unintelligible.

2. The next step should be that our formal notes to some selected Missions should be in Hindi. Inevitably, this will depend upon our Ambassadors and staff.

3. It is certainly desirable that members of our staff should be encouraged to speak in Hindi amongst themselves.

4. While we should proceed with all these matters, we must not put too heavy a burden on such members of our staff as do not know Hindi.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 1 March 1955. JN Collection.

5. Draft Letters of Credence etc. in Hindi might be prepared. Then we can consider them.

2. Hindi and All-India Examinations¹

It seems to me that the stress on Hindi being the sole medium of examinations from 1965 is not a helpful thing to say at this stage. In fact, it will probably come in the way of Hindi itself. Whether the Constitution says this or not,² I am in doubt. Certainly, the policy that was adopted by the Education Ministry at the instance of the Congress Working Committee, said something different. We are passing through a difficult period and we should not say or do anything which creates apprehensions in South India. It is obvious that if Hindi is the sole medium for All-India examinations, this will be very much in favour of the Hindi-speaking areas and it will not be fair to the South. If the Constitution says anything like this, the Constitution should be changed.

1. Note to the Home Secretary, 31 March 1955. JN Collection.
2. Article 343 provided that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi and Article 344 envisaged that since the switch over from English to Hindi might not be achieved immediately on commencement of the Constitution, two commissions, one in 1955 and another in 1960, be appointed to make recommendations to the President on the progress towards the use of Hindi. Thus for a period of 15 years English language was to continue for all official purposes of the Union and efforts were to be made to make the transition from English to Hindi progressively complete within this period.

3. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
May 1, 1955

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st May about the short-notice question on

1. File No. 52(5)/55-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

Hindi.² I am glad you are answering these on the lines of the Congress Working Committee resolution. The circular issued by the Home Ministry sometime ago has created a great deal of trouble. It is patent that if examinations are conducted in Hindi only even after a few years, the non-Hindi people of India will be penalised. Therefore, as stated in the Working Committee resolution, examinations for all-India services should be held in Hindi, English as well as the principal regional languages, the candidate being given the option to choose any of these.

I think it is generally recognised all over India that Hindi should be the all-India language and undoubtedly large numbers of people are learning it, but we must recognise also that it is impossible for any person of more or less advanced years now to learn enough Hindi to be able to compete on even terms with another whose mother tongue is Hindi. Any step that we take in this matter which weighs the balance in favour of the Hindi-knowing area will be resented by the South and other parts of India, and I think rightly resented.³

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

2. In the draft answer sent for Nehru's approval, Pant wrote that the Government of India had decided to be guided by the principles contained in the resolution passed by the CWC of 15 April 1954, on the subject of the progressive introduction of Hindi as a medium for competitive examinations for recruitment to various public services. The resolution inter alia stated: (i) Since the Constitution had recognised Hindi as all-India national language and had fixed a period of 15 years for transition to Hindi for official purposes, it was desirable that progressive steps be taken to make Hindi the language of examinations for all-India services; (ii) progressively, examinations for all-India services should be held in Hindi, English and regional languages and candidates might be given the option to use any of these languages. If a candidate chose Hindi or a regional language, he should pass separately in English also; (iii) In the next stage for candidates whose language is other than Hindi, there would be a compulsory paper in Hindi and a compulsory paper in some other Indian language for candidates whose language is Hindi. In both cases English would be compulsory.
3. For instance, in an interview with the UPI, published in *The Hindu* on 5 May, Rajagopalachari while expressing his dissatisfaction with G.B. Pant's statement in the Lok Sabha on 2 May about Hindi and all-India competitive examinations, said: "I feel that the graduation and instruments of encouragement should be devised on other lines (than by dates) which would give no room for a feeling of oppression. I can make concrete suggestions but I do not wish to be the sole controversialist on this matter."

4. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

Camp: Gopalpur
9th May, 1955

My dear Rajaji,

Your letter of the 4th May about the language question. I did not answer this immediately as I thought I ought to consult some colleagues about it. I have done so now. In fact, I read your letter at the meeting of the Working Committee.

I have carefully read your letter several times. Presuming that you have seen Pantji's recent statement² on this subject and the Working Committee resolution passed just a year ago, I do not quite understand what you object to. I entirely agree with you that, in regard to examinations or other matters, nothing should be done which casts an unfair burden on the non-Hindi knowing people. In fact, we said so in our Working Committee resolution a year ago and then we laid down certain definite rules to govern all-India examinations for public services. These rules made it clear that such examinations should be in English, Hindi or the regional language at the option of the candidate. This in itself puts Hindi on a level with the other regional languages, apart from English. There can be no question of any non-Hindi knowing people objecting to this rule which gives them every opportunity either to take the examination in English or their own regional language.

We then say that after the examinations a person coming from a non-Hindi speaking area will have to pass a test in Hindi. Even there we wanted to put the same burden on the Hindi speaking people and we said that such persons who pass the competitive examination should pass a test in a non-Hindi Indian language.

You will see that there could be no fairer arrangement and that Hindi is not being pushed on other people according to this arrangement. In fact, every care is taken to prevent any disability on account of Hindi,

When this resolution was passed by the Working Committee last year, it was welcomed all over India and more especially in the South. I do not remember any objection to it being raised. I have again consulted Tamil MPs and other non-Hindi knowing people and they accept it in its entirety. I have spoken to Kamaraj Nadar³ and he accepts it and says that there is nothing

1. File No. 52(5)/55-PMS. Copies of the letter sent to the Congress President, Home Minister and the Governor of Madras.
2. Rajagopalachari wrote: "The statement... does not give satisfaction to those who believe that they are entitled and competent to serve all India and fill places in such services and behave that they are as integral a part of the nation as those whose mother tongue is Hindi".
3. (1903-1975); Chief Minister of Madras, 1954-63.

further to be done about it. This resolution of the Working Committee has been accepted by Government as laying down broadly the policy to be pursued.

Some unfortunate confusion arose because of some kind of a circular letter which the Home Ministry issued some months ago. This was not wholly in keeping with our policy as declared previously and later. That letter should not have gone in the form it did. Even so, it was merely asking the states for their opinion. The letter was issued at the instance, I believe, of the Union Public Service Commission. Anyhow, we need not trouble ourselves with it as the Government of India's policy has been clearly declared again and this is in line with the Working Committee resolution.

I am enclosing a copy of this resolution for ready reference by you. I would really like you to tell me what you disapprove of in it.

In your letter to me you make certain suggestions. The first is that there should be a paper in Hindi and an oral examination in Hindi as distinguished from making Hindi the medium of examination in all subjects. This is exactly what we have said. Hindi will only be a medium of examination for people who want to take it as such. For the others there would be English or their own language and after they have passed their competitive examination they will have a paper in Hindi to show a measure of proficiency in that language.

Your second suggestion is that candidates may choose either Hindi or English for the medium of examination in all subjects and this option should be intimated in advance to the candidates. This is also exactly what we have said, except that we have added the option to take the examinations in the regional languages.

Your third suggestion is that those whose mother tongue is not Hindi may be encouraged by the allotment of a certain number of marks if they choose Hindi as the medium over and above what they secure on the merits of answers given. We have not said this, because we have given complete freedom for Hindi not to be taken. In fact, your suggestion does not go quite so far as ours has done in the encouragement of non-Hindi knowing people. However, it may be possible to accept your suggestion also in addition to the others already made.

Our whole approach is not to put any additional difficulty in the way of non-Hindi knowing people in regard to public examinations. In fact, we have put Hindi on exactly the same level as the regional languages and English in this matter. There can be no feeling of oppression in any candidate who does not know Hindi after what we have said.

I hope you will read the old Working Committee resolution and then let me know what you think of it. I might mention that the Congress President proposes to refer to this matter and clear it up at the AICC meeting.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

5. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
May 16, 1955

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th May about Hindi, etc.²

I am quite sure in my mind that even at the conclusion of the fifteen years laid down in the Constitution, there should be and will be no compulsion in examinations being taken in Hindi. There will have to be an alternative for those not used to taking it. The fact that Hindi becomes the national language of the Union does not necessarily mean that all examinations must be held in Hindi.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 52(5)/55-PMS. Copy sent to the Home Minister.
2. Rajagopalachari wrote that while he accepted what was being done now or proposed to be done in the period terminating with the year 1965 given in the Constitution, the difficulty was what was "to be done when the date-line is reached." He felt the constitutional position did not mean that "thereafter the medium of examinations in all subjects must be Hindi...".

III. HINDU MARRIAGE REFORMS

1. The Hindu Marriage Bill¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Deputy Speaker,² during the last few days I have not

1. Speech in the course of the debate during the third reading of the Hindu Marriage Bill in the Lok Sabha on 5 May 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, 22 April-7 May 1955, cols 7954-7968.
2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

spoken at the various stages of this Bill.³ But I have taken a deep interest in these discussions and followed them. As, perhaps, the House knows, I have been deeply interested not only in this Bill, but in certain matters connected therewith, and it is a matter of great gratification to me that we have arrived at this stage now, the third reading stage of this Bill and I have every hope that this House will finalise it in the course of the next few hours.

I approve of this Bill, of course. It is not merely what is incorporated in this Bill but rather something more than that which this Bill represents. It appeals to me greatly, I think it is highly important in the context of our national development. We talk about five year plans, of economic progress, industrialisation, political freedom and all that. They are all highly important. But I have no doubt in my mind that the real progress of the country means progress not only on the political plane, not only on the economic plane, but also on the social plane. They have to be integrated, all these, when the great nation goes forward.

We work peacefully in this country and we have brought about a great political change. That is, from being a dependent country we have become an independent country, by and large, through peaceful methods. We are pursuing that peaceful way to bring about changes. But let it not be forgotten that the changes—political or other—that are being brought about are, well, in a sense revolutionary in their context, although they might be brought about largely cooperatively.

Now, I welcome this particular measure because I think it is of the highest importance that we should take up the social challenge. On a previous occasion, speaking, I think, on not this Bill, but on a similar measure—the Special Marriage Bill⁴—I ventured to say something about my reading. I speak, of course, before experts with some fear of trepidation, but I ventured to say what my conception of Hindu law had been in the past.

Hindu Law had never been rigid; Hindu law had a certain dynamic element in it: indeed that was its strength, because any law that is rigid and is not dynamic is inevitably static and does not change with the changing times. Hindu law has that dynamic changing quality. It is not a law of the statute book

3. The Hindu Marriage Bill was passed by the Rajya Sabha on 15 December 1954 and by the Lok Sabha on 5 May 1955. It received the President's assent on 18 May 1955. It provided for (i) the minimum essential conditions for a Hindu marriage, (ii) rules regarding restitution of conjugal rights, (iii) judicial separation, (iv) the grounds for divorce and, (v) punishment for bigamy.
4. The Bill which was passed by the Lok Sabha on 17 September 1954, received the President's assent on 9 October 1954. The Bill provided for (i) marriage by registration, (ii) minimum age at the time of marriage, and (iii) nullity of marriage and divorce by mutual consent.

which is changed when you change it. It encouraged all kinds of customs to grow up. When they grew up it acknowledged them. In fact, even today in India there are so many varieties of Hindu law—in the South, in the North, in the East—that it is very difficult to say that this is the one and the only Hindu law. You see the variety all over. Then again, everyone knows that a great majority of Hindus, apart from the few top-most castes, are governed by all kinds of customs. Would anyone here venture to say that they are not Hindus and drive them out of the Hindu fold? Surely not. Therefore, the essential quality of the Hindu law in the old times was this dynamic quality, not changing by the decree or statute, but allowing changes to creep in, so that they might be in the fitness of the changing conditions of society.

Now I venture to ask: can any law, whether it is social or economic, be equally applicable when society has changed completely? Let us take India, broadly speaking, a thousand or two thousand years ago. The population of India in those days was one hundredth of what the population today is and India was a community of a large number of villages and some small towns. Now surely modern conditions are entirely different. In the cities of Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras industries are growing and new social relations are growing up. Can anyone say that while all these changes are taking place—tremendous changes—in our social set-up, certain things must remain unchanged? The result is that they will not fit in; the result is very bad one—that while you appear to hold on to something, that something which has gone, or is in the process of going, cracks up, because it does not fit in the with the changed conditions.

This Bill has taken a few days in discussion here, but behind it lies years and years of investigation—I forget how long. First, there was Sir B.N. Rau's Committee which functioned for a number of years.⁵ Here in this Parliament this matter has come up for the last three and a half years. Before this Parliament came up, in fact, Bills were repeatedly moved. Preceding this was the tremendous investigation by the B.N. Rau Committee. No subject, I take it, has been so much before the public, has been discussed so much and opportunities given for its consideration by the public as this particular subject in its various aspects—the question of the reform of the Hindu law in regard to personal relationships. Now that was right because it was important. After all, politics are important, economics are important, very important, but in the final analysis human relations are the most important.

5. A Committee under the chairmanship of B.N. Rau, a member of ICS and legal expert, was appointed in 1941 to enquire into the state of various personal laws of the Hindus with a view to making them uniform and to codify them.

This morning a fact came to my notice, that in the small state of Saurashtra, one of our smallest states, one, if I may say so, of our advanced states in many ways, socially speaking, there is on an average one suicide a day among the women because of maladjustments in human relationships. The figure was 375 in a year: 375 in a population of 40 lakhs, men, women and children. You can calculate the proportion it works out in that state. These are regular authentic figures which the chief minister of that state gave me. This shows the maladjustment and the difficulties that more especially the women have to face. I have no doubt that such similar statistics may be collected from other parts of India. One has to face that situation.

I had the privilege of listening to the speech of the honourable Member opposite, Shri N.C. Chatterjee. The more I listened to it, the more confused I got and surprised. He dealt at great length with what is a sacrament and what is a samaskara and other things. He is quite welcome; let it be a sacrament. It concerns us and let us get at what is a sacrament exactly. What does it mean? A sacrament, I take it, is something which has religious significance, a religious ceremony. A Hindu marriage is a religious ceremony, undoubtedly. Nobody doubts that. It has a religious significance. But, does it mean that it is a sacrament to tie up people who bite, who hate each other, who make life hell for each other? Is that a sacrament or a samskara—I do not understand. Obviously, that is not the question, I admit. I would go a step further. I think all human relationships should have an element of sacrament in them. More so, the intimate relationship of husband and wife, apart from other relationships, should have an element of sacrament in it. There is something rather fine in human relationships provided they are good relationships. Otherwise, that relationship is the reverse of fine. It is awful. If they cannot fit into each other, if they are compelled to carry on together, they begin to hate each other and their life is bitter. The whole foundations of their existence are bitter. Surely that is not a sacrament.

He quoted, he referred to Manu and Yagnyavalkya, very great men in our history, who have shaped India's destiny. We admire them. They are among the heroes of our history. But, is it right for Shri N.C. Chatterjee or anyone to throw Manu and Yagnyavalkya at me and say what they would have done in the present conditions of India?

N.C. Chatterjee: I am sorry, the Prime Minister was not here; Shri Pataskar⁶ threw them on me and I only reciprocated rightly.

6. H.V. Pataskar (1892-1970); Minister for Legal Affairs in the Union Ministry of Law, 1954-57, piloted the Bill.

JN: The point is, it is very unfair for Manu or Yagnyavalkya or anybody else to be brought in as a witness as to what should be done in the present conditions of India. The conditions are completely and absolutely different. I admit that there should be, and there are, undoubtedly, certain principles of human life which, normally speaking, do not change and should not change. There are certain bases of human life. But, in adapting them in legislation and other things, you have to consider the conditions as they are and not as they were 1,000 or 2,000 years ago.

Then again—I speak subject to correction by Shri N.C. Chatterjee—he referred to some learned professor of a Hindu University who has produced a pamphlet. I happened to see the pamphlet. It does not bear his name; I do not know his name. Because he has drawn my attention to it, I looked into that pamphlet. I was surprised that any person, learned or unlearned, should have produced that. What is that pamphlet? That pamphlet is based chiefly on a certain report in America known as the Kinsey⁷ Report.⁸ It is based on showing how the conditions in the United States of America are. First of all, for a professor, learned or unlearned, to go about issuing pamphlets, condemning other people and customs of other countries, is not a good thing. It is not good for him to do or for any one of us. If it is a scientific study, well and good. The scientists can do it. To make that a parallel and say, “See how horrible the conditions in America are, if you pass this Bill, you will have the same conditions”, is not only non sequitur in logic, but it is a bad way of approach. Very few of us who are present here, I would venture to say, none of us, is competent to give any real opinion, worthwhile opinion, about the conditions in America or England or Russia or anywhere. We read about them in the newspapers; maybe we read books about them. We do not know the context, we do not know the historical development, we do not know the facts and a hundred other factors. The major thing that affects human relationships in the world today is the growth of industrialisation. It has nothing to do with the law of marriage or divorce and the rest of it. It is the growth of industrialisation, the industrial economy of the countries, vast numbers of people

7. Alfred Charles Kinsey (1894-1956); taught at the University of Indiana from 1920 and was the founder-director of the University's Institute for Sex Research, 1942-56.
8. Kinsey's studies of male and female sexual behaviour based on questionnaires and personal interviews of over ten thousand Americans, were the first serious research which led to the discovery of many misconceptions, social class differences and wide variations in practice and expectations. The results were summarised and published in *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behaviour in the human Female* (1953).

living in huge industrial centres, resulting in all kinds of neurosis and other things. That can be studied in a scientific manner or otherwise. To apply that parallel to India and say that if this Bill is passed, all kinds of looseness, laxity and licentiousness will prevail, is narrow and unworthy of a professor, learned or unlearned.

Apart from this, I should like in this context, with all respect, to say something about a habit that some of us have, everybody has—to condemn other people, other countries, their customs, their religion whatever it may be, their economic principles or anything and take pride in the fact that we are superior. That is a very bad way. I would not call that in the wider context a civilised approach. It is a narrow approach and an uncivilised approach to these matters. The right approach is, watch them, learn from them, be warned by what you see there, certainly, avoid the things that you think are wrong, accept the things that you think are right, do not shout about things in other countries, especially with regard to the people, instead of condemning them, rather think of our own failings so that we may improve them. That is the right approach to strengthen ourselves.

In this context, with your permission, I should like to quote an ancient passage which, I hope, represents the real spirit of Indian culture, the real spirit of that old *sanskriti*, that is talked about by people who, sometimes, do not themselves exhibit it. I am going to quote from the famous rock edict of Asoka, 2,300 years ago, Rock Edict No. XII.

“The beloved of the Gods does not value either gifts or reverential offerings so much as that of an increase of the spiritual strength of the followers of all religions.

This increase of spiritual strength is of many forms.

But the one root is the guarding of one’s speech so as to avoid the extolling of one’s own religion to the decrying of the religion of another, or speaking lightly of it without occasion or relevance.

As proper occasions arise, persons of other religions should also be honoured suitably. Acting in this manner, one certainly exalts one’s own religionist and also helps persons of other religions. Acting in a contrary manner, one injures one’s own religion and also does disservice to the religions of others.

One who reverences one’s own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one’s own religion and to glorify it over all other religions does injure one’s own religion more certainly.

It is verily concord of all religions that is meritorious as persons of other ways of thinking may thereby hear the Dharma and serve its cause.”

Now, the word "religion" is used. I take it the word in the original was "dharma", which has, of course, a wider significance, and it applies not only to the question of decrying or praising religions, but ways of life, ways of people and others in the wider context, and I wish that this inscription of Asoka which has been carved out in some of the rocks should be multiplied and be made available, visible, to vast numbers of our people, because I do believe that represents the essence of the soul of the old Indian approach which has made India strong, which has given strength to Indian culture in the past, and to the extent it survives today, it gives us strength today. Now, we see something entirely opposed to this—this kind of running down others, condemning others, extolling oneself that we are good, our country is good, or as groups of individuals we are good. Well, goodness shows itself, it does not require extolling by the persons concerned with that particular matter.

And so, in this matter I would submit—in this and connected matters—that we should always avoid running down other countries. Of course, the course of discussion when questions come up, we have to deal with their policies and that is all right, but never run down a people or their customs or their ways. We do not know how they have grown, how they have been conditioned by past ages. How to compare the people, let us say, of Central Africa, to the people of Europe or Asia? We have had a different conditioning. How can we compare them? We may like something that they do, dislike something that they do, and there the matter ends. And we should accept this great variety that exists in the world. Even in this little world of India there is tremendous variety. The more I wander about, the more I am surprised and amazed and pleased by seeing this great variety of India. India cannot go ahead, cannot progress, unless it accepts this variety in all its richness and at the same time builds up unity. If we try to impose our own conception of things, our own ways of life, our own way of eating, dressing, standing, sitting, whatever it may be, on somebody else who has a different way, well, then not only do we crack up the structure of a united India, but we are imposing ourselves on others. Let us impose ourselves by argument, of course, by goodwill. Let them accept. But never impose forcibly, because the moment we do that, it is a bad approach, especially when it affects their present life, etc.

Therefore, I am glad that in this Bill, custom, etc., has been excluded. It will be wrong to go and interfere with custom. Again, if I may refer to this again, the fact is that eighty per cent, or whatever the percentage of the Hindus, actually at the present moment enjoy divorce in some form or other—if that is so—do you want the elect to remain the elect, cut off from the rest looking down upon them, a few higher castes considering themselves the real descendents of Manu and Yagnyavalkya and that others are outside the pale?

That is not the way of democracy, nor is it the way of building up a unified society in India. Even looking at it from the narrowest viewpoint of Hinduism, is it good for Hinduism to look at this point in this way?

Now, we are often told, reminded, of the high ideals of Indian womanhood, Sita and Savitri. Well, everyone here, I take it, admires those ideals and thinks of Sita and Savitri and other heroines of India with reverence and respect and affection. Sita and Savitri are mentioned as ideals of womanhood for the women. I do not seem to remember men being reminded of Ramachandra and Satyavan, to behave like them. It is only the women who have to behave like Sita and Savitri, the men may behave as they like. No example is put forward before them. I do not know if Indian men are supposed to be perfect, incapable of any further effort or further improvement, but it is bad that this can be so. It cannot remain so, you cannot have it so under modern conditions, either modern democratic conditions or any conditions of modern life. You simply cannot have it. You cannot have a democracy, of course, if you cut off a large chunk of humanity, fifty per cent or thereabouts of the people, and put them in a separate class apart in regard to social privileges and the like. They are bound to rebel, and rightly rebel against that.

Some people, I believe, some honourable Members spoke with disdain of what they consider certain traces, certain developments in what might be called the social life of upper class Hindus, upper class Indian women. Well, I am not a great admirer of certain types of development which we see in Delhi city, in New Delhi, and the like, but what does that lead to? Because we do not like certain developments, let us try to improve them, let us try to change them. That is a different matter. But what exactly does that argument lead to? Does it lead to this that you should create or perpetuate or petrify conditions which themselves are leading to these cracks and break-ups in Hindu society because we find nothing to fit in there?

Then again, it is said: "It is all very well. We are in favour of it, but it is not good enough unless you create economic conditions for the women". That is an argument which may be considered valid logically, but, when applied to these things, it simply means: "Do not do this and you start the other. You have not done the first, you are doing the second." So, the real, basic approach is that nothing need be done. It is quite absurd. You have to make some beginning somewhere. Of course, I entirely agree that the basic thing is economic condition, equality of economic opportunity. To some extent, I hope, another Bill which is following will do it. Let us go forward still in that line, but to stop a good Act because it does not completely meet the demands of the situation is never to do anything at all.

The House will remember how it tried at first—that was not in this Parliament, but in the previous Parliament—how the then Government brought

forward what they called the Hindu Code Bill,⁹ a huge document of hundreds of hundreds of pages. We considered it in various ways, introduced it in the House, referred it to committees. It was so big that we could never get through it. In fact, we never started properly with it, and it was patent that if we went through it, it might take a few years—all committee sittings and all that clause by clause consideration could not be done. Therefore, it was decided to split it up into several compartments and deal with each separately. This is the first part of it. The second I hope will be dealt with and sent to the Select Committee later. This is the only way to deal with human life. You cannot take every aspect, the condition of Indian women, all together, and improve it some way. Apart from the complication, the difficulty involved is that, simply the time element comes in and you rub up so many other groups and things and they object and say it is not practicable at all. Therefore, you have to take one by one. We take this here now, and I hope we shall take something else next.

I referred to Indian women and I said that I am no admirer of certain tendencies which are visible. They are not visible in Indian women only, they are visible elsewhere too, but I would beg of you again not to fall into the trap of appearing to criticise other countries or other women or other people in other countries about whom we know very little. We may have gone, some of us may have gone abroad, spent two or three weeks or months abroad, and formed some opinions. Is that the way you would like a foreigner to come to India and form an opinion of Indian society? You would not. When he comes here for two months and writes a book, you object highly because he has picked out some things which he dislikes and runs you down. He does not know the background of it. As I have often said, the man goes to Banaras, from Western Europe or America and all that. Now, if I go to Banaras, there are many things that I do not like in Banaras. The streets are not clean and this and that—there are many things. But Banaras evokes in me a thousand pictures of India's history, of Buddha preaching in Sarnath, and a hundred other things happening, the whole seat of India's culture and development and this and that. I am filled with India's past history when I go to Banaras. When some tourist comes from abroad he sees the filth and dirt of the lanes of Banaras. They are both true, but it is something deeper than that. When we go

9. The draft Hindu Code Bill, prepared in 1947, was discussed in the Constituent Assembly in 1948. Nehru was in favour of the general principles embodied in the Bill but Rajendra Prasad had vehemently opposed the proposed measure on the ground that: the Congress had never discussed it, the Constituent Assembly was not empowered to deal with it, and it might rouse bitter feelings, affecting chances of the Congress at the elections. In September 1951, on the eve of the first general elections, the Bill was dropped. The main parts of the Bill were reintroduced in the new Parliament as separate Bills.

abroad then we too fall into the same trap. We see some filth—social and otherwise—and think that that is the basis of society there. Do you think that the civilisation of the West or your civilisation or the civilisation of any country has been built on these weak foundations, immoral foundations, low foundations? Do you think that any civilisation, any culture, can be built up on that loose basis? Obviously not. They may have been colonial powers—they have been colonial powers; they may have dominated over us—they have done so; they have done injury to us, but the fact is that they have built a great civilisation in the last 200 or 300 or 400 years and you must find out the good and take the good from them. After all we have got to build ourselves on our own soil, basically on our own ideas, but keeping the windows of our minds open to the ideas, to the winds, that come from other countries, accepting them, because the moment we close ourselves up, that moment we become static. Whether we close ourselves up by law, by dogma, by religious dogma or any other kind of closure, it is preventing the growth of the spirit of men, and it is bad, for the individual, for the group and for the country. And it has been the greatness, I think, of the basic Hindu approach of life that it was not rigid. Whether in philosophy or anything else, as everybody knows, we have a way of civilisation or a way of orthodoxy completely opposed to each other. We accept them: it is a good thing. There is a spirit of tolerance; a man may be an atheist and still not cease to be a Hindu. Maybe it is not religion in the ordinary sense of the word. But in regard to certain social practices, rigidity comes in. Rigidity comes in when you say you must not eat with so and so, you must not touch so and so. That rigidity is a thing which has weakened and brought many disasters on Hindu society. Now, we have to break that rigidity. I am glad we have broken and we are continuing to break the rigidity in regard to untouchability. I hope we shall break the rigidity due to these caste divisions. Now, in that context, it becomes important that you should break this rigid statute law or interpretation of law by judges which has brought about rigidity in regard to human relations in Hindu society. It is because of that that I welcome this, because it breaks that rigidity, as anybody who has read this Bill can see the conditions provided for divorce, etc., are not easy. They are pretty difficult. For any one to say that this is something which will let loose licentiousness all over India is fantastic. There is no basis in fact for that.

So far as I am concerned, I do not propose to say anything about women in other countries. They are good or bad, as the case may be. About the social fabric of other countries, I am not competent to judge. Though I may be a little more competent perhaps, because of the opportunities I have had of travel abroad, than many Members here, yet I am not competent to judge. But I can say with considerable confidence, expressing my own faith, that the womanhood of India is something of which I am proud. I am proud of their beauty, grace, charm, shyness, modesty, intelligence and their spirit of

sacrifice and I think if anybody can truly represent the spirit of India, it can be truly represented by the women of India and not by the men. So it is, and I may tell you that even now in the modern age, some women of India—not many—go out of India, maybe on some official or unofficial work, in commissions and the like. Every time that a woman has been sent, she has done well, not only done well, but produced a fine impression of the womanhood of India.

H.V. Kamath¹⁰: Question, question....

JN: Well, when I speak about women, I am not saying that every woman in India is ideal. That should be an absurd thing to say.

HVK: That's all right.

JN: I am grateful for his acquiescence.

But I do say that not every man who has represented us abroad has always brought too much credit on us, but every woman who has gone has whether it is in commissions, committees, etc. It is true that fewer women have gone abroad; so it is difficult to take out averages. But still I have the greatest admiration—I am not talking about the ancient ideal of Indian womanhood—which I certainly admire in the old context—for the women of India today. I have faith in them; I think they have solid foundations of character and the rest, and I am not afraid to allow them to grow, to allow them freedom to grow, because I am convinced that no amount of legal constraint can prevent society from going in a certain direction today. And if you put too much legal constraint, the result is that it does not bend; it breaks, the structure breaks. I mentioned a simple case, of Saurashtra. There are many cases given in B.N. Rau's Report, and I think if you go into this matter, you will find that the position of Indian women, more especially of the upper classes, is perilous today; it is bad legally, economically and socially speaking. Therefore, I welcome this Bill, because it is a first good attempt to improve that condition and to shake off that rigid structure.

10. H.V. Kamath (1907-1982) of PSP, who had been returned to the Lok Sabha and took his seat on the same day, rose to protest against Nehru's remarks that the spirit of India was represented by the women of India and not by the men. Kamath said it was a "very serious reflection upon all India's leaders like Buddha, Gandhi and Subhas."

IV. TRIBAL AFFAIRS

1. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
March 5, 1955

My dear Jairamdas,²

I have just seen in some papers that Imkong Meren Ao³ has been arrested and his property has been attached. I am told that this man was one of the moderate Naga leaders. I should like to know why this action was taken against him.⁴ Was there any special reason? In this way we are likely to antagonise even the moderates among the Nagas.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1892-1979); Governor of Assam, 1950-56.
3. Vice-President, Naga National Council.
4. Replying to Nehru on 17 March, Doulatram wrote that a warrant of arrest was issued against Imkongmeren and his property attached as he had been touring and organising stiff resistance to Government, especially in the Ao areas of Naga Hills District and mobilising the Nagas for non-cooperation and aggressive, violent action for achieving independence. Imkongmeren was "not able to go against Phizo's instructions" and had "much too much identified himself with Phizo's anti-Government movement."
5. In his letter of 20 March (not printed) Nehru told Doulatram that while he agreed with him on the circumstances leading to the issue of a warrant for the arrest of Imkongmeren, he would have preferred to avoid penalising his wife.

2. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi
March 9, 1955

My dear Medhi,

I have often written to you, and sometimes spoken also, about affairs in the tribal areas of the North-East. You have been good enough to keep me in

1. JN Collection. Also available in AICC Papers.

touch with developments there. I am concerned, naturally, as you must be, with these developments. I am not referring to any particular incident or minor happenings, but rather to the major trends. We have been watching these for the last five or six years. During this period, there has been, on the whole, a steady deterioration of the situation. That would have been bad in any part of India but a frontier area naturally demands special attention.

2. There is no question of anything happening there which is beyond the control of Government. Even if there was active rebellion, it would not put any great strain on us, but what I am concerned with is the fact that we have largely failed to win the people of those areas. Our success can only be measured ultimately by the yardstick of the people's cooperation and goodwill. The law and order approach sometimes becomes inevitable, but it cannot be the basis of any policy. If the law and order approach becomes continuous, then it means that our other approaches have failed.

3. I have been discussing this matter recently with Dhebar bhai, the Congress President, who recently toured Assam and some of the tribal areas. I have also discussed it with some of the MPs from Assam. Everywhere I have found a deep misgiving about the present and the future. So far as the tribal MPs are concerned, they have now, as you perhaps know, adopted an attitude which is much stiffer. They were fairly cooperative previously and, in a sense, they are still very friendly to us. But the pressure of events and the opinion of their own people have forced them to adopt more extreme views.

4. Thus, the tendency in all these tribal areas has been to push them away from us.² The trouble in the Naga Hills district continues. Though there might not be any major violence, there is some violence now and then. But what is more important is the strictly non-cooperative attitude of the Nagas. This has lasted now for some years, and there is no present hope of a change. To think that we can suppress them into submission is obviously a wrong approach. We cannot submit to terrorism or violence, but we must always remember that it is the friendly approach that wins people, and we have to win them.

5. While we have failed in the Naga country, gradually things have worsened in the other autonomous districts, and there is now the demand for a separate state. This demand is not unanimous but it is widespread and strong.

2. On the same day Nehru wrote to T.T. Krishnamachari: "... we have not succeeded in winning the people of these areas. In fact, they have been drifting away in the Naga Hills district. they have non-cooperated for the last three and a half years and done so with great discipline and success. In the other hills districts, the situation is not so bad, but there is a demand now for a separate state. Evidently their association with Assam is not liked. The Assamese Government looked forward to the assimilation of these areas, not only politically but socially, with Assam. This has not been liked by the tribal people who have their own ways and customs."

It is clearly the result of a feeling of frustration and utter dissatisfaction with things as they are. Unfortunately, there appears to be a good deal of feeling against the Assam Government and an apprehension that they might be compelled, against their will, to submit to the decisions of the Assam Government.

6. It has been your wish, and I quite understand it, that these tribal people should be assimilated to Assam. In effect, however, what has happened is a reverse process. They are becoming hostile to Assam. Assimilation can hardly be brought about so long as hostility and dislike persist. It is only through confidence and goodwill that any kind of a closer union can be brought about. At present, the conditions are worse than they were before.

7. We must appreciate the realities of the situation and try to frame a policy to meet the difficulties that we are up against. I have no idea whatever what the States Reorganisation Commission will recommend. Whatever they recommend will naturally hold the field for our consideration, and it will not be easy for us to ignore it. The importance of these hill areas is naturally very great for us as they are frontier areas. We cannot have a discontented population near our frontier or, indeed, anywhere, in the country. We have to make them feel that they are parts of India, not only politically but emotionally and otherwise, and that their future is tied up with India's.

8. The independence of India has little meaning for these people unless they are sharers in it and unless they feel that they can manage their own affairs. They have no such feeling now, and even the district councils have not produced that feeling. They complain of many things and much interference. The various laws they wanted are hung up and in many petty things they have the feeling of ill-treatment. The result of all this has been the growth of this separate state movement, which will be good neither for them nor for Assam. And yet a compulsory union is also not good.

9. What, then, are we to do about it? The first thing is to take a realistic view of the situation, quite apart from our wishes in the matter. The second thing is to come to the firm conclusion that we have to win these people by friendly approaches and not by treating them harshly. Thirdly, they must have a sensation of self-government. It does not matter that they make mistakes. They will never be content unless they have that sensation.

10. Basic questions will have to be faced before long, and we should give thought to them. But something can be done immediately to create goodwill. There are many small matters, I am told, which irritate them and which can easily be put right. I hope you will look into this matter.

11. I have just been reading an account about Tibet by a correspondent of the *New York Times*. This correspondent is strongly opposed to the Chinese communist government. And yet he has written as follows. I quote a paragraph from a long article:

By mild and polite government the Chinese have made themselves surprisingly popular. Their troops have behaved in exemplary fashion. The fame of their road-building programme—which has now brought truck convoys to Lhasa—has spread beyond Tibet. They have constructed new schools in Lhasa. Chinese has not been made a compulsory language. Ruined monasteries have been rebuilt and others are being subsidised. Even guerrilla resistance in East Tibet was only gently squashed and its leader generously treated.³

12. This has a lesson for us. The Chinese were exceedingly unpopular in Tibet, but they are succeeding by their policy and treatment in winning the people over to their side. We have thus far failed to win our own people in some of the tribal areas. Thus far, the feeling among these tribal people (except in some Naga areas) is not against India as such, but it may well turn against India if nothing substantial is done.

13. There is a strong Christian population in these tribal areas. They are the most advanced, educationally and otherwise, and naturally take the leadership. We have to proceed very cautiously about religious matters, and we must not give them the faintest impression of preference or discrimination in religion. These people are much attached to their pastors and missionaries. To speak strongly against missionaries as such only drives these Christian tribals further apart from us.

14. I understand also that Muslim population of Assam has become very much anti-Congress. This also is a bad development. Assam being constituted as it is, we should take special care not to displease any large section or minority, both for political and larger reasons. There is also the Bengalee section in Assam.

15. These are some of the important matters which you and we have to face. I should like you to come over here at your convenience to discuss them with us here because we cannot allow drift. There is no immediate hurry for you to come to Delhi. Probably, the States Reorganisation Commission will be going to Assam soon. But there should not be too much delay either, because conditions might well worsen.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On the same day after quoting the above paragraph, Nehru wrote to T.T. Krishnamachari: "This had a lesson for us, and we might well profit by it. Indeed, it has a lesson for us even from the linguistic point of view. Our attempt to impose languages in any particular state or to suppress any language has the opposite effect."

3. The Adivasis of Bastar¹

I have travelled far and wide in our country. But this is the first time that I have come to Jagdalpur in Bastar. I had wanted to visit this area as it is the home of adivasis. My desire has been fulfilled today. But I am sorry that I am here only for a short while. If I had more time, I would have gone to your villages, met and chatted with you all.

Only two or three months ago, on our last Republic Day, 26th January, some villagers from your area came to Delhi, the capital of India, and gave a fine performance of their dances. Other groups had come from all over India, but your people came out in flying colours. I was able to see more dances today, the distinctive dances of different tribes and I confess I am enchanted. I hope you will keep up this art of yours and take it forward. I want that songs and dances should make progress in our country. People should be able to sing and dance while they work.

We speak of adivasis. But who are the adivasis? I have not been able to solve this puzzle. In my opinion all of us are adivasis—our Governor,² Shuklaji³ and all of us. I do not like this distinction. We are all adivasis. Yes, there may be some differences. In our country there are different kinds of castes, some calling themselves Brahmans or Kshatriyas, but they are all adivasis. We have to abolish all distinctions of high and low. The region where you live is a very beautiful one. Wherever you live, you should live in your own way. This is what I want. You have to decide yourselves how you would like to live. Your old customs and habits are good. We want that they should survive. At the same time the hierarchy of castes has to be abolished and uprooted from our country. We want that you should be educated and should play your part in the welfare of our country. Our country is free now. We have achieved swaraj. What does swaraj mean? There is no king or emperor in our country. We have our President, Dr Rajendra Prasad. He had visited this place and you must have seen him. Our President is neither a king nor an emperor, but like one of us. He is a farmer from Bihar. Gone are the days of kings and emperors. The people of our country now live in equality and they have a right to progress

1. Address at an open session of the third All-India Tribal Welfare Conference at Jagdalpur in Bastar, Chhattisgarh State, 13 March 1955. From JN Papers. NMML. Original in Hindi
2. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
3. Ravi Shankar Shukla (1877-1956); Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, 1946-56.

and be educated. How did our President come to this position? Because the people liked him, accepted him and elected him to be the President. I am today the Prime Minister of this country. How did I become the Prime Minister? Because the people elected me to the position. Whomsoever the people elect, he rises to the highest position in the country. He will retain his position so long as the people want him to be there. A large number of people live in our country. Everyone of them has the right to become the Prime Minister or the President of the country. You too have got the same right. Any competent man from amongst you can become the Prime Minister or President of this country.

We are in the land of Gonds.⁴ I have many old friends among Gonds. I am sure that by utilising opportunities of education, you can make much progress in your lives, while preserving your customs and traditions. You have to bear in mind that we all belong to India. We are all equal and we have equal shares and rights in our country, and it is the duty of us all to take our country forward. Many of you have been to Delhi. You must have seen that people from far and wide came there. Delhi is our capital. The country has a large population. Their welfare and progress are to be achieved. All this work has to be done. Many big plans and projects have been framed for the people. The question arises before us, how do we go about? We speak of the government. Who is this government? I have already told you that no king or emperor remains now. There was the British government earlier. They have quit our country. Now you are the government yourselves. There is no other government. The people of India are the government. The people who live in the villages are the real government. But how is the management of this country to be carried on? How should it function? We have to devise some ways and means. For the administration of the country, one headman is elected. You yourselves elect him—whether you elect Dr Rajendra Prasad or any man from your province, district or tehsil. And this you have to do. You, the people of this country, are the masters and you know that the people elected by you form the government.

You know that in your tribe also you have your rules and regulations and all of you strictly follow them. If you do not follow them, there will be some

4. Gonds are an indigenous tribal people living in the hill forests of central India. Their highest concentration is in Madhya Pradesh and Bastar is believed to be their original home. They are also found in Orissa, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Mysore, West Bengal and Gujarat. They speak a number of dialects of the Dravidian family of language.

disorder. In the same way, there are laws and rules in the country. Laws and rules are codified. They are codified after consulting the general public. Hence they are to be followed and obeyed by the public. Otherwise, confusion and chaos would prevail. Whatever we have to do for our country, let us do it collectively. Let us do it in consultation and with the cooperation of all; and only then can we prosper. You have to bear one thing in mind—that whether you reside here in Bastar or in Delhi or in any other part of the country we are all sailing in the same ship. You must remember that unless all of us propel the ship in a right direction, we are doomed to be drowned in water. Therefore we all have to do our work in close cooperation in order to achieve progress and prosperity.

It is seven years since swaraj dawned on our country. Many things have happened during these seven years. Our country has advanced far. But it is our desire that she should take more rapid strides. We have many big problems before us. We have all assembled here to devise ways and means as to how we can serve the adivasis best so that now they can prosper. The adivasis of our country should get educated and cultivate their lands and see that our country progresses. We want that your customs, traditions and religion should not be interfered with. Some people say that they should be changed. But I do not like it. I want that you should decide for yourselves how you would like it to be. Your institutions should remain, your songs and dances should flourish and, at the same time, you have to work for the progress and prosperity of the great country of ours. We seek your advice and cooperation in the administration of the country. You should once more remember that the swaraj which has been achieved is for all of you men, women and children. You have the same right to the country as anyone else has. We all have to march ahead and to advance. The days of autocracy are over.

I am glad to have had this opportunity to meet you all. When I happen to come next, I hope I shall go to your villages and meet you individually.

You see there is a big shield kept here which your dancing troupe brought from Delhi. They performed a very beautiful dance there. This is the reward of that performance.

This country of ours has many names; Bharat Varsha, Bharat, Hindustan: in English we call her India, and it is also called Hind. You might have heard that we often say *Jai Hind*, *Bharat Mata Ki Jai*. What is the meaning of *Bharat Mata Ki Jai*? It means 'Victory to the people of the country', in other words, 'Victory to you'. Mother India is not a woman in flesh and blood. We ourselves are Mother India—you are Mother India. We are all small ingredients of the Mother India. To say *Bharat Mata Ki Jai* means victory to the people of the country. So when I say *Jai Hind* you must also join with me and say *Jai Hind* thrice. *Jai Hind. Jai Hind, Jai Hind.*

4. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
April 1st, 1955

My dear Pantji,

Sucheta Kripalani² came to see me this evening. Among other things, she spoke to me about the Manipur situation. She said that satyagraha was continuing there and had spread far beyond the confines of the PSP³ to the tribal people. They were simple people but tough, and they were getting more and more bitter. She tried her best to get this ended by some kind of a gesture on the part of Government, with which the Chief Commissioner had agreed, but this did not come off.

She said that the Chief Commissioner, Mathew,⁴ was a good man, and the people there liked him, at any rate to begin with. The fact that he was a Christian was welcomed by the tribal Christians. Mathew was anxious to put an end to this trouble.

The Civil Surgeon and the Inspector-General there, however, are thoroughly bad and very unpopular. They were offensive to the people and did not understand them at all. She said that she had mentioned this to you and you had promised to transfer them.

I did not know that this trouble was continuing in Manipur. It is a bad sign if such a thing becomes chronic, and I do hope something will be done to put an end to it. The Manipur people are friendly and childlike but require careful handling. If they get angry, they become very obstinate.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. (1903-1974): Member of Lok Sabha and of the Working Committee of the AICC.
3. Manipur was being administered by a Chief Commissioner with the help of an advisory council of five persons. The state unit of the Praja Socialist Party had over the preceding five months, been agitating for the dissolution of the advisory council and restoration of the dissolved legislative assembly.
4. P.C. Mathew (b. 1913): joined ICS, 1937; appointed Chief Commissioner of Manipur, 1954.

5. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
April 3, 1955

My dear Jairamdas,

Thank you for your letter of March 29. Your account of your tour and the impressions you have received is most interesting. I am sending copies of your letter to the Home Minister, External Affairs Ministry and the Planning Commission.

It seems to me that we must concentrate, even more than we have done in the past, on positive and developmental activities. The merely negative law and order approach is obviously inadequate. Naturally where there is trouble or danger of trouble, the law and order approach is necessary. But it should always be subordinated to the positive, friendly and constructive approach. This applies not only to NEFA but to the tribal hill areas of Assam.

I spoke at some length to Medhi a few days ago. I found that he had toned down on this issue a good deal and was not at all as rigid as he used to be. This was all to the good. As you perhaps know, there has been some dissatisfaction with his policy even among Assamese MPs here as well as some leading Congressmen in the Assam PCC.

He had begun to realise that without a friendly approach to the tribal areas a situation would be created which might end in their separation from Assam.

I told Medhi that for my part I was not in favour of a separate state for these tribal areas. But we shall all have to wait for the report of the States Reorganisation Commission and then come to decisions. While I was not in favour of a separate state which I do not think can function satisfactorily and which would be a risk in the frontier region, I still thought that the largest measure of local self-government should be given to these people. The main object should be to make them feel that they are functioning for themselves and are not being ruled by outsiders. It is this psychological situation that we have to create.

It is true that owing to recent happenings this is not easy. In fact, there has been a reverse trend which has led even to Nichols-Roy² becoming a champion of a separate hill state. Still I think that we can deal with the situation even now if we adopt the correct approach and take steps accordingly.

While any change in the constitutional position can only be considered after the report of the Commission, there are many things which can be done today which can relieve the tension and indicate to the tribal people that we want to help them in every way possible. It seems to me important that all

1. JN Collection.

2. J.J.M. Nichols-Roy (1884-1959); prominent public leader, missionary and pastor of the Khasi hills; minister in Assam Government. 1952-56.

Government officials serving in these areas should be made to understand very clearly this policy. If they fail to achieve results, that will not be to their credit. The test applied to them will be the measure of confidence they gain from the people.

It is true that the group of obstinate and conditioned people under Phizo³ are not likely to be affected. We need not worry too much about them provided we go ahead with the positive side of our programme.

The first thing is, as you say, intimate and friendly contacts with these people. Secondly, intensification of our activities in regard to development. This means (i) roads and communications, (ii) Community Projects and National Extension Service blocks.

We are prepared to go far in this roads and communications programme and I do not want you to be inhibited too much by money considerations. Please draw up as full a programme as you can possibly tackle. This is important not only from the point of view of the local people but also as this is a frontier area.

I am convinced that our community schemes are the ideal method of approaching these tribal people. But probably we shall have to vary the content of these schemes to some extent so as to suit these particular areas. It is no good trying to do exactly what we do in some other distant part of India. I am anxious that more community schemes should be started there (I am referring throughout this letter not only to the NEFA but to the other tribal areas also). The real difficulty is not money but trained personnel. The sooner we train more people, the better. I have impressed this upon Medhi and you should also keep this in mind. We can try to send some trained people from here but obviously we have to rely ultimately on the local people. What arrangements have been made either in the NEFA or in the other tribal areas for the training of the local people for this work?

If we work fast and well on this basis, I think you will find a rapid change in the situation over all that wide area.

When Medhi was here, I asked him what was being done about starting an institute for tribal dancing in Shillong. He said that some correspondence had taken place about it but apparently more had not been done yet. The Sangeet Natak Akademi is interested in this scheme, but these slow processes of correspondence take time. I am anxious to go ahead. So I promised Medhi that if immediate action could be taken, to begin with I would let him have Rs 10,000/- from a special fund at my disposal. Naturally I cannot undertake future burdens in this respect but I can help to give it a push.

Such an Akademi of tribal dancing should include in its scope both the Assam hill tribal areas and the NEFA. In this also, some important tribal people

3. Z.A. Phizo (1900-1990); leader of the Naga rebels, founder-member, Naga National Council and its President since 1949.

should be associated and their consultation taken. It may be started in a relatively small way. It is never good to start off pompously.

Of course everything should be done in consultation with the Sangeet Natak Akademi here. They have already gained considerable experience about these matters and their advice is very helpful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi
April 9, 1955

My dear Medhi,

When you came here we had a talk about the situation in the tribal areas of Assam and, more especially, in the autonomous districts. I was glad to find that you realised the seriousness of this situation and proposed to remove any grievances and to try to soothe the feelings of these hill people. It is obvious that we cannot think in terms of any constitutional changes till the States Reorganisation Commission has reported.

2. You referred to the agitation for a separate hill state being organised by the Christian tribals. This may be true so far as the inception is concerned, but I am sure that this feeling is now very widespread over the greater part of the hill areas and certainly in the Khasi area. I have received information from a variety of independent sources to this effect. Even the Assam MPs here as well as the President and leading members of the Assam PCC share this opinion that the demand for a hill state has become widespread and strong. There is a feeling among these hill people of frustration and a lack of faith in the Assam administration. They say that they are afraid they may not be allowed to retain their way of life and to develop according to their own genius. They quote my statements as well as those of Bardoloi² when they were assured that they would have this freedom. They made a long list of minor grievances in which is included a complaint that their language is ignored and that little is done for their economic development.

3. I mention a few matters that have been brought before me repeatedly.

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Minister for Home Affairs.
2. Gopinath Bardoloi (1890-1950): eminent leader of the Congress, and Chief Minister of Assam, 1946-50.

Whether the facts are true or not is not so important. What is important is this strong and widespread feeling. It is this that creates a serious situation.

4. We cannot in the ultimate analysis suppress these hill people or govern them against their wishes. We can only win them over to any course of action that we wish to follow. It is important, first of all, to have a clear realisation of the present position. Any attempt to minimise it would prevent us from dealing with it adequately.

5. There is nothing in a big way that we can do at present, but I hope every effort will be made to remove this lack of faith in these people.

6. There is one matter I would also like to mention. The anti-missionary public utterances of some officials and others have created, I think, a feeling of insecurity among the tribal Christians. These people do not make a distinction between anti-missionary and anti-Christian attitudes, and it is these tribal Christians who, because of their education etc., become leaders. We should, therefore, avoid any anti-missionary or anti-Christian statements.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

Camp: Bandung
Indonesia
April 21, 1955

My dear Medhi,

I received today a letter at Bandung from your Governor. This letter was naturally delayed as it missed me in Delhi.

He writes to me about the visit of the States Reorganisation Commission and as to whether our Naga officials should give evidence before it. Also whether they can attend the meeting of the NNC and perhaps appear jointly with the NNC before the Commission.

It is rather difficult for me to judge of this, but on the whole, it seems to me worthwhile relaxing our rules in this matter and permitting them to attend both the NNC meeting and the Commission with the Naga representatives.² I think that their presence at both these places will be helpful to us. They are likely to give evidence more favourable to us and might possibly pull away the

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Governor of Assam.

2. Doulatram had, in his letter of 13 April, recommended to Nehru a relaxation of rules regarding the above issues.

NNC people from their wrong course. Anyhow, the experiment is worth trying. It cannot in any event do us much harm and it might do good. We are in a deadlock and we should explore ways of getting out of it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To A.P. Jain¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1955

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of May 19th about export of rice from Manipur.

I do not know the present position but I do know that on the last occasion when rice was exported from Manipur, a serious situation was created there, and much of the trouble that we have had since in Manipur is due to the shock of that situation. Prices shot up there and, in fact, there was considerable scarcity. People said that this was the first effect of merger with India, and they cursed the Government of India. I went to Manipur just about that time, and there were innumerable complaints. In fact, everything that had gone wrong was laid on the score of rice export being allowed. We had to take special steps to send some rice from outside there, but even this took some time.

We must remember that Manipur was an outlying part of India leading a more or less self-sufficient life. The life, no doubt, was at a low level but they did not lack the basic necessities. Their coming into India and being affected by the Indian market led to bad results for them. Quite apart from the economic justification or otherwise, the very idea of rice being taken away was most unwelcome to the people. I am afraid that if export is encouraged again, whatever the results, there will be a hue and cry.

As you must know, for some months past, there has been a PSP agitation there. The matter has come up in Parliament many times. Lohia² also got involved in it.

Considering all this, I think it would be unsafe for you to allow export of rice from Manipur but, in any event, this is a matter in regard to which the Chief Commissioner should be consulted and his Advisory Council. I am sending

1. File No. 31(171)/55-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Rammanohar Lohia (1910-1967); General Secretary, Praja Socialist Party, 1953-54. He was arrested on 11 April while attempting to address a public meeting in Imphal.

your letter and my reply to the Home Ministry so that they can consult the Chief Commissioner, if you so desire. In this matter, local sentiment cannot be ignored. After all, the state is a small one and cannot make much difference to other areas.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
May 24, 1955

My dear Jairamdas,

I wrote to you a day or two ago to enquire about Verrier Elwin² and what work he was doing. More particularly I wanted to know about his reports. I had heard of two reports that had come here. I had not seen them then. I have now seen these two reports. I found them exceedingly interesting. It is a pleasure to read Verrier Elwin's report, partly because he writes well and partly because he is a good observer and chiefly because of his basic sympathetic approach. I think that he is a great acquisition to us and I do hope that the fullest advantage will be taken of our having such an expert who is also so very sympathetic to the tribal people.

2. As I said in my previous letter to you, I should like all his reports to come to us. I would suggest that a copy is sent as soon as you receive it so as to avoid delay. Of course you will take sometime in considering those reports or any suggestions that they might contain. Meanwhile we shall have read the reports also and when your comments come, we can easily understand the background.

3. One thing rather surprised me. I was not aware of it before or perhaps I had forgotten it. Elwin is apparently styled as "Anthropological Consultant". This is a clumsy and not very correct description. We have not sent him to study anthropology but to advise us on tribal matters. He should be called 'Adviser on Tribal Affairs' or more briefly 'Tribal Adviser'. I would prefer the former, but you can choose either.

4. As I have said, we should take full advantage of Verrier Elwin's presence. One of the important ways of doing so is to get him to train some

1. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of this letter was sent to T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, MEA.
2. (1902-1964): Adviser on Tribal Affairs, NEFA, since 1954.

young men. We lack such trained persons and we have very very few qualified persons who can train. Therefore I think it is important that some kind of training establishment should be set up under Verrier Elwin to train a number of young people.

5. I see from his reports that there is a tendency among some of the Christian officers to propagate Christianity. I have no feeling against Christianity. But this tendency in our officers, whether Christian or Hindu, must be strictly discouraged. I think it would be advisable for a circular letter to be issued by the NEFA Administration impressing on all officers and staff to observe strictly the secular policy of Government. They should not encourage or discourage any particular religion and they should carry out their own religious activities privately. It should be made clear that if any officer or a member of the staff indulges in any proselytising tendency, he would be warned and transferred.

6. We should take particular care not to interfere with tribal customs, unless of course they are utterly repugnant to public morality. I think this is important.

7. Also our officers must have clear instructions to behave properly towards the women of the tribal people. They should show respect to them.

8. It appears that hostels for tribal girls have not been very successful and sometimes become places for misbehaviour. Therefore only very reliable women should be in charge. It is better not to have a hostel than to put it under an unreliable person.

9. I am alarmed to notice from Elwin's report that the old tribal culture is gradually fading away and very often hand-woven textiles are being replaced by dirty mill cloth. I do hope that everything will be done to prevent this unfortunate tendency and the tribal people should be encouraged to wear their old and artistic clothing and tribal insignia of rank.

10. I also noticed with some dismay that medicines are distributed extremely carelessly. This is not only bad but dangerous and clear instructions should be issued to keep records of the people treated.

11. Generally speaking, it appears to be advisable for our officers and members of staff, teachers, etc., to be married and to have their wives with them, more especially if the teachers have to deal with girls' schools. Teachers of course should be trained. An untrained teacher at any time is bad. In the tribal areas he is to be particularly avoided.

12. All officers and members of the staff should try to learn the language of the place they are serving in. Officers should exercise considerable supervision in a friendly way over their subordinate staff.

13. We are dealing in these areas with new and fascinating problems. Our approach to them has therefore to be anything but rigid or cut and dried. It has to be a practical and psychological approach. As we extend our administration, this should be done in a well-planned and careful manner with competent

officers. It is really better not to spread out too much with untrained people. Therefore, short term and long term plans should be drawn up keeping in view the peculiar needs of each place....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

V. MINORITIES

1. Missionaries from Commonwealth Countries¹

I think it is certainly desirable to inform the principal missionary central organisations in India of the new practice we are introducing. Not only does courtesy require it, but, in this matter, it is far better for us to try to cooperate with them rather than bypass them.

2. In informing them, it is not necessary to send a copy of this note or any other note. They should be told briefly what the procedure is. The principal reason given should be that, thus far, although we have had full information about missionaries coming from non-Commonwealth countries to India, we have no information about missionaries coming from Commonwealth countries. This information is desirable and necessary. While we are not introducing the visa system, some kind of endorsement would enable us to have this information. It is not our wish to make the rules much stricter and, in fact, we shall apply them liberally to the United Kingdom.

3. I do not quite understand what the word 'British' means. This is a vague word. The name of the country should be given. I take it 'British' is used here for people coming from the United Kingdom.

4. I might mention that I had a talk with the Archbishop of Canterbury in London recently over this very question. I explained to him the reason as given above. He said he quite understood it and he wished that this had been explained previously. As a result of this talk with the Archbishop, a deputation of missionaries that was coming to me, did not approach me. I think, however, that they might have gone later to the High Commissioner.²

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 5 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit

2. Christians in North India¹

...17. I told the Cardinal and the deputation that I could not obviously discuss individual cases because I did not have the facts.² Broadly speaking the state governments decided and we could only advise them. We could not easily interfere with the discretion of the state governments. I entirely agreed that there should be no tension or apprehension or lack of security for Christians of all kinds in India. If there was that fear or apprehension, we should seek to remove it, both by our general statements and by dealing with individual cases.³

18. I pointed out that we were concerned not only about the present but also the future. A large foreign missionary population here would not be absorbed and would remain a foreign element giving rise to embarrassment and trouble.⁴ Their very presence in large numbers would lead to reactions against them. We wanted to avoid adding to our problems for the future by having this new problem. There was no question at all of Christianity or Christians being subjected to any unfair treatment. They were entitled to the fullest freedom and in fact we considered them as any other citizen of India. But this business of adding to the missionary population of India was likely to lead to difficulties in the future, regardless of what our individual opinions might be.

19. The Cardinal referred to the new rule about Commonwealth missionaries. I explained to him that the chief object of making this rule was to know who came from the Commonwealth countries for mission work. We had no record of this as we had of those who came from other countries. We had no intention to apply this rule strictly, but in any special case we reserved the right to apply.

20. Regardless of individual cases, I certainly have a sensation that in some

1. Note to the Home Minister, 14 March 1955. File No. 33(111)/52-PMS. Extracts.
2. A delegation of seven Catholic Archbishops led by Cardinal Valerian Gracias (1900-1978). Archbishop of Bombay, met Nehru on 14 March 1955 at New Delhi. to express their concern at the deteriorating situation of Christians in North India and their harassment especially in Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Bihar.
3. For instance, the delegation stated that two Christians who had given evidence on behalf of their community were murdered in Raigarh and Sarguja districts. Also there had been a spate of criminal cases against Christians and these dragged on interminably. there being twenty or thirty postponements to the harassment of Christians who came from long distances.
4. The delegation raised the issue of visas for missionaries and complained that during the preceding two years there were a large number of rejections.

states Christian missionaries do not get a fair deal even by government. This is notably so in Madhya Pradesh. The Enquiry Committee there has certainly created a great deal of consternation among the Christian population.⁵

21. Politically and nationally speaking, we should make every effort to remove this feeling of tension and apprehension from among the Christians. They are a large group in India and they should have full feeling of security and confidence. Unfortunately, in existing circumstances, even a single incident is magnified and broadcast and leads to repercussions. The Arya Samaj and the RSS are particularly responsible for creating this tension and feeling of insecurity.

22. I know nothing about the case of Father Indekeu⁶ of Raigarh district. The Home Ministry presumably has all the facts. The Cardinal was very anxious that we might at least allow him to stay somewhat longer, that is, give him a further period. This might be considered.

23. Apart from the wider question of making the Christians in India feel fully at home here, there is also the reaction on the Goa problem. On the whole, Roman Catholic Bishops and others have been lately helping us in Goa. The Vatican can make a great difference there and in influencing Catholic public opinion in other countries. In such matters the Vatican is still a power in world affairs. I am, however, most concerned about our Christian fellow-countrymen feeling that they will get a square deal and are not discriminated against.

24. The Cardinal also spoke to me about our having a special Legation attached to the Vatican. At present our Ambassador at Berne is also accredited to the Vatican. We shall have this matter examined. There is no particular objection to it but we would place it rather low down in our list of priorities. The Cardinal is likely to go to Rome in two months time.

5. The enquiry into Christian missions by the Governments of Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat was in progress over the preceding nine months and had created apprehension and tension among the Christians. The Christians also alleged discrimination against Roman Catholic schools.
6. Jean John Indekeu (1905-1984); a Belgian, who had served in India for twenty-seven years first as the Principal of Ranchi College and subsequently in Raigarh district of MP, was asked to leave the country by the end of March 1955.

3. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
April 12, 1955

My dear Sampurnanand,

For many months past or even more, we have had repeated complaints about the treatment of Christians in Meerut district as well as round about.² I am sending you a letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur³ on this subject.⁴ I think that something fairly effective should be done to prevent this kind of harassment and victimisation.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(2)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. On a complaint from Father Lewis and Father Lawrence on 14 March 1955, that some of their colleagues were "grossly insulted" when they visited Bagu village on 11 March, the district authorities began criminal prosecution of five Hindu residents. When Amrit Kaur visited the village on 27 April, the District Magistrate explained to her the action taken to end the trouble.
3. (1889-1964); Union Minister for Health, 1947-57.
4. Earlier on 10 March 1955, Nehru forwarded two letters from Amrit Kaur and wrote to G.B. Pant. "I would particularly draw your attention to the letter about Meerut district. I think there must be a good deal of truth in the complaints made. The complaint is really about Arya Samajists and others, but apparently they get some kind of encouragement from the district authorities."
5. Replying to Nehru on 24 May 1955, Sampurnanand wrote that as a result of quick action by the UP Government the anti-missionary agitation of the Arya Samajists and forcible reconversion to Hinduism were brought to an end in the Meerut region. He added that things were "settling down to normal" and if tact and patience were displayed on both sides and leaders from outside did not interfere, no ugly incidents would happen as the authorities were alert.

4. Grievances of the Sikhs¹

...12. However, I went on to say that I was quite astonished at the way he had

1. Note to Govind Ballabh Pant, the Home Minister, 25 May 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

dealt with a number of minor issues² which may or may not have some relevance or justification. But I hardly talked about the *morcha* which was now going on and which was the first issue to be considered.³ It is obvious that all other points could hardly be considered in the present context. The Sikhs were a vital part of the nation and we attached great importance to them. They should not only get a fair deal but sympathy and if they had any grievances, these should certainly be looked into. There was the language question; the Sachar Formula⁴ had been agreed to. If it was not being implemented, surely this can be enquired into and steps taken to implement it. So also in regard to services. A few individual cases had been brought to my notice previously by Sardar Teja Singh⁵ and I had enquired into them with some care. I came to the conclusion that no obvious injustice had been done. Such cases came to me from all India in addition to other complaints. It is quite possible that injustice was done to individuals from time to time. We should try to rectify it and indeed we did try to do so. But to make this a major communal issue seemed to me extraordinary.

2. A deputation of eleven Sikh leaders led by Teja Singh called on Nehru on 25 May 1955 and conveyed the following main demands: (i) The Punjab Government should fully implement the Sachar formula since its non-implementation had led to the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state; (ii) The state government should not support the Hindu demand for a Maha Punjab; (iii) an impartial commission be appointed to go into the complaints of the Sikhs in the services; (iv) the problems of the Scheduled Castes be attended to; (v) a university be established in Pepsu. (vi) The delegation also complained that some Hindu families in the East Punjab controlled all power in politics and trade, the local Congressmen supported Hindu communalism, and that the Sikhs had no control over the press or education in Punjab.
3. The Akalis had launched a mass agitation in May 1955 against the ban on Punjabi *suba* slogans imposed in Amritsar on 10 April, in order to prevent clashes between the supporters of Punjabi *suba* and Maha Punjab. About 9,000 Akalis were put in jail before the state government was forced to withdraw the ban and release all the arrested persons.
4. The Sachar formula, accepted by the Punjab Government in October 1949, provided that: (i) in Punjab there were two languages: Punjabi written in Gurmukhi script and Hindi written in Devanagari script; (ii) Punjabi and Hindi would be the languages in the Punjabi and the Hindi-speaking areas respectively; (iii) in the Punjabi-speaking areas Punjabi would be the medium of instruction but Hindi would also be taught as a compulsory language from the last class of primary stage upto matriculation; and in Hindi-speaking areas Hindi would be the medium of instruction but Punjabi would be taught as a compulsory language from the first class of the primary stage up to matriculation; (iv) for parents wanting their wards to receive instruction in Hindi or Punjabi in the Punjabi or the Hindi-speaking areas respectively, arrangement would be made for that purpose if one third of the total number of pupils requested for such a facility; (v) government would fix the limits of these two linguistic areas; and (vi) English and Urdu would continue as the official and court languages respectively till they are progressively replaced by Hindi and Punjabi.
5. (1889-1965); Chief Justice, Pepsu High Court, 1948-53.

13. I then went on to say, with some warmth, that they had come to me in a deputation and listed their complaints. What had they done to Master Tara Singh?⁶ I had closely followed Sikh politics for the last twenty years or more and, more especially, for the last fifteen years. Master Tara Singh had established a record, in my opinion, of always being in the wrong. Others made mistakes occasionally but Master Tara Singh had the knack of always saying or acting wrongly. Thirteen years ago, Sir Stafford Cripps⁷ and Pethick Lawrence⁸ came here and I was surprised that they were to meet the Sikh leaders, Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh,⁹ whose policies appeared to them to have no principle behind them. Were there no better Sikh leaders?

14. I went on to say that I was convinced in my mind that one of the major reasons for Partition was the policy of Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh. Master Tara Singh may be a man of honesty and integrity in a narrow field but, as I have said, he is always saying and doing the wrong thing and misleading the Sikh people. During the past many years, the policy of these Sikh leaders had been alternately and sometimes simultaneously to align themselves with the British Government, the Muslim League or the Congress. There was no principle behind all this but only a desire to gain an advantage at the cost of someone else, either by threats or occasional support. Giani Kartar Singh's activities had been remarkable for a total lack of principle. Only some time back he had again tried to come to the Congress.

15. What, I said, could one do with this kind of thing. It was a misfortune of the Sikhs to be misled in this way. I accepted fully that there were Hindu communal elements in the Punjab which had misbehaved in the past and still continued to do so. Further that it is not right, in my opinion, for the Punjab Government to support the demand for a Maha Punjab. But the basic fact was the policy which was advanced from time to time by Master Tara Singh. This created trouble continuously. For years Master Tara Singh had gone on saying that war was coming with Pakistan in the near future. He had further announced publicly on many occasions that he wanted to liquidate the Government of India, the Congress and Jawaharlal Nehru.

16. What exactly did the deputation mean by saying that we did not come to terms with the Akalis. Were we supposed to run as our candidates people who opposed our policies and everything we stood for or to take advice from them.

6. (1885-1967); prominent Sikh leader of the Punjab; a supporter after 1947 of the 'Punjabi Suba'.
7. (1871-1961); Labour MP, the UK, 1923-31, 1935-45; Secretary of State for India and Burma, 1945-47; Member, Cabinet Mission to India, 1946.
8. (1889-1952); member of Labour Party, the UK; Member, Cabinet Mission to India, 1946; President of Board of Trade, 1945-47; Chancellor of Exchequer, 1947-50.
9. (1901-1981); member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1937; left Congress Party in 1941; General Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal for many years.

17. I returned to the *morcha* and said that it was quite impossible for us to consider all these matters or any matter under threat of this *morcha*. No government could do so. I would sooner that our Government went to pieces rather than surrender to these tactics.

18. I said that it is open to the Sikhs to follow any policy. I did not press them to come to the Congress. I was not speaking to them as a Congressman but as Prime Minister. But while they could adopt any policy which was critical to the Government even, I did object to anti-national policies and the kind of things that had been done from time to time during the past years. That could only lead to injury to the Sikhs and to the country.

19. My onslaught rather unnerved the deputation. I spoke to them a little more gently later but repeating the same arguments. Sardar Teja Singh assured me that they were all against the *morcha* and that given the time he would explain it to me. In fact, they would help to put an end to that *morcha*. Why was it, he asked, that the Sikh masses were led away by Master Tara Singh and others. He referred to the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee's elections.¹⁰ I said that I was not concerned with religious elections.

20. Anyhow, since he pressed me hard for more time, I said that if I could find time I would give some to him later.

10. Since the partition in 1947, the Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee was under the control of the Sikhs who were members of the Congress party with Udham Singh Nagoke as the head. But in the elections of 1955, the Akalis and their allies captured 128 out of the 132 seats and thus completely eliminated the Congress hold on the SGPC.

5. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
May 27, 1955

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

We continue to receive numerous complaints from Madhya Pradesh about the behaviour of some groups, chiefly of the RSS as well as others, against the local Christians there. I have written to the Chief Minister, Shuklaji, repeatedly but nothing is done. I am afraid I have come to the conclusion that the Madhya Pradesh Government approves of all these anti-Christian activities. This is bad

1. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

enough in itself. But the result is that this affects our case in Goa. In Madhya Pradesh there are a number of Goan Catholic Christians. They have been ardently in favour of Goa's merger with India and now naturally they are becoming a little doubtful about it. No doubt these stories reach Goa. In fact they have been published in the Portuguese press.

All this is a bad show and I am very much upset by this attitude of the Madhya Pradesh Government.

I enclose a copy of a recent judgement which I think is a very improper one. I am of course writing to Shuklaji,² but I think that the Congress in Madhya Pradesh should be especially asked to take active and effective steps to counter this anti-Christian movement. If the Government fails to do its duty, the Congress at least should not equally fail.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See the next item.

6. To Ravi Shankar Shukla¹

New Delhi
May 27, 1955

My dear Shuklaji,

An advocate of Nagpur, Shri B. Lobo, who, I understand, is a Catholic and a leader of the Goan community in Madhya Pradesh, has visited my Ministry. He has shown a copy of a judgment dated 16th May 1955 passed by Shri V.S. Awasthy, M.S.C., Jashpur, in Criminal Case No. 5 of 1954—State versus Bankebihari and 10 others—Section 297/448 IPC. I have read this judgement. The judge agrees with the prosecution story and holds that the defence story is a concocted one. In spite of this, he holds the acts complained against were childish and, rather remarkably, says that since the leader of the group belongs to the royal family of Jashpur, his character is likely to be very good. The accused were let off with an admonition.

The judge has said in his judgement that no previous conviction has been proved against any of the accused. This is an extraordinary statement because this gentleman belonging to the royal family of Jashpur had recently served a

1. File No. 33(111)/52-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Copy sent to the Home Minister.

term of penal servitude for murder of a Catholic priest. The whole judgement is ridiculous and I am alarmed at the thought that such irresponsible people are judges in Madhya Pradesh.²

You know that complaints pour into us about the behaviour of some people and notably members of the RSS and other organisations against Christians in Madhya Pradesh. I am much distressed at this and I feel that the least I can do is to make some public declaration on this subject.³ Our whole cause in Goa is being damaged by such incidents, particularly because there are a number of Goans living in Madhya Pradesh. These people have been ardent supporters of Goa's merger with India, but now they feel unhappy and unsafe in India.

I am sorry to say that your Government is gaining little credit by all this kind of thing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Replying on 1 August 1955, Shukla wrote to Nehru that the District Magistrate and the Advocate-General who had fully examined the case, (i) agreed that the magistrate's conclusion was not wrong, though his reasoning was defective; (ii) that an appeal and revision petition pending before the appellate courts might result in acquittal of the accused; (iii) the previous conviction of the accused was not only not proved but also not mentioned by anyone before the court; (iv) the magistrate with the experience of less than two years of service and posted to Jashpur only in August 1954, could not know the previous conviction himself and even if he had knowledge, he could not legally use his personal knowledge as a proof of it.
3. In his reply of 31 May, Shukla wrote that the Goan Christians had identified themselves with the Roman Catholics in opposing the state government's enquiry into the Christian missions and added that "... any public declaration by you on the subject before the committee's report is placed before you, will not ... be in public interest."

7. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
May 29, 1955

My dear Sachar,

I shall be going away in a few days and shall be away for five weeks. I am not very worried about the Akali situation and the *morcha* but, of course, I am concerned. In all such matters, we have not only to think of the present difficulty but also of the future. One should never try to create a situation which leaves

1. JN Collection.

a trail of bitterness and sullenness behind. Therefore, I am anxious to avoid any such thing.

Government, whether the Punjab Government or the Centre, cannot be browbeaten. Therefore, the Government has to stand up to any such attempt made by any group. It was inevitable, therefore, that your Government should accept the challenge of Master Tara Singh. At the same time, one has always to remember that the ultimate object is to make friends or at any rate to remove a sense of grievance. Therefore, one should not go too far or overdo things. I am merely suggesting to you that a proper balance has to be kept and, whatever steps we may have to take, we should always be friendly in our attitude and whenever a suitable way out is found, to take it, provided always that this does not mean any submission to threats and the like.

I am sure you have all these viewpoints in mind and will be carefully considering the situation from day to day.

I had another visit from Sardar Teja Singh yesterday.² This was rather a brief one. In the main, he appealed for something to be done to put an end to this Akali *morcha*. He had nothing special to suggest. He was anxious as I was going away.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. In a note to the Home Minister on 28 May 1955, Nehru wrote that Teja Singh raised the following points: if the Sikhs were coerced and repressed as in Amritsar, the result would be bad; supporters advised Tara Singh not to go in to agitation and even to withdraw from politics; could there be a simultaneous withdrawal of the ban and the agitation. When requested to "put in a good word" to Home Minister, Nehru said, "... there was no question of my putting in a good word. He is the last person to wish to repress anybody or to create illwill, and he would no doubt like to put an end to all this trouble, but all this must be done in a proper way."

8. Alleged Discrimination Against Minorities¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Then I come to Akali *morcha*. What is this about? It is said that it is a defiance of a regulation or rule against shouting a particular slogan

1. Press conference, New Delhi, 31 May 1955. From the Press Information Bureau. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see *ante*, pp. 300-303, 328-332, 380-389 and p. 431.

at a particular place. What is the Punjab Government's order? You will remember that sometime back in Ludhiana, there was a good deal of trouble, stoning, head breaking, etc., because of two groups shouting slogans against each other aggressively and offensively. On one side there were the Akalis; on the other side equally offensive and equally aggressive other groups—I don't know how to style them but some other more or less Hindu groups.....

Question: Maha Punjab.

JN: Maha Punjab—but all Maha Punjab people don't shout like that. Personally I don't like Maha Punjab or Maha Delhi or Maha anything. Now, these rival slogans in processions in public streets created a law and order situation. The Punjab government said therefore that there should be no shouting of these particular slogans, in processions, mind you. Even now they have not prohibited them from having a public meeting and shouting their slogans, because in public meeting there is less danger of trouble. You may go and shout any slogan there. They can hold public meetings, they can shout these very slogans if they like. They can hold processions but without shouting these particular slogans. Now the limitation is very small; you may call it a limitation on civil liberty of shouting anything that one likes to, but when that something is likely to lead to something against law and order, the Government want to prevent it. So very little has been said or done limiting anybody's liberty and they can easily have their meetings and say what they like, shout their slogans, but why insist on shouting these slogans in a public street in a procession? That is the only thing. On my part I think when these more or less Hindu communal organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha shout their slogans, then this order applies to them also—not to one party only. So it is a very small matter and is purely for government to deal with and not anything trying to come in the way of expression of opinion. I think it does seem to me that it is most unjustifiable that this should be sought to be made a major issue of defiance to government. Remember also that this whole question of provincial boundaries is a matter that is being considered by the Commission. The Commission has gone to Punjab, and they have seen the Commission and given evidence before it. I cannot understand it. I don't know if I offended them, but I said that this is completely infantile for grown-up people to behave in a childish manner and like children. This must not be considered, obviously, either the Central government or the Punjab Government being in any way against the Sikhs. It is quite absurd. The Sikhs, as any other group, are an important element in our national life—more especially in the Punjab and to some extent all over India and everything should be done to remove any sense of grievance that they have. Now something has been brought before me, two grievances. One is the question of language. Now it is admitted—they have admitted that we

accept what is called the Sachar formula—that is, the Government decision on the subject which was arrived at after full consultation. They accept that. But they say that it has not been fully implemented. Surely we agree in policy to examine this question of whether it has been implemented or not fully. I am perfectly agreeable to see, and the Punjab Government is agreeable, that it is implemented 100 per cent. You point out the difficulty and I will have it examined.

The other point is that they say that the Sikhs have not had a fair deal in the services, and I think in the course of last year three cases have been brought before me, of some senior officers about whom they said they have been unfairly treated about promotion, etc. I should say that all over India thousands are promoted or demoted—all sorts of things are happening and it is difficult for me as Prime Minister and maybe, sometimes a thing is not very slightly done, but let us examine every case. I am prepared to do it. I have had those two cases examined thoroughly and I came to the conclusion that there was nothing manifestly unfair about it—about the promotion. Somebody has to judge about one's merit capacity, etc., for senior posts and I think examining the figures in general, in the Punjab, nobody I think can say that the Sikhs are unfairly treated. They occupy the highest offices both in quality and in quantity.

But as I said, if they have a sense of grievance, let us examine it thoroughly and remove that grievance. I do not want anybody to have a grievance but not to attach to it this kind of thing.

In this connection, I have been distressed that some people think that in certain parts of India there is an anti-Christian movement or even an anti-missionary movement. There is some justification for this in the sense that some local organisations have misbehaved. In Meerut district, some local organisations, I do not wish to mention the names, have tried to create an agitation which the Government is trying to deal with. In Madhya Pradesh also. But so far as the Government's policy is concerned, it is clear. Christianity is our third biggest religion in India. Remember that, and one of the oldest religions in India going back to about 1,900 years. It has roots here, nothing to do with any outside country. We respect it, Christianity has spread to some extent. We welcome it. It is not from a religious point of view that we look at missionaries or their activities; they have complete freedom; but where there is a political problem involved, we have to consider it from that point of view. That is where we think that politically some foreign missionary is behaving wrongly, it is from a political reason, we may take action as we have taken in the case of four or five persons—very few. But otherwise there is no question of denying them complete freedom. But I regret very much that some local organisations of this group or that group raised this cry which is fundamentally against our Constitution, our whole secular outlook and therefore to be deprecated.

VI. ECOLOGY

1. Export of Monkeys for Medical Research¹

I agree.² I have in fact been approached in this matter both by the Health Minister³ and Dr B.C. Roy. Both of them were of opinion that it would be most unfortunate from the point of view, more specially, of polio research if export of monkeys was wholly banned. Apparently, a very special type, called the rhesus monkey which inhabits Bengal, is necessary for this research.

2. Therefore, we must agree in principle to the export of monkeys for authorised medical research. So far as the purpose and the number required are concerned, the Health Ministry should be the best judge and we should ask the Health Ministry to keep in touch with this matter closely and advise the Commerce & Industry Ministry. The Health Ministry have also told us that they will see that transport, etc., is carried out in a humane way. You might, therefore, leave this to the Health Ministry, if necessary in consultation with the Communications Ministry.

3. That is to say, the export of monkeys for authorised medical research should be permitted under some regulated system which can be supervised.

4. I do not think we need ask for any further particulars from the US Charge d'Affaires. The Health Minister is very anxious to ensure humane treatment in every way. The Health Ministry therefore should be asked to deal with this matter so far as this aspect is concerned.

1. Note to Secretary General. MEA, 28 March 1955. File No. 2(288)/48-PMS.
2. N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, noted that in view of some assurance from the US, where medical research involving experimentation with monkeys was going on, that a successful medicine developed from those experiments would be made available to the whole world, the export of monkey, subject to certain safeguards and conditions, might be allowed.
3. Begging of him not to be too squeamish about the export of monkeys. Amrit Kaur wrote to Nehru on 27 March that "in my heart of hearts it is difficult to reconcile myself wholly to vivisection" but even Mahatma Gandhi felt that if vivisection of animals was essential for combating disease, it was difficult for him to object to it.

2. Yeti—the Snowman¹

Please see the attached IIS transmission issued on May 18. This refers to an expedition sponsored partly by the Government of India and partly by the Agra University and goes on to say that the team will investigate snowman and is equipped to capture and kill such creature.

2. I take strong exception to any team being sent with the avowed object of killing this so-called snowman. Probably there may be no such thing and even if there is they will not come across it. But the mere expression of a desire to kill this so-called snowman is objectionable.

3. I do not know who is responsible for this statement, whether it is some Ministry here or the Agra University. Anyhow, I should like you to inform them that I regret greatly putting out any such thing.

4. Our External Services should also be informed that this kind of thing was not desirable for transmission.

1. Note to B.N. Kaul, Principal Private Secretary, 30 May 1955. JN Collection.

VII. STATE MATTERS

(i) Andhra

1. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
March 5, 1955

Nan Dear,

A communist daily paper of Andhra, called the *Visalandhra* some time ago published a report of Kingsley Martin's² speech. The translation of this report is given below:

"If I happen to be a voter of Andhra today, I would certainly vote in favour of the Communist Party", said the well known British journalist, Kingsley Martin, in New Delhi today.

1. JN Collection.
2. (1897-1969); editor, *New Statesman and Nation*, 1930-60.

Mr Martin has just returned to Delhi after a tour of Andhra. Speaking at a reception by the Delhi Press Association, Mr Martin said that there was nothing the Congress did for Andhra. And so, no one need vote for the Congress. The so-called land reforms in India had not alleviated the sufferings of the masses in any way. There had been no relief from the burden of taxation. In truth, we can say that the common folk were rather happier under the zamindars. In those days, at least now and then, some zamindar or other granted remission of revenue. The present Government does not do even this much for the peasant."

Much was made of this by the communists in the Andhra elections and, in fact, leaflets were distributed stating that Kingsley Martin had said that if he was a voter in Andhra, he would vote for the Communist Party.

As a matter of fact, Kingsley Martin said something like this in private on several occasions. I cannot naturally come in the way of his private expressions of opinion, however wrong I might consider them. I think his statement about land reforms, etc., in Andhra is completely wide of the mark. But I do think that for a man of his public position to make the statement he did publicly was extraordinary and, according to my judgment, not at all proper. I should like you to convey to him informally that his statement had been much publicised here by the Communist Party in their press and by leaflets and that I must express my surprise at his having said anything of this kind in public.

Perhaps the best answer that could be given to Kingsley Martin has been given by the peasantry of Andhra. The elections are not quite over yet, but already the present figures are that out of 141 results so far declared, the Communists have got only 8 seats, the Congress has got 105, Praja Socialist Party 10 and Independents 18. The total number of seats in Andhra are 196. Thus the Congress has already got a clear majority and no doubt it will have many more seats. By the time you get this letter, we will know the final position. I doubt very much if the communists will get more than 15 seats, probably less.³

There could be no more smashing defeat for the communists in an area which they had nursed for years and where their organisation was far the best. They had hoped to get a majority there to form a Government. The Congress organisation, on the other hand, was almost non-existent. The voters nevertheless voted solidly for the Congress and even more so voted solidly against the

3. In the general elections of February 1955 to the Andhra Legislative Assembly, the Congress Party secured 146 seats out of a total of 196. The Communists won 15 seats. The percentage of total votes polled by the Congress and the Communists was 49.5 and 31.2 respectively.

communists. In fact the feeling against the communists was stronger than the positive feeling for the Congress.

Mr Kingsley Martin might well ponder over this situation and realise how his judgement sometimes goes astray completely. Kingsley told me that he had found the Andhra voter highly conscious politically. If so, one cannot say that they were misled or beguiled. The Congress won in Andhra almost in spite of itself, that is, in spite of its bad organisation. Of course during the elections we worked hard and well. The only conclusion that one can draw from these elections is: Firstly, the Communist Party in Andhra has become very unpopular, although it has been the Opposition with no responsibility. Secondly, that there is a great urge in favour of the Congress generally, although the Andhra Congress leaders are not popular at all among the people there.

This election, as Anthony Eden told me yesterday, was an event of greater world importance than anything else that had happened recently. I agree with him. It will have a powerful effect not only on the future of the Communist Party in India but in other countries also, notably the United States.

I think that some mild protest should be made to Kingsley Martin privately for making such irresponsible statements. I am sure that if any responsible person from India made such a statement during the elections in England, we would have pulled him up.

There have been other elections in India—four in the UP recently. We have lost the Kanpur seat to the PSP candidate and the Gorakhpur seat to Shri Shibbanlal Saksena,⁴ who won by a thumping majority against Govind Malaviya.⁵ In Lucknow, Shana⁶ won by a handsome majority, but there was some mishandling by the returning officers and there are numerous complaints being made.

Eden's visit here was very short—two nights and a day. I think that both he and Clarissa⁷ were greatly pleased by their stay here. They said so repeatedly. I had fairly long talks with him about Formosa, Indo-China, etc. The talks led nowhere, because he had nothing to suggest and what we had to suggest was, in his opinion, not possible. He appeared to be terribly confused. The fact of the matter is that in regard to Formosa the American attitude is basically wrong and they persisted in taking further steps to support that wrong. The attitude is not only wrong logically but even from the narrowest practical point of view. Obviously in those circumstances there is no solution. All one can hope for is a lessening of tension and possibly a gradual realisation on the part of the American authorities that they have been wrong and an attempt to vary their

4. (1907-1985): prominent trade union leader and Member of Lok Sabha, 1954-62.

5. (1902-1961): youngest son of Madan Mohan Malaviya.

6. Sheorajvati Nehru.

7. (b. 1920): niece of Winston Churchill; married Anthony Eden in 1952.

policy slightly. I imagine that, not immediately but some time later, they will withdraw from Matsu and Quemoy islands. That will not solve the problem, but it will lessen the danger of conflict.

Unless, unfortunately, some big incident occurs leading to conflict, I think that you will find after some time a slow withering away of the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Formosa. He has no real strength there and even apart from any attack from the mainland, he is not likely to hold on for long. He will not be holding on for a day, but for American help and protection.

In Indo-China difficulties are arising on both sides.

We are having the Congress Working Committee meeting. It met today and it will meet tomorrow also. The Congress President has nominated Indira⁸ to the Committee, more especially to organise the Women's Department of the AICC.

I have been reading about your visit to Dublin. Dublin, though small, is a pleasant and rather gracious city. I hope you liked it and the people you met there.

With love from
Jawahar

8. Indira Gandhi (1917-1984): She became a member of the Congress Working Committee in February 1955, and of the Central Election Committee a few months later.

2. To B. Gopala Reddi¹

New Delhi
March 29, 1955

My dear Gopala Reddi,²

Of course you have all my good wishes for your Government and for Andhra. But I must confess that I am not happy at the team you have selected.³ It is not a striking or inspiring team. I am not referring to any lack of integrity in any Minister but rather to the fact that you have chosen people who have been very closely associated with group struggles and manoeuvrings, people who

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1907-1999): Chief Minister, Andhra, 1955-56.

3. Apart from Gopala Reddi, the council of ministers formed on 28 March included N. Sanjiva Reddy, K. Chandramouli, K. Venkata Rao, G. Latchanna, D. Sanjeeviah, A.B. Nageswara Rao and N.V. Rama Rao.

have been strong group partisans. They may be good individually, but they represent old conflicts and therefore do not bring that fresh air which we think is so necessary.

I know your difficulties and the various pulls you must have had to face. But as I had spoken to you previously, I thought that I should give you my frank opinion.⁴

As you know, I was particularly anxious that minorities should have a feeling of security and of sharing in our governmental work. Unfortunately there is no representative of a minority or of women....

You will of course have all the help that we can give you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Referring to his meeting with Gopala Reddi some days earlier, Nehru wrote to C.M. Trivedi, Governor of Andhra, on 24 March. "I particularly emphasised that he must not take any persons of doubtful reputation. I had in mind specially Chandramouli, though I did not mention the name. Gopala Reddi readily agreed to what I said."

(ii) Hyderabad

1. To B. Ramakrishna Rao¹

New Delhi
March 29, 1955

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,²

I had a talk with Zain Yar Jung³ today. He was much distressed at certain harassment of Muslims which, he said, was taking place in Hyderabad. He referred to the cases of some retired officers. Some odd complaint is made and pension is stopped or they are dismissed. He referred particularly to Omar Khan's case.

I do not know about any particular case, but I do think that we must take every care to prevent even an impression spreading that Muslims are harassed.

1. JN Collection.
2. (1899-1967): Chief Minister, Hyderabad, 1950-56.
3. (1889-1961): architect and former minister of Hyderabad.
4. Mir Osman Ali Khan (1886-1967): Rajpramukh of Hyderabad from 1950 till its dissolution as a state in November 1956.

This would be so anywhere but more especially at Hyderabad. I do hope that you will look into this matter personally.

I saw in the newspapers something about slaves in the Nizam's⁴ house, and the Magistrate ordering a Police Commissioner or somebody to go and search.⁵ It appears that this is done on a complaint from a man called Keskar who once threw a bomb at the Nizam. This is very extraordinary. For a Magistrate to behave in this way towards a Rajpramukh seems to me highly improper. It is obvious that the report made by Keskar was on hearsay. No responsible person takes such action on some hearsay report anywhere, much less in the case of the Rajpramukh. To order a Police Commissioner to go and search inside the women's quarters is highly objectionable. I really do not know what steps should be taken in regard to this, but I do not think it will be improper for you to draw the attention of the Chief Justice to it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The case related to the district magistrate asking police to investigate an allegation made by B.G. Keskar that several persons were being detained illegally in the Raj Bhavan against their will. The Hyderabad High Court heard the case on 7 May 1955 to decide whether police had powers to enter the premises of a constitutional authority.

(iii) Assam

1. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
April 7, 1955

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

I wrote to you two or three days ago about certain events in Goalpara district in Assam. These related to an Assamese agitation against Bengalis because of West Bengal's claim for the inclusion of Goalpara district in West Bengal. This claim had been put forward before the States Reorganisation Commission. To counter this claim, this agitation was organised. The unfortunate part of it is that leading Congressmen, including the President of the District Congress

1. File No. G-64/1955. AICC Papers, NMML.

Committee, sponsored this agitation.² There was looting of shops and houses and two Bengalis are reported to have been stabbed.

As always happens in such matters, goonda elements come to the front. The Muslims in Assam are not in great favour of the Government. It is said that they were made to understand that if they joined this agitation, they would be looked upon with greater favour. And so they joined it.³ The Bengali Hindus there are apprehensive of trouble⁴ from Muslims and tribals.

As I have said above, the worst feature of this is the part taken by the District Congress President and MLAs. I have already communicated with the Chief Minister,⁵ but I think that you might communicate not only with the PCC but also with the President of the District Congress Committee of Goalpara.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Sarat Chandra Sinha, President of the Goalpara District Congress Committee, was reported to have led a procession of about fifty truckloads of supporters in the district headquarters and addressed meetings in all the important towns of the district instigating the youngmen to acts of violence.
3. Syed Ahmed Ali, secretary of the action committee formed by the Dhubri Congress Committee for carrying on the movement, allegedly took the leading part in looting the shops owned by the Bengalis.
4. There were reports of thousands of Bengalis evacuating to Cooch Behar.
5. In his letter of 4 April to Bisnuram Medhi, Nehru wrote, "What I am concerned with is that Congress people, including the District Congress President, is supposed to have played a leading part in this. The district authorities naturally hesitate when Congressmen and MLAs are concerned. This is a bad development and I hope that you will take stern action in this matter."

2. To J.B. Kripalani¹

New Delhi
April 30, 1955

My dear Jivat,²

Your letter of April 30 about the incidents at Goalpara. I have been greatly distressed by this eruption. The accounts we have received from various sources

1. JN Collection.

2. (1888-1982); Chairman of PSP; Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

tally in many respects with the account that you have now sent.³ It is immaterial whether some particulars are correct or not. The fact appears to be that there was a definite and organised attack on the Bengalis and that some of the Congressmen in Goalpara district took a lead in this. Apart from governmental action taken, I drew the Congress President's attention to this matter especially and I am sure that he will deal with it adequately.

I am showing your letter to Dhebar Bhai. I hope you do not mind this.

You suggest that the States Reorganisation Commission should issue some kind of an interim report or recommendation.⁴ What you suggest is the actual policy of Government and we have stated them repeatedly, in regard to bilingual areas. The Commission is going to Assam soon. I shall mention this matter to them. As a matter of fact, they are thinking of issuing their report probably in another three months time.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. Kripalani had forwarded to Nehru a letter from one Manjula, a non-Bengali lady domiciled in Assam, and whom he considered an impartial observer of the happenings in Goalpara. Kripalani wrote that her testimony, especially in regard to assault on women, might conflict with reports received from Congress and official sources.
4. Kripalani held that "the boundaries of linguistic areas cannot be finally defined" since "one provincial language by slow gradation slides into another." He asked whether the States Reorganisation Commission could immediately issue an interim report "suggesting to the Government that certain border areas are bilingual and must be considered so and the two languages current therein should get equal State protection and patronage." This step, he felt, would ease the tension and conflict to some extent.

(iv) Delhi

1. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
April 3, 1955

My dear Pantji,

... There is another question. This relates to the Refugee Housing Society which, at the instance of the Rehabilitation Ministry, was given a fairly large area.²

1. File No. 29(2)/56-PMS. Extracts.

2. Near Shakur Basti in Delhi.

This Society consists of well-to-do refugees from West Pakistan. Apparently nothing has been done to this land for some years. While we should be generous to the displaced persons, it is hardly fair to be so at the expense of the smaller farmers.

I do hope you will have this matter examined fully by your Ministry. It relates, of course, to the Delhi State Government.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

2. To Swaran Singh¹

Camp: Bandung
Indonesia
24 April, 1955

My dear Swaran Singh,

The Asian-African Conference ended tonight. I write to you immediately to give you some idea of the arrangements made for it here in Bandung.

These arrangements were excellent and on a lavish scale. I shall not discuss the other matters here but the thing that struck me immediately was the arrangements made for the Conference itself. There were two buildings: one containing a large hall with a number of ante-rooms. This hall was used for the open conference. Delegates were made to sit so that they could move about a little. They had easy chairs and a biggish wooden board in front of each for papers, microphone and arrangements for simultaneous translation. The result was that the hall, though it could accommodate about 2,000 persons if closely seated, actually probably had about 500. Of these, about three hundred were delegates and advisers sitting rather spread out. The others were distinguished guests without tables, etc. There was a balcony also for invited visitors. It was a good hall and the arrangements were attractive and efficient. There were arrangements for simultaneous translations. There was a biggish platform. Behind the platform was some kind of a stage but this was covered up entirely. Behind the President of the Conference, right across the hall, were flags of the 29 nations represented, on long golden poles. The whole effect was good and impressive.

1. File No. 28(21)/56-PMS.

The other building was a large one, containing at least one very large room where we held meetings of the Political Committee of the Conference. Two long curved tables were placed there facing each other, accommodating in the first row about sixty or seventy people, that is, these people sat at the long tables with microphones, etc. Behind the front row, there were several other rows of chairs without tables. Behind them, there was plenty of space to move about. In fact, nearly all the delegates used to come to this room when the Political Committee met. The room itself was large enough to accommodate closely seated 500 to 600 persons.

In addition to one or two such rooms, there were a large number of other rooms of various sizes, which were used for offices, small committee rooms, press rooms, canteen, etc. I did not explore the whole building but it was a large building. The press was provided for rather lavishly which, naturally, the press greatly appreciated.

There were large numbers of ADCs, security men, etc., who had also to be provided for.

There is nothing like these facilities in Delhi for a conference. We have talked about a big hall. That of course is necessary. But what is equally necessary is a building with large and small committee rooms, press rooms, etc. Indira will be taking with her plans of these buildings. I think we should immediately think of putting up some such buildings, even though they might not be ready for the Unesco conference.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Unesco conference was scheduled to be held at New Delhi in November 1956.

3. To Swaran Singh¹

New Delhi
May 3, 1955

My dear Swaran Singh

Amrit Kaur rang me up today in great distress. She told me that your Ministry intended cutting down trees in the Lodi Park and that the Delhi municipality was objecting violently to it. She herself and her Ministry were distressed at

1. File No. 31(18)/56-PMS.

the prospect of trees being cut down and the beautiful Lodi Park being restricted. As it is, there are not too many lawns in the city.

I know nothing about this and I have asked your Ministry to let me know.

I cannot of course, express any opinion about this particular matter till I know more about it. But it pains me to have good trees cut down and to limit our open spaces in the parts. You know how disturbed I was at the putting up of some market in the open spaces in front of the Red Fort.² I am still not at all happy about this.

Apart from all this, I think that there should be some coordination surely between the WH&S Ministry, the Health Ministry and the Delhi municipality. The Delhi municipality has a great deal of say in all such matters affecting Delhi and the health point of view is also very important.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Reacting to a proposal of the Rehabilitation Ministry in this regard, Nehru had noted on 4 April 1955, "No building should be erected there which does not fit in with the famous Moghal structures there, namely, the Jama Masjid and the Red Fort. We must not lose all sense of proportion in putting up ugly buildings to spoil the heritage of ages." If a building had to be erected, "it must be very carefully considered by our best architects..... We may even, later, have to destroy the building if it comes in the way of the beauty of Delhi."

4. Maintenance of the Jama Masjid¹

I do not think it will be quite proper for the donation of the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia to be used for normal repairs of the Jama Masjid.² It is the

1. Note to Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 17 May 1955. File No. 40(41)/56-60-PMS.
2. Yusuf Al-Fozan, Minister for Saudi Arabia in New Delhi, met Nehru on 16 May and informed him that he had received from Amir Faisal Al-Saud, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, donations as follows: Rs 20,000 for the Jama Masjid in Delhi, and Rs 10,000 each for the Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi and the Sonapat Community Project. He also gave a cheque for Rs 150,000 for the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund on behalf of the Crown Prince.

responsibility of our Government to keep such buildings in proper repairs. Of course, any person can give a special donation for this purpose, as the Nizam of Hyderabad has done. There should be no difficulty in the Government of India contributing to this end. I do not quite understand what is said in your note about the Ministry of Education giving a loan. Who is going to repay the loan?

2. Also, I do not understand why legal difficulties and the non-constitution of a proper authority for the Masjid should come in the way of proper repairs being conducted to the big dome. The Jama Masjid is one of our great buildings and we cannot afford to allow it to go into disrepair. It is immaterial what the assets of the Majlis are. This is Government's responsibility and it should be accepted as such.

3. I remember writing about the question of repairs to the Jama Masjid long ago. It seems to me rather improper for a great building of ours not being properly looked after because of some legal difficulties. Surely, this matter should be taken in hand by our Central PWD and all the repairs executed. We may consider the sum spent as a loan to whatever authority will ultimately control the Masjid, but we must be prepared to write off the loan or a great part of it if necessary. The Nizam's donation, of course, could be used for this purpose.

4. As for the donation of the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, a cheque can certainly be issued in favour of the Chief Commissioner,³ Delhi. The Chief Commissioner should discuss the question of the use of this money with the Minister for Saudi Arabia in New Delhi. He can consult leading Muslims like Dr Zakir Hussain⁴ and Maulana Hifzur Rahman.⁵ The Education Minister also should certainly be consulted. After this, we can consider how best to use this money.

5. The repairs to the Masjid should certainly not be delayed. It would be a tragedy of the first order if, owing to lack of repairs, greater damage is done to this famous building.

3. Anand Dattatraya Pandit.

4. (1897-1969); Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1948-56.

5. (1901-1962); Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-62.

5. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
May 26, 1955

My dear Pantji,

Complaints of all kinds come from Delhi. Among these is a complaint about the growth of flies, dirt and general uncleanness. The slum areas of Delhi are pretty bad. I have been receiving long letters from Brij Krishna Chandiwalla² about the state of affairs in Delhi which distresses him greatly. I have spoken to the Chief Minister³ about it.

Meanwhile I want to draw your attention to the sins and lapses of our senior officers and others in regard to uncleanness, etc. I enclose a letter from the Deputy Commissioner addressed to Amrit Kaur. With this letter is a long list of prosecutions. You will notice that this list is headed by A.V. Pai's⁴ name, and there are Deputy Ministers and others in the list. This is a deplorable state of affairs. I think the Home Ministry should be the first to take action in such matters. But if the Home Secretary himself collects cow-dung in heaps, what is one to do?

The case of A.V. Pai is a small matter. You or I can speak to him. But I am worried about this general state of affairs in New Delhi. New Delhi used to be clean and without a fly when I first came here. It is bad enough for the refugees to invade us and interfere with this cleanliness. But surely our officers and others should behave.

I am going to suggest to the Delhi people to publish lists of misdoers. That will probably be a greater deterrent than a fine.

But apart from this there must be a big campaign to clean up New Delhi and I think cows will have to go outside.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. (1900-1985); a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi; set up two ashrams in Delhi for organising constructive work; participated in the freedom movement and imprisoned several times; convenor of the Delhi branch of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, 1952-84; author of *At the Feet of Bapu*, *Mere Bapu*, *Dilli ki Khoj*, and *Gandhiji ki Dilli Diary*.
3. Gurmukh Nihal Singh.
4. (b. 1901); Home Secretary, Government of India, 1953-58.

(v) Himachal Pradesh

1. To Y.S. Parmar¹

New Delhi
March 3, 1955

My dear Parmar,²

I wrote you three days ago. In that letter I referred particularly to the necessity of your Cabinet meeting frequently, a formal meeting taking place at least once a week, whether you have a definite agenda or not. Also that Cabinet Ministers should meet practically daily for a little while to keep in touch with each other's work.³

There is one matter which I did not mention in my previous letter. I have an idea that your Ministers spend far too much time on touring and very little at headquarters. I am all in favour of touring, but this can be very much overdone. In any state, first attention must be paid to the effective working of the central governmental machinery. In a new state like Himachal Pradesh, this is all the more necessary. Therefore, it seems to me important that not only you, but your other Ministers, should remain at headquarters for much longer periods than is done and should be constantly in touch with each other as well as your Lieutenant Governor and your senior officers. In this way a sense of cooperative working is established.

I am inclined to think that a part of the troubles of your state have been due to the fact that Ministers and others are constantly touring and are not in intimate touch with each other or their work.

I should like you to impress this upon your colleagues in the Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1906-1981): Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh, 1952-56.

3. In his letter of 28 February to Parmar, Nehru wrote, "Indeed it is desirable, more especially in a small state like Himachal Pradesh, that the Cabinet Ministers should meet informally almost daily.... The point is that there is constant consultation between Ministers about the work in their Ministries and about the general situation. It is completely wrong to think that each Minister is an independent lord of his domain."

VIII. DEFENCE

1. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
March 1, 1955

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of March 1 about the abolition of the title of Commanders-in-Chief.²

Lord Mountbatten spoke to me about this matter no doubt at the instance of Admiral Pizey.³

When I came back here, Air Marshal Mukherjee⁴ also mentioned it. I told Mukherjee that I saw no reason to change my opinion. He asked me, however, to meet the three Service Chiefs before a final decision was taken. I said I was prepared to do so.

Vellodi⁵ told me today on the telephone that he was on the point of issuing the order. I suggested to him that he might delay this so that I could keep my promise to meet three Service Chiefs. I have in no way changed my previous opinion and I think our decision should stand. I hope to see the Service Chiefs after Eden's departure.⁶

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Katju wanted to know whether Nehru's talks with Mountbatten during his recent visit to the UK had induced any desire in his mind to modify the decision already taken about the abolition of the title of Commander-in-Chief of the three Services.
3. Charles Thomas Pizey (b. 1899); Chief of Naval Staff and Commander-in-Chief, Indian Navy, 1951-55.
4. Subroto Mukherjee (1911-1960); Chief of Air Staff and Commander-in-Chief, Indian Air Force, 1954-60.
5. M.K. Vellodi (1896-1987); Defence Secretary, Government of India, 1953-57.
6. Nehru met the three Service Chiefs on 9 March, and the same day Vellodi informed Nehru that: (i) the decision to change the designation was taken when Nehru was Defence Minister; (ii) the President's approval had already been taken; (iii) Nehru had informed Cabinet of the decision; (iv) the Government's argument to the Service Chiefs was that the designation of C-in-C had ceased to have any meaning and it was necessary to adopt a system in line with the practice obtaining in other democratic countries.

2. Frontier Roads and Communications¹

... 2. This question has come up again because our frontier communications were discussed at some length by the Governors' Conference recently held. The Conference was of opinion that, for a variety of reasons, our frontier roads should be developed rapidly. The frontier, of course, includes the border of Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Assam. Also the NEFA. Bihar is for the present left out as our border is with Nepal.

3. It is not possible to develop these areas in any way unless there are proper communications. Our Five Year Plan therefore cannot easily start functioning there without these new roads. Of course, recently many roads have been built and are being built. The point was that this pace was not enough and should be expedited.

4. While the internal development of these areas is important, both from the economic and political points of view, there are other reasons also why these roads should be developed. There are defence reasons. We should be in touch with our frontier which should be made accessible by communications. Also, in some places there are valuable mineral deposits which could thus be made available. Probably, the most important of these mineral deposits are at Puga in Ladakh where there is good copper as well as other minerals.

5. This question relates to all these frontier areas and should be considered as such afresh. The transport note, however, deals only with the two possible routes to Leh: One follows the old caravan route across the Zoji La to Kargil and Leh (Route A). The other (Route B) is an entirely novel route via Manali and across the Rohtang Pass. Undoubtedly, this is a difficult route. But it has two advantages. It goes near the copper fields and it is far away from any border or ceasefire line. The Kargil Route (Route A) passes very near the present ceasefire line.

6. I think ultimately we shall have to develop both these routes. The question is what we should do now. The Sadr-i-Riyasat² of the Jammu & Kashmir State was very anxious for Route B, i.e., via Manali and the Rohtang Pass, to be developed. I suppose that this route by itself will not pass Puga, the copper field area, but it can be connected with Puga.

7. There is also the question of these roads being snowbound for a part of the year. Probably, the Rohtang Pass cannot be traversed for some months.

1. Note to Defence Minister. 3 March 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Karan Singh (b. 1931): Sadr-i-Riyasat, 1952-65.

8. The calculations thus far made have been on the basis of wide roads over which three-ton lorries can go. It might be possible to consider this matter in a more modest way, i.e., a road to be constructed for jeeps or like vehicles. Presumably, this would be much cheaper and I think that this would meet our requirements in the near future.

9. I should like Defence to consider this matter afresh and discuss it with the Transport Ministry. I want them to consider these alternative routes to Leh and also the other important roads in other parts of our frontier, more especially Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and NEFA. After this consideration, I should like to discuss this matter with the Ministers and Secretaries concerned.³

3. Nehru noted on 9 April 1955 that he had told Y.S. Parmar that the building of the road via Chini to the Tibet border should be expedited. Parmar had informed Nehru that, apparently, some old instruction debarring its extension beyond Chini was coming in the way. Saying that the old instruction did not apply any more, Nehru asked the Transport Ministry to consider the matter afresh.

3. New Designations of the Commanders-in-Chief¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... Now, I should like to inform the House today of a certain change in designation that we propose to make very soon. The House knows, or some of the Members might know, that in the old days there was a single Commander-in-Chief of the three Services. In the British days, the Commander-in-Chief of the three Services was also the Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He was, in fact, we might say, No. 2 in India, apart from defence matters generally speaking. That obviously could not continue and certain changes took place from 1946. Then he was simply the Commander-in-Chief of the three Services. Then, I think a little later, in 1947 when Independence came there were some further changes. After Independence each Service was placed separately under its own chief and they were designated, the Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army, the Flag Officer Commanding, the Royal Indian Navy and the Air Marshal Commanding the Royal Indian Air Force. In order to mark this altered role, they were given in February 1948 the additional designation of Chief of Staff along with their own designations. A few months

1. Statement in Lok Sabha, 25 March 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates, 1955*, Vol. II, Pt. II, cols 3364-3367. Extracts.

later a slight change was effected in these designations in order to make their designations uniform for the three Services and were called the Chief of the Army Staff, and Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army, Chief of the Naval Staff and Commander-in-Chief, Indian Navy, and Chief of the Air Staff and Commander-in-Chief, Indian Air Force. That is the present position.

Now, even when Independence came, we felt that it was slightly incongruous to have these designations. It did not fit in with the new turn in the country, and especially when the new Constitution came in, as honourable Members no doubt know, under Article 53(2) the President became the Supreme Commander-in-Chief. Normally speaking, under a democratic set-up Commanders-in-Chief are appointed only for operational purposes; they are not a sort of permanent Commanders-in-Chief, I am not generalising, because my words may not apply to every country. But this is the normal practice. In some countries it may be different. Then, for some years we felt that the present designations were not in keeping with our Constitution and the practice as it is in vogue in democratic countries. However, there were many other important things to do and we waited for a suitable opportunity to make this change in designation.

In making any change, I want to make it perfectly clear that no question arose in this connection of reducing the authority or status of these Chiefs of Staff or Commanders-in-Chief. Their authority, including operational authority, would continue to be the same. But we felt that it would be better if in future the designation of Commander-in-Chief should be dropped and they should be called the Chief-of-Staff, etc. This kind of dual role was considered rather incongruous. Therefore, it is proposed that the Heads of the Services in future be called the Chief of the Army Staff, the Chief of the Naval Staff and the Chief of the Air Staff, and in the course of a few days orders to this effect will be issued.

In some countries, where they have not got these Commanders-in-Chief in this manner—in fact in most democratic countries—they have some kind of Defence Councils; in England, for instance, there is the Army Council, the Air Council and the Board of Admiralty which perform the functions of the Commanders-in-Chief. No doubt, it may be desirable for us also to form these Councils. We shall look into this matter. We cannot, of course, produce a council suddenly. A Council represents a great deal of experience and accumulated knowledge of our senior officers. But we are going into this matter and hope gradually to develop these councils for each of these Services.

In the early days, the House will remember, that is, after Independence for some little time we had a British Commander-in-Chief in the Army, Air Force and Navy—Chief of Staff and Commander-in-Chief. Then, soon after, in the Army we had an Indian Commander-in-Chief. The next step, about a year or more ago, I forget, in the Air Force one of our senior Indian officers became

Commander-in-Chief. At present therefore, it is only in the Navy that we have a British officer as our present Chief of Staff and Commander-in-Chief. I should like to say that these British officers that we had in the last few years have done remarkably good work in our Defence Services and I should like to express my high appreciation of their work, how they have really thrown themselves into the development of these Services, especially of the Air Force and the Navy, because they were relatively undeveloped—the Army was fairly developed in our country—and there have been very marked improvement all-round. Of course, some time later, I do not know when, after some months, there will be a change in the Navy too. The distinguished Admiral who is commanding our Navy, the British Admiral, will retire from the Indian Service and go back maybe to the British Navy and we shall have an Indian officer there too.²

In the Army we are completely self-sufficient; we have been for some time in the Air Force, we are so now; and in the Navy we hope to be so fairly developed in our country—and in the new designations that we have decided upon, we did seek no lessening of the authority or the status of the heads of the Services who in future will be called the Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy or the Air Force. And later on we shall consider the question of having councils for each of the Services which will perform the functions that normally a Commander-in-Chief does.

2. Correcting this part of the statement, Nehru stated a little while later in the House that some time was likely to elapse before an Indian was appointed as Commander of the Navy. He said, "We are likely to have another English Admiral for some time after the present one, and after him, we hope, there will be an Indian Commander. So, this process has been phased out in the last two years, so that we could get the best advantage of the experienced senior officers from England to train our own men."

4. The Conception of Sea Power¹

... For some time past, in fact long time past, I felt how people in this great bulk of the north of India are, what might be said, land minded. They are not so conscious of the sea, naturally they are not as the people on the sea coast and the south of India. There is a definite thing which I have felt repeatedly.

1. Speech at a Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi. 5 April 1955. AIR tapes. Extracts.

How will you think in terms of defence? You think in terms of army in the north. In terms of defence in the south, one would of course think of army but more immediately of the sea you think about, whatever it is, trade, etc. There is the land consciousness in the north and the sea consciousness in the south, and we have to be equally conscious of both land and sea apart from the air, which is common to both. It is a fact and I think, as you know, the whole of the conquest of India by the British, and the French and the Portuguese and all that came because we lost on the sea. For a long, long time we were dominant in the land but we have lost the sea and therefore foreign powers came, established themselves here, there and everywhere and we could not do much to them because they could always bring enforcement of this or that, because sea was not in our control except, I think, two persons—the Marathas, once they tried; and Tipu Sultan also had some conception of sea power but rather late. He could not develop it in time. Anyhow I think it is lack of this conception of sea power that this has been our undoing often in the past. Now, of course, there is air power which covers both. It is important. But I still think that for a country like India the sea is most important from the defence point of view and obviously from the trade point of view.

5. Selecting a Fighter for the Air Force¹

Ever since my visit to England, I have had occasions to discuss this question of the Gnat with various persons. In England, I visited the airfield of the firm of Follands² and saw the Midge in operation. I talked to Professor Blackett³ and Lord Mountbatten about it. Both of them were strongly in favour of the Gnat on the data before them and on the previous performance of the designer, Mr Petter.⁴

2. Our Air Advisers have also gone into this question both in England and here, and strongly recommended that we should accept the Gnat. Naturally, from the technical and like points of view, we have to accept expert advice,

1. Note to Defence Minister, 11 April 1955. JN Collection.

2. Folland Aircraft Ltd., Hamble, Hants, UK.

3. P.M.S. Blackett (1897-1974): Professor of Physics, Imperial College of Science and Technology, London, 1953-65.

4. William Edward Willoughby Petter (1908-1959): Managing Director of Folland Aircraft Ltd., 1951-59.

and I can have no opinion, but I have a very definite opinion that a light aircraft is preferable from our point of view to a heavier one. The fact that this lightness is gained at the sacrifice of some armaments is inevitable in a light aircraft.

3. The tendency for a long time has been both in seaships and aircraft, to arm them heavily and thus make them bigger, heavier and much more expensive. Recently, however, there has been a reaction against this, and the tendency is to go in for lighter aircraft. In a country like India, it seems to me quite essential that we should have light aircraft and more of them, rather than fewer heavier aircraft. Even from the point of view of our defence strategy, this is better. From the point of view of firepower also, it is better if we take into consideration the larger numbers. I believe the formula for this is something as follows (I am writing from memory): Two aircraft have at least four times the firing power of one of the same type. This relative increase in firepower increases as numbers go up. This is one of the reasons, apart from much greater manoeuvrability, why lighter aircraft have to be preferred, that is, even from the point of view of firepower we get much more of it from them because they are more in numbers and they can attack from various angles.

4. But a much bigger consideration is the feasibility of manufacture in India. It is quite essential that we should think of some aircraft which we can easily manufacture in India. Our whole approach in defence must be production in India even if the weapon or the aircraft so produced is not up to the high standard of some new weapon or aircraft elsewhere. This should apply to almost every kind of equipment for our Army, Navy or Air Force.

5. Then there is the question of cost. Obviously, it is better for us to have a cheaper article, if it is good.

6. It seems to me from the specifications I have seen that the Gnat fulfils almost every qualification that we require in a light aircraft. The question of risk is raised because it has not been tried adequately. There is that slight element of risk. This would apply even to a greater degree to every aircraft that we ourselves design and make. If we want to be dead sure, this would mean that we can only get something that is well tried and old and, perhaps, even slightly out of date. On the other hand, taking a new aircraft gives us a certain advantage in getting the latest type of a certain kind which other countries have not got or will not have till sometime later. We know, of course, that Mr Petter is one of the best known world designers. There is no question of risk about it, so far as the design is concerned.

7. Then there is the Bristol engine. Bristols are also a well known firm.

8. I am, therefore, not very much impressed by the argument of risk.

9. About other matters, such as Follands' financial position, etc., naturally I can form no opinion and such enquiries as are possible can be made about this. I wonder if it would be possible or desirable for our High Commissioner

to put the question straight to the Air Headquarters in London. It is a rather ticklish question to put to them in this way, but it might be easier for her to find out, in a friendly way, through Lord Mountbatten, the First Sea Lord. Lord Mountbatten himself was deeply interested in the Gnat and said he wanted it for his aircraft carriers if it was slightly varied to suit the carrier.

10. I see from these papers that a proposal was made to one Mr Grace about a break clause. Mr Grace agreed to place it before the board of directors. Presumably, some reply will be received before long.

11. Mr Petter has reduced his price to a considerable extent from his first offer. It is impossible for me to judge about it except that it is much less than other like aircraft. He has also said something about giving us the benefit of future reductions. I forget exactly what this was.

12. I gather that the RAF have ordered six or some such number of Gnats from Follands.

13. When I met the Air Marshal⁵ and later had a brief talk with acting Defence Secretary, I was told that the next step should be to invite Bristols to send their representative to India for discussions. I think this would be desirable.

14. The proposal to have a technical assessment of the specifications made seems desirable. In all such assessments, the basic fact has to be borne in mind as to what we are aiming at. We are aiming in all our defence at lighter and cheaper weapons which can easily be produced in India. I have no doubt in my mind that a light fighter is far more preferable for us than a heavy one.

15. The suggestion of the DDM(II) about some Swedish light fighter does not seem to carry us far. Apparently, our evaluation team have pronounced against it.

16. In the balance, therefore, I am clearly of the opinion, subject to some enquiries, etc., that the Gnat is a very desirable aircraft from our point of view and, unless there is some serious snag, we should go in for it. Meanwhile, while other enquiries are made, the Bristol people might be asked to send somebody here for further discussions. The question of cost of their man coming here is not very important either way when we are dealing with a big proposition.⁶

5. Subroto Mukherjee.

6. In a message sent on 27 May 1955 to Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Nehru stated that while the Gnat could fulfil India's requirements for a light fighter and could also be manufactured in India more easily than other types, there was, however, the question of the risk involved in undertaking anything which was under development. Asking her to seek Mountbatten's advice in the matter, Nehru added that if his advice was favourable, then the element of risk involved could be ignored.

6. Reporting of Serious Border Incidents¹

It has come to my knowledge that news about the tragic incident at Nekowal village² near the Jammu border did not reach Army Headquarters till the next day, that is, about twenty hours after the occurrence. Even the Western Command Headquarters at Simla appeared to be unaware of this occurrence for a considerable time. This seems to me very extraordinary. Apart from the fact that any incident on the border should be reported immediately, this particular incident was of such a serious nature that it required immediate action on the part of the Government. This indicates a certain looseness of our arrangements at the border and at Jammu, which is regrettable. Either the news took a long time in reaching the Jammu Headquarters, which is obviously bad and shows lack of proper organisation, or the Jammu Headquarters had no correct appreciation or awareness of the importance of this incident, which also indicates a certain passive attitude to events. I should like this matter to be enquired into and such explanation as there is to be sent on to me....

3. Since writing the above note, I have received the attached letter from General Rajendrasinhji.³ This gives some useful information.⁴ I still feel, however, that there was something lacking in the arrangements. When any shooting takes place, the incident is not a small one. It is clear that Major Badhwar died right at the beginning of this incident, that is, at about 10:30 hours on the 7th May. Nekowal is not far from Jammu itself. I should have thought that some reinforcements should have arrived there within two or three hours, quite apart from reporting the incident to headquarters. What happened was some very routine exchange of messages. The original message received at 12:30 hours on 7th May referred to a "small incident". The second message came at 17:30 hours on the same day, that is, five hours after the first message. To refer to the killing of an officer and others as a small incident appears to me rather odd. To delay sending a message for further five hours while firing was going on seems to me odder still.

1. Note to Defence Secretary. 14 May 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Twelve Indian Army personnel including one officer were killed in an attack by Pakistan border police on a working party of the Central Tractor Organisation at Nekowal on 7 May.

3. (1889-1964): Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army. 1953-55.

4. Rajendrasinhji stated in his letter of 14 May that information regarding the incident, "as it became available, was known at various Headquarters concerned. What was perhaps not realised, owing to the original information being somewhat confused, was the seriousness of the incident as such" until 22 hours after its occurrence.

7. Replacement of Warships¹

I have seen the paper dated the 16th May on replacement of ships of the Indian Navy. This paper deals chiefly with the rise in prices due to various causes. It is ultimately recommended that the cruiser costing Rs 8.66 crores should be left out of our present programme. Some other recommendations are also made.

2. I am generally in agreement with this paper. As the cruiser has been dropped, I take it that there is an actual reduction in total cost, in spite of the increase in price in other items.

3. I think it is perfectly clear now that battleships, cruisers and other big ships are completely out of date from the point of view of war. Their chief importance lies in ceremonial purposes and possibly in training. Even in training, I rather doubt if their utility is now appreciable.

4. In paragraph 3 of the note, it is stated that, owing to the development of more sensitive mines, the steel-hulled ocean class minesweepers are now considered unsafe, and, therefore, we must get something else to meet this new situation. This reminds one of a problem which has continually to be faced in matters of defence. There is a race between offensive weapons and those meant for defence, and the pace of development of either is rapid today, so that even relatively new weapons tend to become obsolescent or out of date.

5. The whole conception of war, on land or sea, has vitally changed with the coming of the atomic bomb and, even more so, of the hydrogen bomb.

6. In a country like India, that is, a country whose resources are limited, we have to take particular care that we do not buy something which may not be of much use soon after. This applies more to purchases from abroad than to what we manufacture ourselves, although to some extent it applies to both. Personally, I think that with this entirely changed conception of warfare, all of us will have to think on wholly new lines. There is far too much a tendency to think on the lines of the previous war, ignoring subsequent developments.

7. It is stated that eight coastal minesweepers should be obtained. Three of these are to be purchased from the UK and five to be built in India. If five can be built in India, it is not clear why the others should not also be built here unless it is a question of time. Obtaining everything in India, even if it is a little costlier, is better because it provides employment and training, and foreign exchange is saved.

8. As I have said, I generally agree with the Defence note, but I should like the point I have raised about the ocean class minesweepers being made in India to be considered.

1. Note to the Ministry of Defence, 25 May 1955. JN Collection.

IX. THE PRESS

1. Entry of Foreign Print Media¹

In this matter there should be full consultation with the Minister of I&B,² with whom I have had a talk. One thing was quite clear to me—that, if the *New York Times* or any other foreign paper wishes to bring out an edition here, it must be subject to Indian laws. That is, it cannot be given a more favourable position than an Indian newspaper has. The I&B Minister thought that, if we make this clear to the representative of the *New York Times*, he will give up the idea of publishing his paper in India. I am not quite sure about this or of the implications of the *New York Times* accepting these limitations.

2. Further, I suggested to the I&B Minister that someone in his Ministry might, informally, consult a few representatives of Indian newspapers through their organisations. I think that this would strengthen our position, and it would be a courtesy to our own newspapermen. If this is done, it will have to be very informally.

3. I think we might examine the legal implications of our asking the *New York Times*, if it comes here, to function exactly as an Indian newspaper does. I suggest that I&B Ministry should be consulted as to what they are doing in this matter, and then we can come to some decision.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 25 February 1955. JN Collection.

2. B.V. Keskar

2. Keeping Official Secrets¹

We have repeatedly had to deal with leakages of Cabinet or other secret papers or information. The steps we have taken to prevent this have not been very successful.

2. Sometime ago, an incident occurred which had some international repercussions. I was in England then. A message from the Soviet Government

1. Note to the Cabinet, 1 April 1955. JN Collection.

came for us.² It was dealt with as top secret and distributed to a few persons in the External Affairs Ministry and to the Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. The essence of this message leaked out to the press and appeared simultaneously in a Delhi newspaper as well as in the *New York Times* (from a Delhi message). This was immediately brought to our notice by both the UK Government and the Soviet Government. As a result of this, the Soviet Government, a few days later, published that message which they otherwise, perhaps, might not have done.

3. We enquired into this matter. I cannot definitely say who was responsible for this leakage but I have a feeling that probably it come out in some form or other both from the External Affairs Ministry and from some outside source.

4. This led me to ask the External Affairs Ministry to revise their rules and to be much more strict in future both in regard to circulation of papers and in dealings with the press.³ It appears to have become a normal practice for newspapermen to wander about the corridors of the Secretariat and to visit various officers of Government and have talks with them. Sometimes, some loose talk, without any deliberate intention, gives some information. At other times, the leakage is deliberate and, therefore, wholly unpardonable.

5. The External Affairs Ministry have now restricted circulation of top secret papers. They have also issued instructions that no officer should deal with representatives of the press except the PRO or the Secretary or, in special cases, the Joint Secretary. In any event, there should be no loose talk with a journalist.

6. Whether this direction will prove helpful or not will have to be seen, but I think some such attempt should be made in all our Ministries.

7. I would request members of the Cabinet also to be particularly careful not only about Cabinet papers but also about any talks with pressmen. Some of these journalists openly brag about their contacts with members of the Cabinet, their frequent visits to them and the opportunity given to them sometimes to see papers. Probably, this is exaggerated, but it creates a bad impression among other journalists as well as the public.

8. I have avoided seeing any journalist, Indian or foreign, except at press conferences and, very rarely, on special occasions when a person is invited.

2. In an aide-memoire given to the Indian Embassy in Moscow on 4 February, the Soviet Government had offered their suggestions to find out possible ways for the solution of the international problems in the Far East.
3. In his note of 22 February to Secretary General, MEA, Nehru observed. "I have not quite got over the incident of the leakage of the Soviet message to us about the Far East.... Persons serving in the diplomatic service and in the Foreign Office... should never talk about the matters they deal with or indeed express an opinion about foreign affairs.... It should be made perfectly clear that the slightest lapse will be considered a serious matter..."

9. It is a practice of some journalists to pick up odd bits of information and to base insinuations and innuendoes on it. It is difficult to go about publicly correcting or denying these, and wrong impressions are thus allowed to persist. One such remarkable instance occurred in *The Hindustan Times* of March 29th. In an article entitled "Political Diary" by "Insaf", there appeared the following sentence: "Is [it] realised that hardly anything happens in the Prime Minister's house without it becoming known to foreign agents even before it is known to Cabinet Minister and high officials?" This was a remarkable statement which, if true, brought discredit on the Prime Minister and the way his house functioned. If the Prime Minister or any members of his staff gave information to foreign agents in preference to Cabinet Ministers and high officials, then there was something very wrong with the Prime Minister and his staff.

10. As I was told that "Insaf" was Mr Durga Das,⁴ I sent for him the same day, i.e., March 29th, and asked him what exactly he meant by this sentence. He appeared to make light of it and said that he did not refer to any important or secret matter but, rather, to petty things like the Prime Minister's guests at a meal or what the Prime Minister might have said in the course of conversation at a meal. That struck me as an odd reply. Where did the Cabinet Ministers and high officials come into the picture? Was I supposed to inform them of every guest I had or the casual conversation at the breakfast or lunch table? Or, was I supposed to issue some kind of a press communique on the subject? No one who read the sentence referred to, could imagine that it referred to trivial conversation but Mr Durga Das insisted that it had no importance.

11. I asked Mr Durga Das for some one instance of any such trivial or important matter which had come to his notice. I assured him that I did not wish him to disclose his source of information but I should like to have at least one instance of what led him to write as he did. He was unable to give me a single instance but referred to his past six months' experience and the general impression he had got.

12. I informed him that, normally, no one is present at my meals except my daughter and me and, sometimes, guests. No member of my staff is present at my meals except some domestic servants who are serving the meal. It was, thus, not clear to me how even that trivial conversation was reported abroad unless the guest himself said so to his friends. I further told him that in the course of the last few years, I had dealt with innumerable top secret papers in my house and, to my knowledge, there had not been a single leakage from the Prime Minister's house, though, occasionally, there have been leakages from the External Affairs Ministry.

4. (1900-1974); correspondent, *The Hindustan Times*; Chairman, Press Gallery Committee of Parliament, 1951-60.

13. Mr Durga Das went on assuring me that what he had written had no importance and merely represented his impression of four or five months or so.

14. All this appeared to me to be exceedingly irresponsible behaviour, and I told Mr Durga Das that.⁵

15. This leads me to think that all Ministers have to be particularly careful in their dealings with the press or with people who have contacts with the press.

5. On 29 March, Nehru also drew the attention of Devadas Gandhi, Managing Editor of *The Hindustan Times*, to this matter. He wrote, "I can hardly imagine any more serious criticism or condemnation of my method of doing work.... this kind of insinuation is worse than a straight charge and sometimes *The Hindustan Times* indulges in these insinuations." Nehru added that he was writing the letter "because I cannot allow this thing to pass unnoticed."

3. Financing of Newspapers by US Agencies¹

This evening I received information that the *Pratap*,² Urdu newspaper of Delhi, was putting in a note from a Special Correspondent to the effect that "During Nehru-Ali talks,³ the latter has, besides other matters, proposed that all the political detainees, including Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, should be released. Further that Pakistan is confident of Shaikh Abdullah's release. During the talks, the Pakistan Prime Minister has not accepted Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad as higher authority."

2. This was of course completely baseless and without foundation. I asked Shri Mathai⁴ to get in touch with Shri Bhatt,⁵ DPIO, about this matter and suggested that Bhatt should inform the *Pratap* that this so-called news was completely without foundation. Bhatt did so. The editor⁶ of the *Pratap* informed him that copies of the paper had already gone out and as such he was unable to delete the news item. The editor however promised to try to issue a contradiction in the next issue.

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 15 May 1955. File No. 33/6/55- Poll(1), Ministry of Home Affairs. Also available in JN Collection.

2. The *Pratap* had a circulation of about 16,000 copies, and was the largest of the Urdu dailies of Delhi.

3. For the Nehru-Mohammad Ali talks held in May 1955 in New Delhi, see *ante*, pp. 246-263.

4. M.O. Mathai.

5. V.R. Bhatt.

6. K. Narendra.

3. Shri Bhatt reminds me of what he has said previously, that the *Pratap* newspaper is completely allied to the Jan Sangh and it is well known that the paper receives a subsidy from the American Embassy in New Delhi. It is even mentioned that the sum so received from the American Embassy by the *Pratap* is Rs 15,000/- a month.

4. I was also informed some time ago that the *Pratap*, at the instance of the American Embassy, undertook to translate into Urdu an article⁷ by Mrs Krishna Hutheesing⁸ which appeared in an American magazine some months ago. This article was chiefly about me and Mrs Pandit.⁹ The article was factually not correct and was not in good taste.¹⁰ I was informed on enquiry that a number of changes had been made in it by the editor of the magazine without authorisation by the writer of the article. Anyhow the article was considered useful by the US authorities in order to create a bad impression about me and Mrs Pandit. I am told that the US authorities bought up large numbers of copies of this American magazine for distribution not only in India but elsewhere. They tried to get it published in some of the Indian languages. The *Pratap* was one of the few papers in India that did publish it under scare headlines. I am told that the *Pratap* was paid substantially for this publication by the American Embassy.

5. The *Pratap* is one of our most objectionable, tendentious and communal papers. In addition, it is clearly known that it publishes material received from the USIS and is financially helped by it. Some time ago, I drew attention to a remarkable coincidence. When Premier Chou En-lai came here last year,¹¹ the *Pratap* published a leading article criticising him and his visit. An identical article appeared on the same day in a Karachi newspaper. It was obvious that the article had come from the same source, which was likely to be the USIS. Some of the rival papers of the *Pratap* in New Delhi made fun of this. I drew the attention of the Home Ministry and the Intelligence Bureau here to this as

7. An article entitled "Nehru and Madame Pandit" by Krishna Hutheesing was published in the January 1955 issue of *Ladies Home Journal*.

8. (1907-1967): Nehru's younger sister.

9. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister.

10. As per the article, Mrs Hutheesing was convinced that power "has not corrupted Jawahar" but "has had the effect of perhaps coarsening him to some extent. He was always inclined to be a little dictatorial... But nowadays he brooks no criticism and will not even suffer advice gladly. He is highly conscious of his place in history.... Jawahar is ambitious for India. Whether his one-man control... has made him a benevolent despot is a matter of opinion."

11. In June 1954.

well as, I think, the I&B Ministry. This was such a patent case that I felt that it should be pursued. Nothing much happened.¹²

6. I am very much surprised at the utter helplessness of the Government of India, in its various Ministries, as well as our Intelligence Bureau in dealing with such matters. Here I am not for the moment referring to the communal mischief that the *Pratap* does but to the fact that it is notorious that it is used by the USIS for its own purposes and is paid substantially for this purpose. Can we do nothing about this?¹³

7. I suggest that SG might send for the American Ambassador and tell him that we have received information repeatedly that the USIS pays the *Pratap* newspaper, among other papers, for publishing material which it supplies. He may refer also to the old incident of the publication of an article when Premier Chou En-lai came here. He should point out that we consider it very undesirable that the USIS or any foreign agency should subsidise any newspaper in India and we take a serious view of this matter and we hope that the US Embassy will enquire into it and put a stop to this practice. He might add that in any event this widespread impression in Delhi that the American Embassy or the USIS is subsidising the *Pratap* newspaper injures the reputation of that Embassy.

8. I think that the editor of the *Pratap* should also be told quite clearly that we have received repeated information to the effect that it is being subsidised by the USIS and the American Embassy, that it publishes completely false news items not only about internal affairs but about foreign affairs also, that it appears to be functioning on behalf of foreign agencies to the detriment of the national cause, and that we have a strong view about this.

9. SG can consider as to who best should do it. Perhaps the Home Ministry should do it.

10. I think also that our Intelligence Bureau might become a little more wide awake and our Home Ministry should not allow these matters to drift in this way. Exactly what further action can be taken is a matter for consideration. But it seems to me distressing to think that nothing effective can be done.

11. A copy of this note is being sent to the Home Ministry.

12. The Chief Commissioner, Delhi, who was asked by the Ministry of Home Affairs on 13 December 1954 to question the editor of the *Pratap*, reported on 11 January 1955 that the editor was sent for by the State Press Officer but he declined to come. However, the Delhi State Government filed a complaint against the *Pratap* in the Sessions Court on 10 February 1955 under the Press (Objectionable Matter) Act, 1951, for publishing some objectionable articles. At this time the case was still pending.
13. At a meeting held with the Secretary General, MEA, on 21 May 1955, senior officers of the Ministry of Law pointed out that "no action can be taken under the existing law against Indian papers which get subsidy from foreign agencies and publish false news items about our internal affairs, unless such false news constitutes a breach of any law such as that relating to sedition, defamation, etc., in which case the prosecution will be for such breach and not for receiving subsidy from foreign sources."

X. INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. To Pattom A. Thanu Pillai¹

New Delhi
February 22, 1955

My dear Thanu Pillai,²

I have your letter of the 19th February.³

I had been away from India when many of these developments took place in Travancore-Cochin. In fact, I did not know about them till I returned a few days ago. I have since enquired into these.

You will remember my speaking to you repeatedly about the necessity for closer contacts and a measure of cooperation between your Government and the Congress party. The position was peculiar because the Government party consisted of only 18 in a House of 118. Such a position could only be normalised to some extent by these contacts and cooperation. That did not mean your party giving up any principle for which it stood. Indeed, even in other circumstances, the Government seeks cooperation from other groups.

For my part, I had no desire that your government should fall, and my belief is that the Congress party in your legislature did not desire it either. But circumstances inevitably pulled in certain directions. That pull could only be neutralised by active steps against it, that is, by those contacts. Instead of this, relations actually deteriorated. In spite of all the goodwill in the world, I could not prevent this happening. It was only you who could have prevented it.

Later, it became obvious that you proposed to rely on the Communist Party in the legislature. They made a number of strange demands upon you, and you accepted many of them.⁴ That, again worsened the situation.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1885-1970); Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, 1954-55.

3. Thanu Pillai wrote that the Congress party in Travancore-Cochin had shown "utter political immorality" by inducing the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (TTNC) and a Tamilian independent member to bring forward a no-confidence motion against the PSP ministry in the state legislative assembly and eventually supporting it and thus causing the defeat of the ministry on 8 February. He also said that subsequently the Congress had managed to form a government in the state with the help of 12 TTNC members, nine of whom were facing criminal cases.

4. Thirty-five communists, serving long terms of imprisonment for the part they played in the Punnappa Vayalar insurrection in 1946, were released in January 1955. The communists also demanded prevention of all forms of eviction until the enactment of the land reforms bill. Some of their other demands were reportedly designed to reduce the effectiveness of police interference in riots and demonstrations, and to blackmail employers, many of whom were British planters.

So far as I know, the Congress party supported you in many matters, even though they did not wholly agree. This was because they did not wish to upset your ministry.

I am entirely opposed to what might be called seduction of any member from one party to another.⁵ I do not know myself what happened in Travancore-Cochin, but I am given to understand that the Congress party did not make any such attempt. Indeed, some PSP members wished to join the Congress, but their offer was not accepted.

I am also given to understand that the Congress party had nothing to do with inducing the TTNC or the independents to bring forward the motion of no confidence, for the simple reason that they did not wish to bring about an immediate crisis. When the motion, however, was put forward, they felt that they could not, in the circumstances, oppose it.

You say that your advice as retiring Chief Minister to the Rajpramukh⁶ to dissolve the Assembly should have been taken and to reject it was not consistent with propriety and democratic functioning. I do not agree with you in this matter. It is rather doubtful what the practice should be even in the United Kingdom, but this question only arises where the parties are more or less evenly balanced. For the leader of a party of 18 to demand a dissolution of a House of 118 has certainly no force of convention or practical advantage behind it. I believe that only 30 persons voted for your ministry in the no-confidence motion. Also, that two major parties, representing 46 and 27 members each,⁷ were anxious that the Rajpramukh should explore possibilities of an alternate ministry without dissolving the Assembly.

I am not happy at the turn events took in Travancore-Cochin, but I feared that the unstable equilibrium which had lasted for more than a year,⁸ could not possibly continue unless very special steps were taken. These steps were not taken. In fact, some other steps were taken which upset the equilibrium completely.

I am told that there is no question of withdrawal of the cases against the TTNC men.⁹

5. Thanu Pillai wrote that the Congress party leader in the state assembly had, "by offering temptations, seduced two members of the PSP and made them offer support to a ministry he might form", and asked Nehru to consider whether the Congress "should be encouraged to adopt such questionable methods... particularly in the infancy of the democracy which we are all interested in developing on proper lines."
6. Padmanatha Dasa Bala Rama Varma.
7. The Congress and the Communist Party had 46 and 27 members respectively.
8. The PSP ministry in Travancore-Cochin was formed in March 1954.
9. Thanu Pillai wrote that cases against the accused TTNC members were reportedly going to be withdrawn even without an apology from them.

I am grateful to you for your expression of thanks to me. For my part, as you know, I was happy to cooperate with you throughout the period of your office.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Presidents of the PCCs¹

New Delhi
March 9, 1955

Dear Comrade,

As President of the Congress, I used to write to you from time to time. It has been suggested that I might continue writing to you occasionally even though I am not Congress President now and the privilege and burden of Presidentship has fallen on the worthy shoulders of Shri U.N. Dhebar. I have gladly accepted this suggestion because I want to keep in touch with you and our other comrades and to serve the Congress in this way also.

2. The Avadi Congress² was undoubtedly, in many ways, a landmark in our Congress history. The fact that a new President came in of the high calibre of Shri U.N. Dhebar was a good omen. I am very happy that the Congress is now in his capable hands. Even during the short time that has elapsed since the Avadi Congress, he has introduced a fresh outlook and a dynamism in the organisation. I earnestly hope that all of us will follow his lead with discipline and enthusiasm.

3. The Avadi Congress, however, was something more than the triumph of some individuals. It was an expression of the nation's will; it exhibited the dynamic character of the Congress which could adapt itself to changing conditions and keep in tune with the people and their urges. A great organisation, full of years and traditions, is apt to become static and to rest on its laurels. There was this dangerous tendency in the Congress and many of us were apt to become complacent. It is not easy for such a vast organisation, rooted in past habits, to make a fresh move. It is still more difficult for an organisation which has attained success to keep alive to change and growth. Oddly enough,

1. File No. G-1(ii)/1955, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. The sixtieth session of the Indian National Congress was held at Avadi near Chennai from 21 to 23 January 1955.

nothing is more dangerous in a way than to succeed, for this leads one to think that work is over.

4. There is no end to the journey of a nation and, in so far as the Congress represents the nation, there can be no end to its journey. More particularly, in present day conditions of India and the world, we have to keep alive, wide awake and moving. We only completed one stage of our journey when we achieved independence. In effect, that was a preparation for the real march of the nation onward. The political stage, though it does not end, takes a secondary place. We have to face the bigger problem of social and economic advance.

5. In this matter, the Avadi Congress gave us a forthright lead by its resolutions. Those resolutions form an integrated whole and should be read as such. I would draw your particular attention to the resolution stating that our objective was the "establishment of a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth".³ The fifth resolution, dealing with economic policy, goes into further details of the socialist economy that we aim at.⁴

6. The reaction to these resolutions in the country has been marked and various. Some people have been frightened by what they consider a revolutionary step forward. Some have criticised it on the ground that it means nothing much and was merely a vote-catching device. Some have offered verbal criticism and pointed out that the word used is "socialistic", which is presumed to be something less than socialist. As a matter of fact, there is no difference in these words and in the Economic Policy Resolution, the words used are "socialist economy" and "a socialist pattern of society".

7. The major reaction in the country, however, has been one of enthusiastic welcome to this more precise definition of what we are aiming at. This reaction is not confined to Congressmen, but has spread among all kinds of people. That is a right reaction. Those who have thought along these lines for a long time past are of course happy and pleased. Even many of those who were a little apprehensive about this new direction feel that it is in keeping with the spirit of the time and therefore should be welcomed.

8. I shall not deal with our critics and those who think that we are trying to delude our people and play with the electorate. Nothing could be more foolish for us than to do that. Apart from its essential wrongness, it leads to opposite reactions later when the people see that we have not been serious about our declarations.

9. Let it be fully realised by all that we are deadly serious about what we have said and that it is up to the Congress now to redeem this pledge that we

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, p. 255.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 258-259.

have taken in all its fullness. We shall do so, in our own way, and that is a peaceful way, a cooperative way and a way which always tries to carry the people with us, including those who may be apprehensive or even hostile to begin with.

10. We realise, of course, that the interests of various groups in the country clash, that there are class conflicts, that the interest of a landowner is not the same as the interest of his tenant, the interest of the owner of a factory is not the same as that of the workers there. We do not ignore this clash of interests because it is patently there and to ignore it would be to ignore reality. But, nevertheless, we do not encourage class conflicts, as some people do, but try to resolve them or, at any rate, to lessen them. That does not mean that we should weaken in any way in our resolve or tone down our objective. That objective must be kept absolutely clear and everything has to be judged from the yardstick of the good it does to the masses of our people, and how far it takes us in the direction of the pattern of society that we aim at. If vested interests come in the way, they have to be removed, but in doing so we pursue the friendly and cooperative way, because we mean ill to no one and because we realise that ultimately the good of the individual or the group can only come fully when the whole nation and our three hundred and sixty million people advance. Therefore, the test is always the good of the masses of our people. This combination of firm adherence to principle and objective, and yet a friendly approach even to those who differ and whose interests clash with that objective, is the way that Gandhiji taught us. It is in keeping with the genius of India.

11. There is another resolution of the Avadi Congress to which I should like to draw your particular attention. This relates to the purity and strengthening of the organisation.⁵ It is clear that the strength of our great organisation depends essentially on its high standards of behaviour and its discipline. We have often fallen from those standards and we have to pull ourselves up. Numbers count, but what counts infinitely more is the quality of our work and all Congressmen have, therefore, to shake themselves up, get out of the ruts they are in and make this organisation again a living and dynamic symbol of the urges of the Indian people. We must not behave as if we are a group sticking to posts and wanting the spoils of offices within the organisation or the Government. Our doors must be open to all who agree with the purposes of the Congress and who seek to serve the country.

12. The results of the Andhra elections have naturally been welcomed by Congressmen.⁶ They have not only a national, but an international significance.

5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 277-279.

6. The Congress party won 146 seats out of 196 in the Assembly elections held in Andhra in February 1955.

They represent basically the faith of the Andhra people in the Congress. Andhra has passed through very difficult periods and the Congress organisation there has often not functioned effectively. Yet, in spite of all this, the Andhra people have demonstrated their loyalty to the Congress. That throws a tremendous burden and responsibility on the Congress organisation everywhere and, more particularly, in the Andhra state. It would be a tragedy if we failed to shoulder this responsibility adequately and proved ourselves unworthy of the people's trust. Therefore, it has become essential that the Andhra Government to be⁷ and the Andhra Congress organisation should rise to the high level of the people's faith and enthusiasm. There is no room for personal rivalry or petty dispute.

13. What I say of Andhra applies really to the rest of India also and every Provincial Congress Committee must read the signs of the times and adapt itself to them.

14. Some organisations that had been functioning apart from the Congress, though there were many of our old comrades in them, have merged with the Congress. We must welcome this development of the return of our old comrades, and we must treat them as comrades, giving them full opportunity of work and service in the organisation. While I welcome these developments, I should like to make it clear that I do not want Congressmen to take any steps to wean away members of other parties. Those who wish to come of their own accord are welcome. But any deliberate attempt to break up other parties is not desirable. The existence of other parties should be welcomed. Opposition is always an incentive to effort. There is danger in a party becoming so strong that it sinks into complacency and somnolence.

15. It is good to have difference of opinion and conflict of ideas. But there must be a certain basic common approach. Thus, it is essential that we should have common approach of peaceful working in the action, whatever the differences might be. Violence is bad and cannot lead to any of the objectives aimed at. Also, we must accept the general principle that the good of the people as a whole must be paramount and that we should aim at equality. All groups and parties who believe in these two approaches have much in common with the Congress and we should all be prepared to cooperate with them. But those who believe in violence and those who wish to maintain vested interest and preserve inequality, can have little in common with the Congress.

16. Therefore, we have to struggle continuously against the forces that spread communalism, casteism, provincialism. The Congress cannot compromise with these disintegrating tendencies and every Congressman must fight these

7. An eight-member ministry, with Gopala Reddi as the Chief Minister, assumed office on 28 March 1955.

evils. In particular, I should like to draw your attention to the dangerous and pervasive character of caste. There can be no real democracy or equality if caste barriers persist and preserve inequality.

17. Today is Holi, one of the greatest of our national festivals. It is essentially a festival of equality as well as of jollity and of the masses. Some of our friends object to the people's exuberance and want them to behave as if they were in a drawing room. Certainly we should not encourage any wrong tendencies, but I think that it would be a pity if we did not recognise, appreciate and encourage the spirit behind this great festival. This festival should represent the New India of removal of barriers that separate us, of equality and comradeship, of enthusiasm and good humour.

18. While international conflicts and the fear of war darken the world, here, in India, we sense a new life. The dark night was followed by the dawn of freedom. It was a troubled dawn, but now it is giving place to the bright morning with all its hope and vitality and confidence. Fear grips the world, but there is no fear in India of any external danger and, however difficult our internal problems might be, we face them with confidence. But we shall have to work hard to justify what we have said and what our people expect us to do.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Pattom A. Thanu Pillai¹

New Delhi
March 10, 1955

My dear Thanu Pillai,

My attention has been drawn to an editorial in the weekly *Pravaham* dated 19th February, 1955. I understand that this is edited and published by the General Secretary² of the PSP in Travancore-Cochin. I have naturally read a translation of this editorial.

2. This editorial is headed: "Panditjee betrays Pattom". It goes on to say that I played a trick on you and deliberately intrigued so that you could not bring about a compromise with the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress. I need not repeat the editorial as you must have seen it or can obtain it. It says that you told me, when I went to Cochin on the 2nd October, that you were going

1. JN Collection.

2. B.C. Verghese.

to have a settlement with the TTNC but that I vehemently opposed any settlement. You accepted my advice, and the efforts for a compromise ended with that. I am thus charged with "foul play".³

3. I can hardly imagine that this farrago of nonsense could have come from you.

4. At no time was I against any compromise. I tried to be as correct as possible and not to come in the way of your Government who was responsible for dealing with the situation. I wrote to you repeatedly about the complaints I had heard about the police ill-treatment.

5. You should know that at no time was it my desire that your Ministry should fall. At every step, I tried to prevent this development, to the best of my ability.

6. I think it is fair to yourself as well as to me that you should contradict this statement in the *Pravaham*.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The editorial said that Nehru's object in dissuading the PSP from getting closer to the TTNC was malafide and that it was a trick to bring the Congress back to power.
4. In his letter of 4 April 1955 to the editor of *Pravaham*, Thanu Pillai said that the reference in the editorial to his talk with Nehru was misleading. "There was never a question of a settlement with the TTNC... nor had the Prime Minister occasion to stand against it. What was discussed was only the question of the cases against the TTNC men being withdrawn on their tendering apologies and Pandit Nehru advised against it."

4. Role of the Congress in Sikkim¹

I understand that the AICC office has sent a Sewa Dal organiser to Sikkim. He has gone on behalf of the State Congress there.

This has created some difficulty in Sikkim and we have had a protest from another party, the Sikkim National Party, at the help being given by the AICC to the rival organisation, namely, the Sikkim State Congress. The State Congress there is largely a Nepalese organisation while the National Party represents the Bhutias and the Lepchas, who are the original residents of Sikkim.

1. Note to General Secretary, AICC, 21 March 1955. JN Collection. Copy of this note was sent to Foreign Secretary.

It is difficult for us to distinguish between these parties. The fact that one of them calls itself the State Congress does not necessarily mean that it is fully representative, although it is a larger organisation. We should be rather careful in siding with any particular organisation in Sikkim. I gathered that both the State Congress and the National Party were invited to the Avadi session.

I think that instructions should be sent to the Sewa Dal organiser to help both the State Congress and the National Party impartially. In fact it would be a good thing if he succeeded in building up a joint Sewa Dal of the two organisations.

5. To Munishwar Dutt Upadhyaya¹

New Delhi
March 24, 1955

My dear Munishwar Dutt,

I am writing to you in your capacity as the President of the UP Pradesh Congress Committee. I was in Allahabad yesterday and the day before. Congress affairs in Allahabad city continue to be deplorable. In the district they are not good, but they are certainly a little better than in the city.

In the city there is an ad hoc committee at present. Unfortunately the people in the ad hoc committee are more or less the same as in the old committees with the result that the same conflicts and rivalries continue.

Some younger people came to see us and they said that it would be far easier to work there if these older Congressmen, who could not get rid of their rivalries, were not made office-bearers and if entirely new persons were chosen for this purpose.

I entirely agree with this and I think this principle should apply as far as possible elsewhere too. In this way we shall not only get rid of old rivalries but encourage fresh blood which at present finds no scope.²

Also I think that the UPCC has often been unfortunate in the selection of its candidates for election to Parliament or assemblies. One remarkable case was that of Shiv Kumar Pandey in Allahabad who is exceedingly unpopular and bound to lose. Yet he was selected and the PSP man won by a thundering majority.

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru also wrote to U.N. Dhebar the same day on the above lines.

Surely we ought to learn from this and function differently in future.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
April 1st, 1955

My dear Dhebar bhai,

Sucheta Kripalani saw me this evening and said that recent events and the steps that the Congress had taken had made a radical difference in the situation, and there was no basic difference left now between the Congress and the PSP. She mentioned the Avadi Congress resolutions, the amendments of the Constitution which we are putting through and the proposal to nationalise the Imperial Bank. For her part, she said that she was interested in constructive work and she did not like this conflict and mutual condemnation between the PSP and the Congress. Kripalani² was of much the same opinion and so, no doubt, were most of the members of the PSP. It was true that Lohia and a few others oppose them.³ Individual members of the PSP were joining the Congress. Would it not be better for some concerted action to be taken?

I suggested to her that she might see you. For my part, I said, I was not at all anxious for the PSP to be wound up or merged with the Congress. I thought it had a function to fulfil, although, unfortunately, it had acted wrongly in the past in many ways and thus weakened itself.

Sucheta said that she had read my last letter⁴ to the Presidents of the PCCs and this influenced her greatly. I told her that I held the same opinion still. It was difficult to advise but I would not personally suggest the PSP merging in

1. File No. G-64/1955. AICC Papers, NMML.

2. J.B. Kripalani.

3. While Madhu Limaye, one of Lohia's principal supporters, described the Avadi resolution calling for a socialist pattern of society as "a colossal fraud on the electorate" in an article in the *Free Press Journal* of 24 January 1955, Asoka Mehta declared in *Janata*, the official organ of the PSP, two days later that "new points of contact have emerged (between the Congress and the PSP) and the area of agreement has become clearer" with the adoption of the Avadi resolution. On 18 March, Limaye came out openly against Mehta and alleged the formation of groups in the PSP.

4. See *ante*, pp. 539-543.

the Congress and, certainly, I did not want any bargaining on this or any like issue. Perhaps, the best course will be for the PSP Executive, which was meeting soon, to say that they welcome various changes in the policy of the Congress and the Government, which had removed many basic differences. In view of these changes, they were prepared to cooperate or advised cooperation with the Congress in constructive and other activities. They retained their freedom to criticise and to function as they wished, but they would cooperate in nation-building activities, etc., fully.

If the PSP said something like this, they would create a better atmosphere and there could be cooperation in many ways.⁵ We could watch the situation as it developed like this and, later, think of any other step that might be considered necessary then.

I am just reporting to you what I said to her for your information.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The National Executive of the PSP met in Delhi from 9 to 11 April to consider the issue of suspension of Limaye from the Party on grounds of indiscipline by the Bombay City Executive of the PSP on 26 March. It asked the Bombay City Executive to reconsider its decision provided Limaye expressed regrets for his conduct, and warned "party members everywhere to desist from doing anything that violates the rules of conduct laid down by the party."

7. Organisation of Constructive Work¹

Jawaharlal Nehru said that it would be useful to organise constructive work among Congressmen and try to establish contacts with other organisations doing constructive work.² There were certain basic things which had to be taken into consideration before arriving at a programme for the zonal organisers. Some of these things had been described in the resolution adopted at the Avadi session....

1. Record of proceedings of a meeting with the Congress zonal organisers for constructive work, New Delhi, 13 April 1955. File No. G-63/1955. AICC Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. At the outset, Shriman Narayan explained the decision of the Congress Working Committee to organise constructive work. Several PCCs had already convened conferences of the district office-bearers to plan out constructive work in their areas.

The Congress had to shoulder great responsibilities. It had to do practical things. Other parties could talk in the air because they had no responsibility. Static approach did not help in the prevailing dynamic atmosphere. Real planning had to arrange for the necessities at the proper time and that too well in advance.

In the absence of correct statistics no rigid plan could be framed. The plan had to keep in touch with realities and the changing circumstances. In fact, it was difficult to draw up a plan for such a vast country. To fulfil the aims of a plan by peaceful and democratic methods was, perhaps, the greatest challenge that any country had to face. He was confident that India would be able to meet this challenge. But it was essential that the public was taken into full confidence. This could be done if our workers could explain to the public the work that was being done by the Government and what the Government proposed to do in the Second Five Year Plan. It was, therefore, necessary that the Congress workers kept in touch with the day to day developments regarding the Second Five Year Plan and were thus in a position to explain its implications to the people.

While it had been provided in the Second Five Year Plan that the heavy industries grew for the development of the country, it had also been proposed that village, cottage and household industries flourished side by side. While the Congress laid emphasis on the village and cottage industries because of the approach of Mahatma Gandhi and the practical aspect explained by him, economists and other people had also arrived at the conclusion that the development of village and cottage industries was necessary for various other reasons, particularly for providing full employment to the people.

Talking about social strata he said that it was necessary that the bottom was activated. The general idea was that improvement at the top resulted in the improvement of the bottom as well.³ Nehru added that the idea of Gandhiji, as he understood, was to activate the lower people and raise the standard of society. He added that the popular response visible in this country was immense. Some times it became impossible to cope with the enthusiasm shown by the public, mainly for want of adequate trained personnel.... Public cooperation could be had in a larger measure in our country than in any other country....

Speaking about the Community Projects and National Extension Services, he said that some of these centres were working well. In his opinion, at times narrow and restricted outlook hindered the progress of such workers....

3. Nehru told an informal meeting of the AICC members on 10 May that "strengthening of any organisation comes from the bottom and not from the top. It is a dangerous thing if the lower committees do not function... Whenever the organisation has weakened it is due to group rivalry and dissensions which are specially noticeable at the time of elections.

Nehru said that he entirely agreed with what Pandit Pant had said.⁴ The industrial cooperatives could be started for a variety of purposes. It would be good if the Congress emphasised the idea of industrial cooperatives. In China there were numerous cooperatives. He said that if the village and cottage industries were to flourish in the country the techniques and methods employed in those industries would have to be improved and modern methods adopted....

4. Govind Ballabh Pant said that the goal of the Second Five Year Plan in respect of small scale, village and cottage industries could be achieved if small industrial cooperatives were established by the efforts of Congressmen.

XI. ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

1. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
February 27, 1955

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a letter which the Maharaja² of Jaipur gave me today. I suppose we can do something for these young Princes, etc. But I doubt if we could go far. My experience of most of them has not been too satisfactory. But I think some might prove more satisfactory.

I do not think one can entrust them with diplomatic work. They have not been a success at it. Of course it might be possible to send them to some out of the way places if they are prepared to go, some places where no political flair was necessary.

I think, however, that it would be desirable to attach one young man to the President as ADC. This matter might be discussed with Katju, as ADCs normally come from the Defence Services.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Sawai Man Singh (1911-1970): Rajpramukh of Rajasthan. 1946-1956.

2. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
March 11, 1955

My dear Dr Ambedkar,²

I have your letter of the 9th March about Mr T.B. Bhonsle.³ You ask me in this letter not to forward it to the Ministry concerned. Surely, you do not expect me to bypass the Ministry concerned and to issue direct orders in regard to such things as appointments, promotions, etc. I have never done this since I have been in office. Certainly, I have looked into matters myself to some extent where this was possible.

I would be very unhappy, indeed, if any action was taken in Government which was due to partiality or favouritism, more especially if any such thing applied to a member of the Scheduled Caste.⁴ I cannot believe that the Ministry concerned would act of this basis. It is always possible for some junior officer to act wrongly, but not a responsible head of the Ministry.

However, I shall certainly enquire into this matter.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1891-1956); Dalit leader; Chairman, Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution; Union Law Minister, 1947-51.
3. An Executive Engineer.
4. The same day Nehru wrote to Swaran Singh, Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, saying, "I am very anxious that there should not even be a suspicion of the belief that a person who belongs to the Scheduled Caste is dealt with unfairly because of that fact. I hope you will remove any such impression."
5. Nehru again wrote to Ambedkar on 13 April: "This matter has been considered again very carefully by Swaran Singh.... I have in fact seen the reply which he is... sending you.... I hope you will agree that there has been no trace of unfair treatment. In fact it is always our wish and attempt to try to give further opportunities of service and advancement to persons coming from the Scheduled Castes. This practice will continue."

3. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
March 17, 1955

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Your letter of the 14th March about Mahavir Jayanti being declared a public holiday.² This matter has come up before us repeatedly and we have felt very reluctant to go on adding to our holidays. As it is, India has more public holidays than probably any country in the world. As you rightly say, this question has been raised only because holidays have been allowed for the birthdays of other great men. There may be some reason in this. But it does not appeal to me very much.

The Jains are undoubtedly an important community. But they are not spread out all over India. It is quite easy for States where there are many Jains to declare this as a holiday. I believe some States have already done so. But to make it a public holiday for all India when most States have practically no Jain population, does not appear to be particularly necessary.

The fact is that we have been far too generous with our holidays in the past and we have to draw a line somewhere. Otherwise it will be all play here and little work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 33(94)/50-PMS.
2. Rajendra Prasad wrote that representatives of the Jains had met him on several occasions in this regard. He suggested that Nehru might favourably consider this request of theirs "particularly because they form a significant community in India."

4. Import and Sale of Luxury Cars by Diplomats¹

I see that there has been a telegram from Djakarta asking for permission to sell a car. The answer sent from our Ministry has been that this permission is not granted. I agree with this answer.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 24 March 1955. JN Collection.

2. This raises, however, a wider question in regard to the purchase of cars by our Foreign Service personnel abroad and their importing these cars into India. There have been one or two questions in Parliament about this matter and we have not been able to give very satisfactory replies.

3. Ever since certain restrictions were imposed on the import of automobiles into India, it has not been possible for anyone here to import the more expensive cars. But some of our Foreign Service personnel sometimes import luxury cars. They are entitled to do so under the rules but it does look odd that when no one else can import or use these cars in India, some of our people can do so. This attracts attention and criticism. I think that our rules should be revised and no cars, which are not normally permitted to be imported, should be allowed to be brought in by Foreign Service personnel into India. That is to say, our normal rules about import of cars should strictly apply to members of the Foreign Service serving abroad. This, of course, includes non-members who may be Heads of Missions or otherwise serving abroad in a Mission.

4. Also the sale of cars in foreign countries by Foreign Service personnel should be in accordance with the rules and regulations in force in that country and should have the previous approval of our Ministry.

5. It is not right that this purchase and sale of cars should be utilised for making considerable profit.

5. The Desirability of Prohibition¹

Bombay has taken the lead in introducing prohibition. There has often been controversy on this subject. This controversy is based on two factors: (1) the loss of revenue and (2) the difficulty of preventing breaches of the prohibition law and the manufacture of illicit liquor.

Financial considerations cannot always be ignored, but in a matter of this kind surely these considerations should not play an important part. We come then to the second objection. That is not one of principle, but of practical difficulty. It requires a careful consideration of the manner in which the prohibition law is worked and the way it is broken. It may be necessary to vary our procedures in order to attain the objective aimed at.

1. Message written on 25 March 1955 and sent to the Government of Bombay on the occasion of Prohibition Week observed in Bombay from 6 to 12 April 1955. File No. 7(154)/49-PMS.

The question therefore resolves itself into this: Is the objective of prohibition good or not? If it is good, it must be pursued, though we may vary our approaches to this problem. I have no doubt that this broad objective is good for our country. I am not prepared to generalise about other countries which have different habits and different ways of living. But in our country it seems to me desirable, both from the point of view of the general public and also from the point of view of the select few who appear to take some pride in indulging in alcoholic drinks, even though the sentiment of the country is against it. I think it has been adequately shown that the general mass of our population benefit by prohibition in many ways—financially, physically and ethically. The few who think that it is the right thing to indulge in alcohol, and do so rather flagrantly, do little justice to themselves or to their country. Some time ago I expressed myself rather strongly about the cocktail habit in Delhi. Even apart from the desirability or otherwise of prohibition, this cocktail habit among certain well-to-do circles has become deplorable and, if I may add, vulgar. In a country which is poor and which is struggling hard to raise itself, this habit is peculiarly unbecoming.

There is also the question of a certain discipline in a nation. If we decide something and make laws to that effect, we should obey that discipline and carry out those laws.

I do not bring in the question of sin in this matter, but I do consider this kind of indulgence in alcohol a social abuse which should be actively discouraged. More particularly, with the background we have in our country and the circumstances that we live in, it is wholly undesirable.

6. To Purushottam Das Tandon¹

New Delhi
April 4, 1955

My dear Purushottam,²

Thank you for your letter of April 4.³

1. Purushottam Das Tandon Papers, National Archives of India.
2. (1882-1962); Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-57.
3. Tandon wrote that he was tendering his resignation from the Congress party for disobeying the whip issued on 3 April for opposing the motion of Govind Das for taking into consideration the Indian Cattle Preservation Bill for banning cow slaughter. He said that he found himself entirely against Nehru's views on this question and that in this matter Nehru did not represent the people. He added that he intended to resign from the Lok Sabha also.

You are right in saying that it is not very proper for a whip to be issued five minutes before voting. Also that it is odd for a motion by a Congress member to be opposed by Government and a whip issued for this purpose.

What happened was that yesterday forenoon Satya Narayan Sinha⁴ said that this Bill was coming up that day and asked me if in view of the past history of this measure, he should not issue a whip for members to oppose it. I agreed that he should do so. I am sorry that this was done or that the whip reached you so late.

The past history briefly is that repeatedly in the course of the last two years, I think, we discussed this matter with Govind Dasji.⁵ The matter was considered also by the Attorney General.⁶ Some steps were taken by the Food & Agriculture Ministry and they are being continued because, as I assured Govind Dasji that it is of the utmost importance that we should preserve our cattle wealth and prevent the slaughter of all milch cows, quite apart from others. But we felt that a mere passing of such a Bill for all India would not lead to that result and in fact might worsen the present position. The approach had to be more constructive. Also an Act applying to the whole of India, regardless of circumstances in different parts, might lead to all manner of difficulties. It was much more suitable for this kind of approach to be considered by the state governments. To give you an instance, an all-India Act would naturally apply to wide areas in the North-East Frontier Hills and the Tribal Areas. This might well have created a serious situation for us there. As it is, we are meeting grave difficulties there. One of the slogans for agitation among these tribal areas is that the Government of India is going to prohibit cow slaughter by law.

We thus have to face a situation when, according to our law advisers, this Bill was clearly outside the scope of Parliament and, on the merits, it was very unwise to apply it to the whole of India. Also we felt that the approach should be constructive rather than other. For the rest, the state governments could deal with the matter as they chose.

This was repeatedly put before Govind Dasji in the course of the last year or more. There have been many discussions. Govind Dasji felt the force of many of these arguments, but he said that this was a matter of sentiment and conscience with him, and even though Government did not approve of the Bill

4. (1900-1983): Union Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. 1952-67: and Chief Whip of the Congress party in the Lok Sabha.
5. (1896-1974): President, Mahakoshal PCC, 1946-57, and Member of Lok Sabha. 1952-74.
6. Regarding the competence of the Lok Sabha to pass such a legislation, M.C. Setalvad, the Attorney-General, made a statement in the House on 1 May 1954 to the effect that the subject matter of the Bill was in the exclusive sphere of the state legislature.

or it was considered ultra vires of this Legislature, he would like to move it formally, whatever the result. Because it was a matter of conscience with him, we told him that he could do so but explained Government's attitude quite clearly to him. On some occasions the Bill was postponed because of this internal conflict with the consent of Govind Dasji.⁷

After some considerable interval, this Bill came up suddenly yesterday and the Chief Whip asked me about it in the morning or forenoon. I agreed with him that we should inform the members about Government's attitude and a whip should be issued. I told him also that we had said before that Govind Dasji or anyone else who considered it a matter of conscience should have freedom of expression of views as well as of voting.

This in brief is what happened. You might remember that when Govind Dasji was speaking at the end of the debate, I interrupted and said that he had perfect freedom to take up the attitude he had done. This applied to anyone else who felt that way also. Therefore you had every right, in spite of the whip, to vote as you did.

I made some mention of this Bill today at our party meeting and explained this position again fully.

Coming to the merits of the question, it may be that my views on it are not quite the same as yours. But I am quite convinced that this slaughter that is taking place in some places in India, though it is much less than it used to be, has to be stopped, certainly in so far as the milch cows and their progeny are concerned. I came to the conclusion because of the special circumstances prevailing in India and the great importance of our cattle wealth. I have been repeatedly writing about this to our state governments and to our Food & Agriculture Ministry and many steps have already been taken which have produced result. Other steps are going to be taken. I am convinced that the mere passage of this Bill would not have yielded any satisfactory result but, on the contrary, would have led to difficulties and would not have even protected cattle.⁸

It is possible that I did not express myself lucidly. In any event I do not

7. The Bill was introduced by Govind Das in the Lok Sabha on 16 July 1952 and a motion for its consideration was moved on 27 November 1953. Discussion on the consideration motion was resumed on 11 December 1953, 26 February 1954 and 12 March 1954, when further consideration of the Bill was postponed.

8. Speaking in the Lok Sabha on 2 April, Nehru said, "My advice to some people who do not understand the economics or agriculture is not to take a step which will ruin our cattle wealth and do something which has often important constitutional consequences." Saying that "I am prepared to resign from Prime Ministership but I will not give in" because of agitation in the country on this issue, Nehru added that Government will have "constructive measures" to preserve the cattle wealth.

think that there is any occasion for you to resign either from the Congress party or from the Lok Sabha. I shall indeed be sorry if you take this decision.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

7. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
April 4, 1955

My dear Amrit,

Your two letters of today's date about the All India Medical Institute.²

Whatever the previous delays might have been, surely the present delay in this matter is not the fault of the Cabinet. If you have, on further consideration or on advice received, felt that the Cabinet's decision has to be changed, the matter necessarily has to be reconsidered by the Cabinet.

Whichever might be the better method, I do not see why it should be so terribly important that there should be no advisory council as previously suggested. I am not very keen either way. But, generally speaking, I like always a wide area of consultation. This is ultimately helpful in creating a right atmosphere of cooperation, etc. It was chiefly because of this that I was an advocate of informal committees of Parliament to consider various matters of different Ministries.

My mind always thinks in terms of convincing the people at large. I speak to large meetings on intricate subjects trying to carry them with me and not merely to direct them to do this or that. I do not, therefore, have the apprehension that you feel about the advisory council. We have to look at this matter not from the point of view of yours or mine, but of others who will function after us. There is a tendency in India, which is so obvious in universities, of small groups controlling an institution.

Departmental control again has its risks. We are trying to do away with this in our large undertakings.

1. File No. 40(20)/48-PMS.
2. Amrit Kaur felt that the creation of an advisory council representing the medical faculties of the various universities in India would not be conducive to the proper development and functioning of the proposed All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, and suggested that raising the membership of the governing body from 11 to 15 would be a better alternative.

But I do not attach any great importance to either approach and I shall accept whatever the Cabinet decides.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Disharmony at Salt Research Institute¹

I have read these papers and looked through this file with considerable surprise. The surprise is occasioned by the fact that this matter should not have been brought to my notice at all at any stage. Previously, Dr Bhatnagar² always referred such matters to me and discussed them with me. So far as this particular matter of the Salt Research Institute³ is concerned, I have had repeated discussions with Dr Bhatnagar as well as Dr Mata Prasad⁴ and Shri P.N. Kathju.⁵ In fact, on the last occasion, Dr Bhatnagar brought both of these officers to me.

2. Both in my capacity as President of the CSIR and because of my intimate contact with this particular question of the Salt Research Institute, the least that could have been done was to consult me from time to time. As it is, these papers have been sent to me after all final decisions had been taken and even then not at the instance of the Secretary but because I asked for them having learnt only tonight that some orders had been issued.

3. This is unusual and not very correct procedure and I want the Secretary to realise this both in regard to the present case and for the future. The matter, of course, should go to the Vice-President⁶ who is specially concerned with such cases, but because of my special contact and knowledge, apart from being the President of the CSIR, I might be helpful.

1. Note to the Secretary, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, 15 May 1955. JN Collection.
2. Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar (1895-1955); Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, 1951-55.
3. The Salt Research Institute is located at Bhavnagar.
4. Mata Prasad was the Director of the Institute.
5. (b. 1901); Planning Officer, Salt Research Institute, at this time.
6. Abul Kalam Azad was the Vice-President of the CSIR.

4. As regards the merits of this case, I entirely agree with the Vice-President's decision that, in view of this continuing conflict between the two senior officers of the Salt Research Institute, both should be removed from there in the interest of the work of the Institute. There are only two matters which I should like the Vice-President to consider. Shri P.N. Kathju has been directed to terminate his present appointment on the 18th May when his term of office expires. This gave him probably just three days' notice to hand over charge and pack up and go. This appears to me a rather short notice for an officer to depart suddenly from a place. In the case of Dr Mata Prasad, he has rightly been given some more time. Perhaps, it would have been desirable to give two or three weeks' notice to P.N. Kathju as a matter of convenience, it being made clear that his previous contract had terminated and was not being renewed.

5. There is another fairly important consideration. In view of the incessant and unseemly conflicts and controversies between the Director and the Assistant Director and perhaps each trying to build up a case against the other, a large number of papers and files concerning these controversies have accumulated. Some of these papers were shown to me by Dr Bhatnagar on a previous occasion. It is desirable that these papers and files should be preserved for reference and examination, if necessary, later. It would be unfortunate if any of them were removed or destroyed. One does not expect this kind of thing to happen normally but, in view of the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the Salt Research Institute, anything is possible.⁷ Therefore, it will be desirable to obtain possession of important files and papers at an early stage. It might be considered, therefore, that a responsible officer, say the Deputy Director of the CSIR, might go to Saurashtra in order to take charge of these files and papers as soon as possible.

6. I offer these suggestions for the consideration of the Vice-President. It is for him to decide what further steps, if any, should be taken in this matter.

7. Secretary will immediately consult the Vice-President and take his directions.

7. On 18 May 1955, Nehru wrote to Azad that at a meeting of the Salt Research Committee on 7 February, Mata Prasad was unable to give any explanations as to why no meeting of the Committee was held for the preceding 2½ years and for incorrect statements in the report of the review committee. Nehru added, "As the Salt Research Committee has decided to recommend a research grant to P.N. Kathju for some important work which Kathju has already begun, I suggest that he might be allowed to continue this work. He wants to do this in Rajasthan...."

9. To Sampurnanand¹

Camp: Dehra Dun

May 21, 1955

My dear Sampurnanand,

Thank you for your telegram which reached me at Hardwar. I am glad I came to Hardwar² and had an occasion of meeting a large number of old and new colleagues in the Congress. I addressed a public meeting and then spent about two and a half hours with the Congressmen from various districts of the UP. It was a profitable time for, I hope, both of us.

At the end of my talk with them, there were a number of questions which I attempted to answer. Then a man got up and complained in simple, restrained but forcible language about the behaviour of the police. This man, whose name I do not remember, was a normal village unsophisticated type. He was an old Congressman. He mentioned no names and did not even mention his district, which I found out later. But what struck me was the immediate and impressive response that he got from nearly all the people gathered there. Evidently he struck a tender cord and this matter of the police was a very live subject with many of them. I was worried about this.

I tried to find out later where this man came from. I was told that his district was Etawah and that there had long been some complaints against the Superintendent of Police of Etawah. I do not know anything about this matter of course, but when there is such a strong and widespread feeling, it does require immediate investigation and some action taken.

In the course of my private talks about this question, reference was made to what the District Magistrate of Pilibhit is reported to have said. This report is that he referred to the MPs and others with supreme contempt. Again I do not know how far this is true but it is a bad thing for people to go about saying this and believing it. Any such report of incident should be cleared up. If by any chance the District Magistrate has said something to this effect, then some action should be taken against him.

I know that many of our people have a way of making exaggerated charges and their context is forgotten. It is our duty to protect our officers from unjustified charges. But if a charge is justified, then, both in the interest of the public and the service, something has to be done.

I hope you will look into these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. On 21 May 1955.

XII. REFUGEES AND EVACUEE PROPERTY

1. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
March 24, 1955

My dear Mehr Chand,

I had your letter about the compensation to be given to displaced persons.² While I appreciate what you have said, I must confess to a feeling of concern about the maximum figure of compensation suggested, i.e., rupees two lakhs. I have no doubt that some of the displaced persons, who have lost large properties in Pakistan, will welcome this, but smaller fry might well object. Also, the public generally is bound to be very critical. In fact, today, at the meeting of the Select Committee of the Constitution Amendment Bill, reference was actually made, not to this particular matter, but to the general practice of giving large sums as compensation to displaced persons.

While it is true that this is supposed to come out of the properties themselves, it is obvious that to that extent the smaller fry will suffer.

I think it would be better if you put this matter up before the Cabinet Committee of Rehabilitation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(3)/56-PMS.

2. In his letter of 19 March to Nehru, Khanna defended the rates of compensation proposed by his Ministry as part of a final scheme for payment of compensation to displaced persons from West Pakistan. Earlier, A.P. Jain had said, in his letter of 10 March to Khanna, that the rates for bigger claimants were high and that the "amount of the compensation pool having been determined by law... any additional compensation which you decide to pay to the bigger man will be at the cost of the smaller man."

2. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
May 25, 1955

My dear Mehr Chand,
Your letter of the 25th May.

I am astonished to learn that over 60,000 judicial cases are pending in regard to evacuee property and that there are adjudication proceedings in regard to another over 70,000 cases. These are staggering figures and, whatever the legal merits might be, these very figures indicate the terrible pressure on the Muslims of India. I had absolutely no idea that so many months after the ending of the Evacuee Property Law,² we shall be pursued by this nightmare.

As you know, I have always felt that this Evacuee Property Law was basically a wrong thing. Because of punishing some guilty persons, we managed to punish a large number of innocent persons and frightened and injured a much larger number of others. Nothing can be a greater travesty of law than the Evacuee Property Law. Apart from this, the general approach to this question of many of the Custodians has been rigid, if not slightly hostile. In such matters, rigidity is completely out of place.

I really do not know what to suggest but I am distressed at all this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. This Law was abrogated by the Government of India with effect from 7 May 1954.

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

1

New Delhi

23 February, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I wrote my last letter² to you almost on the eve of my departure for England. I returned five days ago and, since then, I have been trying to catch up with arrears of work and to pick up old threads again.

2. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference³ in London coincided accidentally with the development of a grave crisis in the Far East. This was in connection with Formosa and the offshore islands of China. It was natural, therefore, for the Prime Ministers' Conference to pay much attention to this crisis. We discussed it at some length and there was some difference of opinion. But there was also a measure of agreement. All of us were very anxious to help in lessening the tension and finding some way which might lead to negotiation between the parties concerned. We did not succeed in this. Nevertheless, it did all of us good to hear the viewpoints of the others. Thus, we could form a better picture of the situation.

3. It was natural for the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to be nearer to the American viewpoint and to understand it better. China was still a far-off country to them, which had indulged in a revolution producing awkward situations. To some extent, it fell to me to represent what might be called the Asian point of view. I am not referring particularly to the question of Formosa but rather to the general ferment in Asia which is one of the striking features of the present age. I pointed out that this basic upheaval of men's ideas and their urges in Asia must be understood. It did little good to think of Asia as it was previously rather static and unchanging. Asia was dynamic today and, to some extent, even explosive, and unless we understand this, we shall be unable to deal with any of its problems adequately. It was in this context that I wanted the Far East situation to be considered. Pakistan and Ceylon were partly in agreement with what I said, though they did not lay so much stress on this aspect.

4. So far as the Formosa situation was concerned, for a country that had recognised the new China, it followed naturally that Formosa should be part of it. That indeed was in keeping with the numerous statements made during and

1. File No. 25(6)/55-PMS. The letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 131-158 and 172-182.

2. Dated 26 January 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 570-573.

3. Held from 31 January to 8 February 1955.

after the World War. At the same time, present facts had to be recognised and some peaceful way out found for a negotiated settlement. That was our attitude. Most of the countries did not go quite so far as this and did not wish to commit themselves in regard to Formosa's future. They considered it undetermined although, I have little doubt, they felt that ultimately it would have to go to China. The fact, however, of the United States' strenuous objection to the very idea of Formosa going to China was an effective barrier to their thinking. The result was that they concentrated on the coastal or offshore islands and wanted these islands to be evacuated by the Kuomintang troops. If this was done without conflict, the chances of untoward incidents would lessen very greatly. There would then be nearly a hundred miles of sea between China and Formosa, and further developments could be considered at leisure. We were all agreed that these offshore islands, more especially Quemoy and the Matsu islands, should be evacuated as soon as possible.

5. The American attitude was by no means clear. Recently Mr Dulles has spoken at some length and has perhaps clarified the US position a little, though even now it is full of ambiguity. He has stated that Quemoy and Matsu islands are not necessary for American strategy, but he has added that if they are attacked, the US Navy would defend them. He has further made it clear that the Kuomintang Government of Formosa is not willing to evacuate them. There the matter rests at present. The situation is obviously full of danger. On the one side, the Chinese proclaim loudly and repeatedly that they will attack and seize not only these islands but Formosa itself. On the other hand, the Americans appear to be determined to prevent this. Meanwhile, attack and counterattack continue in some small measure. There is always a danger of something happening which may lead to an explosion on a bigger scale. President Eisenhower has referred⁴ to Formosa as the spearhead of their strategic defence. If that is so many thousands of miles away from the United States, then it is legitimate for the Chinese to think that Formosa is much more necessary for their defence.

6. I think that the Americans are afraid that if the coastal islands are evacuated, the Kuomintang forces in Formosa would be demoralised and might even crack up. This is certainly a possibility. This indicates that the present regime in Formosa has little inner strength and is bolstered up by external forces. One might perhaps compare it, though the parallel is not exact, to an old Indian state or some other kind of subordinate state. It is difficult to imagine that this kind of situation can last or be stabilised for long, more especially in the Asia of today.

7. You must have seen the proposal made on behalf of the Soviet Government to have a conference sponsored by the UK, USSR, and India. The

4. On 24 January 1955.

snag about this proposal was and is that the Formosa Government was left out. The US would not agree to this, apart from their dislike of a conference itself. The Chinese Government would, on no account, agree to the inclusion of Formosa. Here was another absolute deadlock.

8. Our approach has been that before any formal conference is convened, informal approaches might be made so as to lessen the tension and to enable some formula to be evolved which would lead to negotiation. This matter might be said to be still pending. But, for the moment, I see little hope of success in this direction.

9. The situation in the Far East and the possibility of war have made us all consider again the nature of modern warfare with nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. We talk rather glibly about the hydrogen bomb, etc., but few realise what the use of these weapons will mean. Yet, those who know, including eminent Generals as well as scientists, are clear that war can only result in terrible ruin. It can achieve no other result. In spite of this certainty, we hover on the edge of war.

10. Various military pacts and alliances are made which are obviously the result of military thinking. There was the Manila treaty and there is now a meeting at Bangkok of those who signed that treaty. There has recently been talk of a Turko-Iraq military pact and efforts are being made to extend it so as to include Pakistan, Iran, Lebanon, etc. I fail to understand what good these little pacts and alliances can do either in war or in peace. One thing they certainly do is to vitiate the atmosphere and to bring conflict and bitterness. The proposed Turko-Iraq pact has irritated Egypt greatly and is breaking up the Arab League.⁵ In the nuclear age in which we live, these small countries with their little armies, etc. can make no difference in a military sense.

11. On my return from England, I spent two days in Cairo⁶ and had long talks with the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Egyptian Government. These talks disclosed a similarity of outlook in many matters. That similarity was no doubt partly the result of the Egyptian reaction to the Turco-Iraq pact. But it was something more than that. Egypt's leaders had undoubtedly matured since I saw them last nineteen months earlier. Colonel Gamal Nasser, the Prime Minister, creates an impression of integrity and sincerity as well as of greater maturity. He and his colleagues talked to me much more about planning and economic matters than of politics. That itself showed a certain growth in their

5. The League of Arab States was formed in 1945 to provide a forum to Arab nations and coordinate activities beneficial to member states on subjects like education, finance, law, trade and foreign relations and resolve differences between them through negotiations. The heads of governments of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia met at Cairo for a fortnight from 22 January to discuss the new pact in all its aspects.

6. From 15 to 17 February 1955.

thinking as well as greater stability in the country. They were much attracted to our planning in India and the progress we had made and wanted me to tell them all about it. It is likely that the Deputy Prime Minister⁷ of Egypt will visit India soon to study our planning and governmental structure. He was also interested to find out something about our party structure.

12. The developments in the Middle East indicate the growth of American influence and the gradual lessening of British influence. The United Kingdom, after resisting this trend for some time, now appears to be falling in line with it.

13. In Pakistan, there have been rather strange developments. The Sind Chief Court has held that the Governor-General's proclamation dissolving the Constituent Assembly was illegal.⁸ This has produced a very curious situation and no one quite knows what future developments might be. Pakistan, both politically and economically, is in a state of flux and uncertainty. There is much talk of military alliances with West Asian countries, but the inner situation appears to deteriorate. This is a lesson for us as well as for other countries. Real strength lies within the country and cannot be borrowed from outside.

14. Whatever the state of the Pakistan Government might be, there is no doubt that a marked change has come over popular feelings in Pakistan as well as in India. The old bitterness has gone and there is a definite desire to make friends. The recent cricket test match in Lahore⁹ was attended by tens of thousands of Indians who had crossed over from East Punjab. Visa rules and regulations had been relaxed for this purpose. The Pakistanis treated the Indians with great friendliness and cordiality, and there were many touching reunions. This is a basic improvement which is a happy sign.

15. The situation in Indo-China has deteriorated in recent weeks. There have been developments in all the states which give us some anxiety. In Cambodia, the King had a referendum on the question of monarchy.¹⁰ He got something like 98 per cent votes in favour of monarchy, but the whole procedure about this referendum was open to question,¹¹ and there was no secrecy about voting.

7. Gamal Salem.

8. The Sind Chief Court on 9 February 1955 upheld the petition challenging the Governor-General's proclamation of 24 October 1954.

9. From 29 January to 3 February 1955.

10. King Norodom Suramarit, father of Norodom Sihanouk, held the referendum on 7 February 1955.

11. On the eve of the referendum the police had raided all newspaper offices in Phnom Penh, suppressed news published in newspapers belonging to Opposition groups and arrested some journalists.

16. In another seven weeks' time, we shall have the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in Indonesia. The mere fact of the Conference meeting is of the highest importance, whatever it might do. It is some kind of a small UN. It is viewed with much apprehension in some of the countries of the West. Even in normal times, this Conference would have attracted a great deal of attention. At present, with the Formosa crisis, the importance of this Conference becomes even greater.

17. I find that during my absence from India, there has been some controversy about the Congress decision to have a socialist pattern of society. Some have said that this is just bluff and a vote-catching device.¹² Some have been frightened by this definite advance in the Congress policy. We can argue about this matter of course, but it is really what we do that will count. I have no doubt that the resolutions of the Avadi Congress have been welcomed by the general public in India. They have raised the Congress morale and made people realise that the Congress is very much a living and dynamic organisation. This step taken by the Congress has to be consolidated fully in our people's minds and in our actions. All our development and planning should proceed now on this basis. There is no need for any persons to fear this development, unless they belong to an out-of-date era when unrestricted private enterprise was believed in.

18. Some time ago, our Community Projects administration sent you a long note on community development. I have no doubt you must have read it. I would like to draw your particular attention to it, and I hope your officers will make a special study of it. This community programme is something unique in India, and it has drawn world attention. It is going to be of enormous benefit to our people.

19. From time to time, there is an agitation for legislation to ban cow slaughter. It is even reported that some states are considering this matter. I should like to make it clear that, so far as the Central Government is concerned, it considers any such legislation unwise and inexpedient. Indeed, there is an apprehension that such legislation will really be not to the advantage of protecting our best cattle. The mere fact of a continuing agitation should not make us adopt a course which is not a right one. I think we should go to the public and explain the position quite clearly. Our public understands when anything is put in clear language to them. At any rate, that is my experience. I am very anxious to protect our cattle wealth in the country, and I have often written to you about it. But the way to do so is not by legislation to ban cow slaughter.

12. For example, Ajoy Ghosh of the Communist Party of India had termed it as a "hoax" and "a vote-catching device."

20. During my absence from India, the Travancore-Cochin Government fell,¹³ and the Andhra elections started. These elections are still taking place, and the final results will not be known for another ten or twelve days. In Travancore-Cochin a new Government has been formed.¹⁴ Some criticism has been made on the ground that the retiring Chief Minister's advice to dissolve the Assembly was not followed. I think this criticism is not justified in principle and much less so in the particular circumstances of the case in Travancore-Cochin. Even in the United Kingdom, it was for long doubtful whether this principle invariably applied. But circumstances there are different. There are two major parties. However, in Travancore-Cochin we had the odd spectacle of the Government party being 18 only in a House of 118. By no principle or convention could it be considered proper for the leader of a party of 18 to demand, as of right, a dissolution, when there was a possibility of a majority Government being formed.

21. About one thing, however, I should like to express my opinion quite clearly. I do not like attempts to induce individuals to leave their parties and join another. I do not mean to say that this has happened. But this matter has been raised publicly, and I think we should be clear about it. It is natural in a changing situation for individuals to change their opinions or to change their parties. But that should be left to a natural process and should not be brought about by any kind of inducement.

22. My visit to Europe brought before me, even more than before, the great position that India occupies in the minds of people abroad. You may have heard that Dr Ollenhauer,¹⁵ leader of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany, came to London specially to see me. I had no desire to be entangled in the German problem of rearmament, although it is one of the vital problems of the day. I met him, of course, though informally, and had a long talk with him. He is a very prominent Opposition leader of Germany today. In our talks, he explained to me his position and his views, which according to him, were supported by large numbers of people in Germany. He wanted Great Power talks with the Soviet Union about the future of Germany. He was naturally opposed to Germany remaining partitioned into two States. It was not for me to make any commitments, and I listened to him.

23. Soon after, Chancellor Adenauer¹⁶ of West Germany expressed a wish

13. On 8 February 1955, the PSP ministry was voted out of power.

14. A Congress ministry headed by P. Govinda Menon assumed office on 14 February 1955.

15. Erich Politiker Ollenhauer (1901-1963).

16. Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967); lawyer and politician; Member, Provincial Diet of Rhine Province, 1917-33; co-founder of the Christian Democratic Union, 1945 and its President, 1946-66; Chancellor of West Germany, 1949-61.

to see me. No doubt, he felt that I should have the other viewpoint placed before me. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to meet him.

24. On my way back from London, I met M. Mendes-France, the retiring Prime Minister of France.¹⁷ He was good enough to come to the airport to see me, and I had a long talk with him. I was much impressed by him. I am sure that he will play an important part in France in the future, even though he is ceasing to be Prime Minister now.

25. Parliament began its new session on the 21st February. We have, as usual, a heavy programme with the budget, etc. I attach special importance to the constitutional amendment and to the Hindu Law Reform Bills.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. Pierre Mendes-France (1907-1982): Prime Minister of France, June 1954-February 1955. His government was defeated in the French National Assembly on 5 February on its North African policy.

II

New Delhi
4 April 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I must apologise to you for the long gap since my last letter was written to you. I have no adequate excuse except that I have been rather overwhelmed with work during these five weeks or more. There has been no lack of subjects to write upon, and I have often wanted to bring to your notice many matters of concern to us, both in the national and international sphere. But, because of this lapse of time, many of these questions have become rather out of date.

2. Parliament has been sitting all this time, and has considered important matters. There has been the general budget¹ and the railway budget.² Among the more important measures before Parliament have been the Constitution Fourth Amendment Bill and the Hindu Law Reforms Bill. There has been a

1. The central budget for 1955-56 presented in the Lok Sabha on 28 February 1955 showed a deficit of Rs 318 crores.
2. Presented in Lok Sabha on 22 February 1955, the railway budget for 1955-56 revealed a net surplus of Rs 7.14 crores.

conference of Governors and Rajpramukhs,³ and there have been many important visitors. In the foreign field, the situation has in no way improved.

3. The railway budget indicated satisfactory progress and was well received by Parliament. On the general budget, criticism was chiefly directed towards certain fresh taxation proposals. The Finance Minister has already met many of these criticisms by giving up or toning down some of these proposals.⁴ Otherwise, the budget was generally within the framework of the First Five Year Plan.

4. We are passing through a period of incubation in so far as the Second Five Year Plan is concerned; we shall have to come to certain important decisions in the course of the next few months. These decisions will involve our general approach to planning in future and the pace of progress that we want to set. There has been some argument about what is called physical planning and financial planning. The argument, though helpful to some extent, was perhaps not wholly appropriate. There should be no conflict between these two approaches. Obviously, the financial element cannot be ignored and must play an important part. The question really is to what extent physical planning should come into the picture. It is said that planning in the real sense involves physical planning and, indeed, even in the past, we have had to consider the physical aspect. We could not go far in this direction because of the lack of data and statistics. We have now much more information and this is being added to from day to day. It is by no means complete or fully satisfactory, but probably we have enough now to form a basis for future work and planning. It seems to me that we should give greater emphasis to this physical side of planning for the Second Five Year Plan and proceed to collect as much more data as we can. It is proposed to hold a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council early in May, when, I hope, some definite decisions will be taken.

5. Meanwhile, it has already been indicated that planning is not likely to suffer for lack of funds. We are in a position to go ahead pretty far on the financial side provided our machinery is adequate to spend the money that is available. This is important, or else we either waste the money or it remains unspent for lack of due preparation.

6. This preparation does not merely mean making a long list of projects but viewing each project from the point of view of its fitting into the larger

3. Held on 25 and 26 February 1955, the conference discussed the question of law and order and reviewed progress in the fields of economic development, higher education, and the uplift of Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

4. On 21 March, C.D. Deshmukh announced a number of changes in excise duty on items like sewing machines, electric bulbs and fans, paints, cotton and woollen fabrics.

picture and, more especially, indicating its employment potential. Above all, the most urgent need is likely to be of trained personnel in various grades and in various departments of activity. It takes time to train people and, unless we start immediately, we shall be held up later. The most important step to be taken now, therefore, is to make adequate provision for trained personnel that is likely to be necessary in the near future. I hope that we shall add to our training institutes considerably before long.

7. There can be no doubt the country is in a mood of hope and expectation. It is looking forward to a more rapid advance and to big achievements. Public cooperation will, I think, certainly be forthcoming. We have, therefore, all the basic elements for rapid progress provided we ourselves come up to the mark.

8. This favourable and hopeful atmosphere in the public generally is due to many causes—the improvement in the food situation, the general satisfaction with our foreign policy, and the new turn that has been given to our objectives and our basic policy by Parliament as well as the Avadi Congress. The decision to aim at the establishment of a socialist pattern of society has undoubtedly been widely welcomed. It has reflected the public mind and produced a sense of enthusiasm. This has been indicated in many ways, notably by the results of the Andhra elections.

9. The danger now seems to me to lie in complacency, and I am very anxious that all of us should realise this and avoid it. There is, of course, no room for complacency either internally or in the foreign field. In fact, we have arrived at a stage when our fullest effort is needed, both on the part of the Government and the people.

10. The Constitution Amendment Bill, though criticised by certain sections outside, has had a remarkably easy career thus far in Parliament. In fact, there was hardly any real or effective opposition. It has now emerged from the Joint Committee which, I think, has improved it and simplified it.⁵ It is now completely in line with what we ourselves said in the Constituent Assembly at the time of making the Constitution. Certain industrial and other interests, both in India and abroad, are rather apprehensive. I think that this apprehension is wholly unjustified. It is not our policy to expropriate or to give what might be called nominal compensation. That does not pay in the end even from the practical point of view. But we cannot allow all our social work to be hung up because a matter is taken repeatedly to the law courts, and we have to await their decision. This Constitution Amendment Bill is a good example of the conflict between the large mass of public opinion on the one side and in favour of it and some vested interests on the other side.

5. The Joint Select Committee on 31 March recommended that all questions relating to the adequacy of compensation be decided by the legislature outside judicial purview.

11. The Hindu Reform Bills are making slow progress. I earnestly hope that one of them, namely, the Marriage Bill, will be passed during this session of Parliament. The other important Bill—the Hindu Succession Bill—has been referred to a Joint Committee of the two Houses and should come up at the next session.

12. Two days ago, a private Bill came up before Parliament for banning cow slaughter completely.⁶ I opposed this, and it was lost by a very big majority. I have often written to you about the urgent need for cattle protection and, more particularly, for the preservation of milch cows. That is a matter of great importance to our country, but this approach of passing such a Bill appears to me to be completely wrong and not even in the interest of the cattle and much less of the country. We have to take this matter up constructively. Much has been done in Bombay and Calcutta, the two big cities which have sinned most in this respect. Much more has to be done. We must concentrate on preventing completely the killing of any milch cow. That is the first essential step, and I hope that particular attention will be paid to this in some of our big cities. While we should do this as soon as and as effectively as possible, we should not and cannot surrender to the agitational demand of some of the communal organisations which seek to exploit religion for political advantage. I know that some people, including Congressmen, feel strongly on this subject. I appreciate their sentiment but not this approach. I spoke, therefore, rather strongly on this subject, so that there might be no doubt left in the public mind about our general policy and approach to this important question.

13. Four days ago, I spoke in Parliament on foreign affairs.⁷ I covered a fairly broad field, and I would draw your attention to the report of my speech. It is important that we should have clear ideas about these developments. They are often confusing if viewed separately, and the constant stress on a great struggle between communism and anti-communism prevents any clarity of thought or action. The first thing to remember is that modern war is the final calamity and it must be avoided. Few people realise the terrible effects of these modern weapons. We have been pressed by certain eminent foreigners to appoint a commission which would study objectively and scientifically what the effect of these modern weapons is likely to be. After much thought, we decided not to appoint some such commission at present but, in fact, we are taking steps to collect such information as is available, and we have asked some of our scientists to do this.⁸ At a later stage, we shall give further thought to this matter.

14. You are no doubt aware that a conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy is going to be held in Geneva in August next under the

6. See *ante*, pp. 553-556.

7. For Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha on 31 March 1955, see *ante*, pp. 304-320.

8. See *ante*, pp. 199-205.

chairmanship of Dr Homi Bhabha, who is our leading expert in matters relating to atomic energy. India is beginning to play a progressively more important role in this field of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. We hope to have an experimental research reactor ready by the end of this year or the beginning of next year. By the end of next year we are likely to have another and a bigger reactor.

15. The situation in Formosa and the China Seas has slightly toned down during the last few weeks. But that does not mean a real improvement. There is anger and distrust on both sides and a preparation for possible war. We can do little about it, but we do not give up hope and continue to press our viewpoint whenever opportunity occurs. In Indo-China also, the situation has somewhat worsened and the period of unanimous decisions by our Commissions there has come to an end. Several difficult problems have arisen in Laos and there has been a marked difference of opinion even among the Members of the Commission,⁹ chiefly in regard to the interpretation of the Geneva Agreement. In Saigon, South Vietnam, there is actually a small-scale civil war going on.¹⁰ The condition of South Vietnam is indeed most extraordinary. Perhaps the most remarkable fact of all is that the Head of the State, Bao Dai, resides in the Riviera in the south of France while his country is torn by civil war and appears to be disintegrating.

16. World attention is being concentrated on the coming Asian-African Conference at Bandung in Indonesia. Whatever the final result of this Conference will be, it will mark a historic stage in the development of Asia and, to some extent, Africa. I intend going there on the 15th of April and expect to return by the 27th.

17. Conditions in Pakistan have also been very peculiar and the Governor General has taken all power to himself.¹¹ This shows the precarious political state of Pakistan. The economic conditions are also bad. The present Government of Pakistan is apparently bent on what they call the one-unit scheme, that is,

9. While the Canadian Member of the International Supervisory Commission for Indo-China, insisted that the Commission under the armistice agreement should demarcate areas under Pathet Lao forces in the northern provinces and condemn any breach of the peace, the Polish Member maintained that under the agreement the Commission could take no action in the northern areas till the two sides had reached a political settlement.
10. The situation in South Vietnam deteriorated after the withdrawal of support by Bao Dai, Hoa Hao and Binh Xuyen groups to Premier Ngo Dinh-Diem who refused to unify the army under a single command and reconstitute his cabinet. This led to street fighting in Saigon on 28 and 29 March 1955.
11. Under an ordinance issued on 27 March 1955, Ghulam Mohammed assumed powers to constitute West Pakistan as one unit, rename East Bengal as East Pakistan and take steps to frame a Constitution and approve the budget in the absence of Parliament.

the whole of West Pakistan being made into one unit. Anyone who opposes this is quietly removed, however high his position might be. In spite of this terrific pressure, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has raised his voice against this one-unit scheme. Meanwhile, there has been a steady stream of Hindu migrants from East Pakistan and this has created a difficult position in West Bengal.

18. In Nepal, King Tribhuvan of Nepal died in Switzerland and has been succeeded by his eldest son, who is wielding all authority at present. I have little doubt that he will form a Cabinet before long. I hope that the young King will meet with success and that the present deplorable state of Nepal will improve.

19. Within a few days I am expecting the Prime Minister of Egypt with a large company and the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan. The Deputy Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North) will also be here soon.

20. I have decided to visit the Soviet Union early in June. I expect to spend about two weeks there and then to go for three days to Poland. I might also visit Yugoslavia.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

III

New Delhi
April 14-15, midnight, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you on the eve of my departure for the Asian-African Conference in Bandung. Within a few hours I shall be leaving Delhi accompanied by the Prime Minister of Egypt, the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan and their parties. We shall spend a night in Rangoon and the next morning U Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, will join our party and go with us.

2. I do not want to leave India without sending this letter to you. I am, therefore, writing this letter after midnight. In fact, I shall not be here to sign it. You will please excuse that. In these circumstances the letter has to be briefer than usual, although I have much to say.

3. The terrible disaster to one of our Air India International Constellations three days ago has come as a great blow to all of us and I have felt peculiarly distressed about it for a number of reasons which you, no doubt, will appreciate. I shall say nothing more because the matter is under enquiry.

4. During the last ten days we have had a number of distinguished visitors. As you know, the ex-King of Cambodia had come previously.¹ Then came the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam² (North Vietnam or Viet Minh). The Foreign Minister of South Vietnam³ was also to have come here, but at the last moment he had to cancel his visit because of the conditions of civil war in Saigon. Two days ago the Prime Minister of Egypt and the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan reached Delhi. There have been many functions in their honour. The most notable of these was what was meant to be a municipal function when addresses of welcome were presented to them. A bright idea struck us that this should be in the open with plenty of room for the public to come. As a result, a mighty gathering collected and Delhi gave a popular welcome which no foreign visitor has ever had in the long history of Delhi city. Estimates of the crowd varied from 300,000 to 500,000. But the most remarkable feature was the absolute discipline and orderliness of this mighty concourse of human beings. Our guests as well as the many diplomats and foreigners present were naturally greatly impressed. This meeting became a symbol of the disciplined upsurge of India's and Asia's humanity, a symbol of the new resurgent spirit of Asia, and a coming together of the countries of Asia and Africa. It was a fitting prelude to the Bandung Conference.

3. The Bandung Conference has excited a tremendous amount of world attention. Some view it favourably; others with apprehension. But as I have said previously, whatever the result of this Conference, it is an historic event which is bound to affect in many ways the future functioning of these countries of Asia and Africa. There are some people who will perhaps try to obstruct the work of the Conference and to make it fail. But I imagine that the spirit of the times and the moving tide of events in Asia and Africa will be too much for them. I suppose that the Conference will largely deal with general principles and live issues, the first among these being necessarily the quest for peace. Many countries represented there will, no doubt, try to bring their own problems and difficulties. But it is difficult for a Conference like this to consider controversial questions affecting countries inter se. We cannot decide this question by voting.

6. Outwardly, there appears to be some toning down in the international situation and no major incidents have been reported. But we should not be led into any sense of security by this. The position is a dangerous one in the Far Eastern seas and in the Middle East also danger lurks. The question of Formosa and the Matsu and Quemoy islands appears as insoluble as ever. The US

1. Norodom Sihanouk visited India from 16 to 24 March 1955.

2. Pham Van Dong visited India from 7 to 11 April 1955.

3. Tran Van Do.

Government have made it perfectly clear that an attack on Formosa by the Chinese will mean war. I think they mean this. Whether an attack on Quemoy and Matsu will also lead to a major conflict, or whether there will be such an attack, I do not know. To some extent, American declarations have toned down a little. It has been made clear that there should be no attack by Chiang Kai-shek's forces or by the Americans on the Chinese mainland. In other words, the United States accepts the Chinese People's Republic on the mainland, though formally it might not say so. That, at long last, is recognition of reality and therefore to be welcomed.

7. But this does not really ease the situation. Mr Dulles's recent statement⁴ indicates that the US want these and connected matters to be brought before the UN. The object apparently is to tie up, through the UN, the United Kingdom and other Western countries. It will be remembered that the UK, Canada, etc., have clearly stated that they are not committed to any war in the Far East over the question of Formosa or Matsu or Quemoy, but that if the UN becomes responsible for any activity, they would naturally have to share the burden. Now, the US is trying to bring the UN into the picture, as was done in the case of Korea. If this move succeeds, then the situation is likely to be more dangerous and Korea may be repeated, on a much vaster scale. We have made clear our apprehensions to some of the countries concerned.

8. Bringing this matter before the UN rules out the Security Council. It is not difficult for the UN, constituted as it is, to pass any resolution brought forward by the US, as it did in the case of Korea and China when the question of the airmen prisoners was brought up. Thus, if the UN is tied up with this matter, it is likely to remove some restraint on US action. The US itself is tied up to Chiang Kai-shek. As a result, any aggressive action by Chiang Kai-shek might draw in the US and later the other Western countries, in case the UN is brought in. At present, the attitude of the UK and some other countries is a deterrent. It will cease to be so if they are brought in through the UN to some kind of general approval of any policy there. Hence the danger.

9. On the Chinese side equally, there appears to be a good deal of stubbornness. I believe that the Chinese position is essentially correct in regard to Formosa, etc. But the fact that it is correct will not save us from a big conflict if certain events take place. I cannot say how far China is prepared to go.

10. It may be that the mere fact that the Bandung Conference is going to meet has exercised a restraining influence on the Far Eastern situation and after the Conference other developments might take place.

11. In Indo-China practically everyone swears by the Geneva Agreement in public, but it is by no means clear that in private all these people also wish

4. On 12 April 1955.

to implement that agreement. There is much internal friction and talk of war and a great deal of suspicion of each other. I think the visit of Pham Van Dong, the Foreign Minister of North Vietnam, to Delhi did some good.

12. The situation in the Middle East is also becoming rather volcanic. Israel has committed some acts of aggression on Egypt.⁵ The policy of Israel recently has become tougher and it almost appears that a crisis is deliberately sought after. It seems that Israel is getting a measure of backing from the US and the UK in order, chiefly, to bring pressure upon Egypt to fall in line.

13. The Iraqi-Turkish Pact, to which the UK has adhered, has, as you know, split the Arab world. Egypt and Syria have opposed it stoutly and so has Saudi Arabia. But Jordan and Lebanon are definitely in the orbit of the Western powers and their alliances. Syria has been subjected to very great pressure directly by Turkey and indirectly by some Western powers to join the pact. Syria has resisted this, but it is by no means sure that it can continue to do so. All these countries of Western Asia are weak and are governed by small groups, often supported by big powers.

14. In the event of Israel attacking Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan will probably look on. Syria can do little and the Saudi Arabia even less. Thus, the brunt will fall on Egypt. Israel's military strength is far greater than Egypt's. Egypt is thus put in a very precarious position and there is much concern in the minds of Egypt's leaders. Any defeat in the battlefield or even a major diplomatic defeat might endanger the present government which, I think, for all its faults, is a good and effective government anxious to improve the condition of Egypt. If that Government falls, some other Government working under the direction of the Western powers might well come in. That will be the end of Egypt's independence for the present.

15. In Europe, the question of rearmament of Germany which has now been practically decided upon is producing its natural reactions in the Soviet Union which is likely soon to denounce its treaties with UK and France. Thus, tension will grow. Indeed, the Soviet Union has already intensified its armament and heavy industry programmes.

16. The world thus continues to stand at the edge of a precipice. Only the fear of an all-out atomic war keeps it from toppling over.

17. We cannot ignore these developments in the world which are likely to affect the future of every country. Nor can we ignore the extension of the idea of spheres of influence of the great powers in Asia. That is a challenge to the independence of Asian countries. Unfortunately many of them are weak and some of them are governed by reactionary and also venal governments.

18. It is in this context that we are going to meet at Bandung. Later, early

5. Between 1 and 9 April 1955, there were reports of clashes between Egyptian and Israeli forces at a number of places in the Gaza strip.

in June, I intend going to the Soviet Union.⁶ I shall also visit then Czechoslovakia,⁷ Poland,⁸ Austria⁹ and Yugoslavia.¹⁰

19. But let us forget for the moment these dark clouds on the international horizon. Our chief work lies in India and we are getting more and more engrossed in the working out of our Second Five Year Plan. Early next month we are having a meeting of the National Development Council¹¹ of the Planning Commission, of which all Chief Ministers are members. This will consider the kind of broad framework of a Plan. If this is approved, as I hope it will be, then future work will be shaped accordingly. This is of great importance for our whole future work which will depend on the new turn we give by our decisions. All Chief Ministers will soon receive, if they have not already done so, some papers from the Planning Commission for their consideration. These papers will include a plan frame, a note by the Economic Division of the Planning Commission and the Economic Department of our Finance Ministry, and also a note on these papers prepared by the panel of economists. This panel consists of some of our most eminent economists in the country. All these papers, though differing slightly here and there, point in more or less the same direction. While generally we agree to this approach, we are not committed to it at this stage in any detail. The figures given in these papers are clearly tentative and may require revision. Planning in future is likely to be based more and more on the statistical and other information we get and will not be merely a list of projects and the priority to be given to them.

20. All this business of drawing up a Second Five Year Plan excites me greatly. It is not a matter of dry figures or statistics for me, but rather a living, moving process affecting hundreds of millions of our countrymen. We have in India a unique chance and we are tackling it in a peaceful democratic way which has not been done on this scale ever before. We can only succeed, and succeed we must, by the combined and cooperative efforts of our people. The success of the First Five Year Plan, thus far achieved, has filled us with hope and faith, but the next step will be a much bigger and harder one requiring far greater effort. When these planning papers reach you, I hope you will give them earnest consideration so that when you come here for the meeting of the National Development Council, you will have a good picture in your minds of the work that has thus far been done and the direction in which we should like to go. As soon as that Council gives the green signal, progress in drawing up a Plan will be much faster.

6. Nehru visited the Soviet Union from 7 to 23 June 1955.

7. On 6 June 1955.

8. From 23 to 25 June 1955.

9. On 26-27 June 1955.

10. From 30 June to 6 July 1955.

11. The Council met on 5-6 May 1955.

21. I have often written to you about the Community Projects and the National Extension Scheme. I have no doubt that you know more about them by practical experience than I do. And yet I have a slight advantage over you because I can see the picture as a whole and the amazing changes that this community work is bringing about in a great part of India. The whole country is astir with this work and we have spread out enough now to be able to say that there is no considerable area without a Community Project or an extension scheme. Probably there is no gap of fifty miles between any two areas touched by the Scheme.

22. As always happens, a great movement generates its own momentum. This Community Project movement has developed that and sometimes this very progress, which is so heartening, is a bit frightening also lest we fail to keep pace with it. The real difficulty, as I have pointed out to you, might well be the lack of trained personnel. Hence the urgent necessity to train people for all the types of work that are required in our hundreds of thousands of villages. So far as our rural areas are concerned, the life of the people will revolve more and more around these community schemes.

23. While very good work has been done in these Community Projects and the National Extension Scheme, one important aspect has not been adequately dealt with thus far. This is the cottage or household industry side of our work there. In some places this has begun well, but it has to go very far still before it can produce satisfactory results. More stress must, therefore, be laid on this. You will see later that in the Second Five Year Plan cottage and household industries occupy a place of great importance.

24. The present position is that 825 Community Projects and National Extension Scheme blocks have been allotted. Out of these, work is being done in 718 such blocks. The villages covered by them are estimated to be over 99,000 and the number of persons covered are roughly estimated to be 62 millions.

25. There is still a very marked shortage of personnel in public health, engineering and animal husbandry work as well as administrative personnel. The question therefore of training people is one which must be given top priority. It is perfectly clear now that any person trained for the various aspects of work in the Community Projects and the National Extension Service will not suffer for want of employment.

26. The success of this rural work has been essentially due to the public cooperation received, although I must commend the work of our officials also. Future success will depend more and more on how far we can make this work a people's work rather than official and governmental work. Of course, the two will have to work together. We may well be developing a new pattern of democratic working which overrides and bypasses considerations of caste and religion and even, to some extent, politics. There is an element of the crusader's

zeal about this work. It would be a pity if this zeal was replaced by the official or departmental method of working.

27. It is interesting to note that this great experiment in rural community working has already attracted the attention of many countries in Asia and Africa. It suits underdeveloped and agricultural countries especially and hence this attraction and the desire of other countries to do likewise.

28. You will presently receive, probably from our Commerce and Industry Ministry, a note on the metric system. For a large number of years, the question of introducing the metric system has been discussed in India. The history of this goes back, I think, to the last century. Our Government tackled it right at its inception seven and a half years ago. But then troubles came consequent on independence and partition and we put it by. We have now given full and very detailed consideration to this matter and we have become convinced that it is desirable from many points of view and, more especially, for our planning and developmental work that we should gradually introduce this system.¹² You will remember, I hope, that the metric system, like the zero symbol, originated in India. That was a mighty discovery of the human intellect of which we can well be proud. This was a gift of India to the world, but in this, as in some other matters, we lagged behind and other countries went ahead.

29. All this planning and developmental work and other statistical work would be enormously simplified if we had the metric system. Weights and measures in India are in a chaotic state and differ from place to place, more especially weights. It has become quite inevitable to standardise them. If so, it is better to standardise them on a well known logical and scientific system.

30. Of course, this will have to be done gradually and may take a number of years. The first and easiest step would be applying this metric system to our coinage.¹³ Other further steps would follow gradually. Perhaps, the whole process might well take ten or even fifteen years. We must, of course, keep the public

12. On receiving a note on the metric system for India from Pitambar Pant, Personal Secretary to Prime Minister and attached to the Planning Commission, Nehru stated in a note to V.T. Krishnamachari on 9 March: "For my part, I have been a convinced advocate of the metric system for India for many years past... We are on the eve of large-scale industrialisation... A technical civilisation can hardly be based on anything but the metric system. Therefore, apart from other obvious advantages, it has become incumbent on us now, at this stage of our development, to face this problem and solve it." Nehru also suggested that the matter might be first considered by the Planning Commission before it was put up to the Cabinet for a broad decision.

13. A Bill seeking to bring into operation a decimal system of subsidiary coinage was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 7 May 1955. Decimal coins were introduced in India for the first time on 1 April 1957.

fully in the picture and educate them in this matter so that the changeover might be made with as little upset as possible. Whatever the initial difficulty might be there is bound to be great simplification later.¹⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. The draft of a Standards of Weights and Measures Bill, covering not only standards of weights, length, area, volume and capacity, but also mass, time, temperature, electric current and luminous intensity, was approved by the Standing Metric Committee in May 1956. The Bill proposed a maximum period of ten years (from 1 January 1958) to make the law effective throughout India.

IV

New Delhi
20 May, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

My last fortnightly letter to you was a note on the Asian-African Conference which had been held at Bandung.¹ The previous one was sent just before I went to Bandung.

2. The Bandung Conference, even after it was over, continued to attract attention and comment. Almost every newspaper in the world has written about it, and it is a rich experience to read these comments and criticism. Certainly I have grown wiser because of this experience. I think that, after the first excited reactions, others are gradually taking a more balanced view. To begin with the American newspapers were chiefly concerned with personalities who had dominated the Conference and who had suffered an eclipse. That, perhaps, is the normal American way of considering world questions. They live in the moment and judge by some exciting episode, not paying too much attention to the depths below.

3. Ever since I wrote to you in some detail, a number of important events have taken place on the world stage. Western Germany has entered into the NATO alliance² as an equal partner, and this is considered a great victory for the United States and the Western powers. Perhaps it is, but I am not quite sure about the consequences. One of the immediate consequences has been for

1. For this note of 28 April 1955, see *ante*, pp. 129-138.

2. On 5 May 1955. This gave West Germany the right to rearm within the framework of NATO.

the Soviet Union and the communist countries of East Europe to meet together and set up a joint command.³ Thus, one action leads to another, and the so-called search for security through military alliances on one side leads to the other side doing exactly the same. The balance remains the same, only at a higher level of tension and armament.

4. There is another side to the picture which is more soothing. It is evident that the Soviet Union is carrying on two dissimilar policies at the same time. One is the so-called building up of strength, the other is a search for peaceful solutions. The Austrian treaty⁴ resulting at long last in the independence of Austria represents the latter policy. The new offer for general disarmament by the Soviet Union also represents the second policy.⁵ The high level delegation going from the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia⁶ probably represents both policies, that is, neutralising Yugoslavia.

5. In the eyes of the Soviet, the Austrian treaty should be an example for the solution of the problem of German unity, that is, neutralising this united Germany. This has become very difficult now because of Western Germany becoming part of the NATO alliance which has also made German unity improbable. There is a large section of opinion in Germany which is attracted to the idea of German unity on the basis of neutrality. Indeed, in Germany, there is both the resurgence of the Nazi element which wants to build up a powerful German army and, at the same time, an abhorrence of war after the experience of two disastrous defeats. It is difficult, therefore, to say that the situation in Germany has been stabilised or the NATO alliance of West Germany has been fully accepted.

6. On the whole, however, there does appear to be a lessening of tension in Europe. The so-called big powers are meeting in the near future,⁷ and this

3. On 14 May 1955, at Warsaw, the Soviet Union and seven East European countries signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid and decided to set up a unified high command for their armed forces.
4. Austria became a free country on 15 May 1955 with the signing of a treaty by Britain, the United States, France and the Soviet Union. The big powers also agreed to withdraw their occupation forces before 31 December 1955.
5. The Soviet Union placed before the UN General Assembly on 11 May 1955 a disarmament plan which envisaged withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany except the four-power controlled police force; liquidation of all foreign military bases; sharing with less developed countries the knowledge and use of atomic energy and resources for peaceful purposes; convening of an international conference for discussing disarmament and complete ban on nuclear weapons under the control of an international supervisory body.
6. It was announced on 14 May that a Soviet delegation consisting of Khrushchev, Bulganin and Gromyko would visit Yugoslavia from 26 May to 3 June 1955.
7. The Heads of Governments of Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union met at Geneva from 18 to 23 July 1955.

fact alone is good, though much should not be expected of it. In the United States, there is less of a hysterical approach to these questions.

7. The situation in Formosa and the Far East continues to be a dangerous one and several incidents have happened recently which have rather added to the tension. These incidents have been conflicts in the air between Chiang's planes and China's. As you know, V.K. Krishna Menon has been in Peking and he has had long discussions with Chou En-lai and other leaders there. I have no full report yet of these discussions. Krishna Menon did not go there as a mediator but because he was invited by Chou En-lai. These talks, though they do not always lead to any particular result, are helpful in lessening tension. In China, the terrible aircraft disaster of the Indian airliner "Kashmir Princess" produced a violent reaction which affected other issues also. Thus, China was on the point of releasing the American airmen detained there but this disaster put a stop to this. The Chinese Government have declared⁸ their conviction that this disaster was due to sabotage by some agents of Chiang Kai-shek, who are employed in the Hong Kong aerodrome. We are waiting for the report of the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Indonesian Government.⁹ There are some strong indications, however, that the charge of sabotage has justification. Whatever the cause of the disaster, all reports indicate that the crew of the airliner behaved with exemplary courage.

8. In Indo-China the situation continues to be a precarious one. As the time is approaching for elections and the like, difficulties are arising and there is lack of cooperation. You know that in South Vietnam there has been something in the nature of a civil war between one party backed by the French and the other by the Americans.¹⁰ The American party has for the present succeeded. It is obvious, however, that South Vietnam, distracted and disunited, is a poor match for North Vietnam either in the military field or in elections. Hence their desire to avoid elections. That would mean a breach of the Geneva Agreement with far-reaching consequences. In Cambodia a certain development has taken place recently which may lead to trouble. The Government there has come to an agreement with the US for the supply of military equipment and

8. In their note to the British Government on 13 April 1955.

9. The report published on 26 May 1955 stated that examination of the wreckage had produced "irrefutable evidence" that the airliner was destroyed by the explosion of a time bomb.

10. On 29 April 1955, the French Government accused the United States of having encouraged the setting up of a 'Revolutionary Committee' by some army generals to give Ngo Dinh-Diem's Government a semblance of popular support. On 4 May, France denied the American charge that it was supporting Binh Xuyen forces. On 13 May, after talks with Britain and the United States, France announced that Ngo Dinh-Diem's Government enjoyed the support of the four Western countries.

some personnel to deal with this equipment. It is doubtful how far this is in keeping with the Geneva Agreement. According to the Cambodian Government, this is not a breach. We have not seen the terms of the Cambodian Agreement with the US yet. But we have heard that China takes a strong view about this matter. I might inform you that we had gone rather far in offering aid to Cambodia in our desire to prevent any development which might lead to a breach of the Geneva Agreement. We had offered not only administrative and technical personnel but also a military team to train their army. Obviously we could not supply equipment or financial aid, as the Americans can and do. Our offer was appreciated both by the Chinese and the UK Governments. The Cambodians thanked us also for it, but they said that so far as military instructors are concerned, they would prefer to keep on the French who were there than have any other new team, American or Indian, for this purpose. They have, however, agreed to have an American team to control the use of the equipment that America supplies. Whether this is a breach of the Geneva Agreement or not will depend on the terms of the new agreement.

9. Parliament ended on a tragic note.¹¹ The last session had done good work and certain important Bills had been passed. Among these were the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, the State Bank Bill, the Untouchability Offences Bill¹² and the Hindu Marriage Bill. Personally I attach great importance to this Hindu Marriage Bill as it was the first major crack in some aspects of the Hindu personal law which had become out of date. We followed this up with the Hindu Succession Act and wanted to send this to a Joint Select Committee, but owing to the unfortunate and tragic death of a Member of the Lok Sabha, Parliament adjourned before this could be done.

10. I have always felt that a nation's progress must be on all fronts—political, economic and social. We have thought a great deal about political matters and acted on the political plane. We are now turning our attention more and more to economic matters. The social plane had not been ignored previously because we have always laid stress on the abolition of untouchability and the like. But the Hindu Marriage Bill brought us full square against the conservative reactionary forces in the country. Apart from the merits of the measure itself, this action of ours has raised our prestige in other countries. It has shown that our Government and the forces behind it are progressive on every plane and are not afraid even of coming into conflict with orthodoxy.

11. The measure of the advance of India can be judged in many ways. One of these is to find out what subjects interest the people most. There can be

11. Hira Singh Chinaria, a Congress Member from Pepsu, died on 7 May 1955 in the Lok Sabha immediately after finishing his speech on the Hindu Marriage Bill.

12. Passed by the Lok Sabha on 28 April and by the Rajya Sabha on 2 May 1955.

little doubt that we have passed from the preliminary stage of politics into the more advanced stage of economic thinking. The problems we have to face today are essentially economic and large numbers of people talk about the Second Five Year Plan and all that it implies. The first phase of economic reform was necessarily the abolition of the zamindari system. We took this in hand early, but owing to the decisions of some courts, this was held up for some years. It has now been given effect to in almost the whole of India in some form or other. West Bengal has also come in line in this matter. The next stage in land reform is to have ceilings and cooperatives. We are only at the beginning of this stage now, although in some states certain ceilings have been fixed.

12. The First Five Year Plan considered all these matters broadly and laid down certain priorities for agriculture, industry, etc. This was on the whole a modest scheme and it had to be so because we were beginning planning without adequate data even. We could not start from scratch and we had to continue many things that we had already undertaken. The working of the First Five Year Plan has been a great experience for the Central Government, the State Governments, and the people generally. It can be said that we have largely succeeded in that Plan, although there is still a whole year to run. Apart from the material success, what is much more important is that people have become planning conscious and are more self-reliant. It is true that for most people planning is merely a collection of projects and an indication of priorities. But it is being realised by an increasing number that planning is something much more complex and widespread. It is an organised effort to interrelate the manifold activities of the nation so as to hasten progress and utilise our resources to the utmost. The two main objectives of planning are to increase the standards of the people as a whole and to diminish unemployment and finally to end it. Naturally this means greater production and equitable distribution. The broad objective has been stated to be a socialist pattern of society.

13. Our Planning Commission has been giving a great deal of thought to the approach to be made to the Second Five Year Plan. Many of you attended the meeting of the National Development Council where this was discussed and certain papers were distributed. These papers included a plan frame¹³ by Professor P.C. Mahalanobis and a number of others; a note by the Economic Section of the Planning Commission and the Economic Department of the

13. It favoured a rapid growth of the economy by increasing the scope and importance of the public sector with stress on development of core industries, and sustained increase of agricultural produce through implementation of agrarian reforms; encouragement of cottage industries; and provision of adequate facilities for housing, education and medical aid for the poorer sections.

Finance Ministry, and a memorandum¹⁴ prepared by the panel of economists of the Planning Commission. This panel contained a number of our most important economists in the country under the distinguished chairmanship of Professor D.R. Gadgil.

14. Broadly speaking, these three papers showed a large measure of agreement. The National Development Council accepted this broad approach without any commitment about details which would require careful working out. The Planning Commission will, of course, consider all these matters in detail. It must be remembered that there is no commitment at this stage to any of the specific proposals made in these various papers, though their broad approach has been accepted by the National Development Council.

15. I think it is important that not only the State Governments but the people generally should be associated with our thinking about the Second Five Year Plan even at this stage. It is not good enough for them to be presented with the full Plan at a later stage without their knowing what lines of thinking have preceded it. It would be far more helpful if at every stage we took the public into our confidence so that they might realise what planning involved and what burdens they would have to carry. It is easy for all of us to indulge in wishful thinking but that is not helpful at all. We have to be practical even though I hope we are idealistic also. We have to aim high, but we must not go beyond our capacity. I hope that you will give the greatest publicity therefore to these papers which the Planning Commission has issued and is likely to issue in the future.

16. I should like to quote here a paragraph from the memorandum of the panel of economists, which gives the broad approach to the Plan. This is as follows:

"The panel subscribes to the view that a bolder plan for the second five-year period is both necessary for dealing with the large problems of poverty and unemployment and underemployment and feasible in view of the momentum gained during the First Five Year Plan. The Second Five Year Plan must not only provide for a more rapid increase in aggregate national income; it must make an advance towards the declared goal of simultaneous and balanced progress in the direction of raising living standards, increasing employment opportunities, and reducing economic and social inequalities. The problem, therefore, is

14. The memorandum maintained that for achieving growth in national income by 25 per cent a bolder plan of labour-intensive and production-oriented activities such as public works, development of core industries in the public sector, land reforms, progressive nationalisation of industries, the setting up of a national labour force, ceilings on urban incomes and higher taxation were necessary.

not merely one of stepping up the rate of investment in the economy—though that is necessary and important; but of securing an optimum increase of production and employment together with a wider measure of social justice. A bolder plan is, obviously, not merely a bigger plan; it must be one which is motivated by a bolder economic and social philosophy. Necessarily, it calls for a much greater effort and contribution by all classes of the community and presents a much greater challenge of organization and administrative achievement. The panel also wishes to emphasise the fact that clear decisions on the policy and institutional implications of a bolder plan are essential at the very outset if the several objectives and targets are to be realised.”

17. The Second Five Year Plan, according to these economists, should aim at securing an increase in national income of about twenty-five per cent in the course of the five years. During the past five years, the increase has been at the rate of about three per cent per annum, that is, fifteen per cent for the full period. This increase is not adequate. It does not even absorb the new employables created by an increase in the population, much less does it tackle the old reservoir of unemployment. It is suggested that the new employment target must be the absorption of nine to ten million workers and even this is not considered too high from the point of view of the problems we face.

18. The whole new approach is based on emphasis being laid on the one side on heavy industries and, on the other, on village and cottage industries meant to produce consumer goods. It is essential that we have both to balance each other and to provide employment.

19. This approach to planning has been widely welcomed but there has been criticism also. This criticism comes from sources which believe in private enterprise and not so much in state enterprises. In fact, it is a criticism of planning itself on the one hand and of any approach to socialism. We must remember, however, as the panel of economists have said, that “we assume as basic the social philosophy appropriate to Indian federal democracy progressing towards a socialistic pattern of society.”

20. I shall not deal with this matter any more here. I have touched upon it briefly to draw particular attention to those aspects of planning which raise important issues and demand policy decisions. The basic policy decision was taken by us when we decided on working towards a socialist pattern of society. The rest merely follows from this but we have to be clear about those steps and not merely expect things to happen without clear thinking based on available data.

21. While we think of this great challenge to the nation and the great adventure in which our millions are going to enter, it is a bit of a shock to realise that some people in our country are so backward in their thinking that

they are absorbed in petty provincialism. This applies to every agitation about new provinces and the like. More particularly, it applies to the extraordinarily futile agitation started by the Akalis in the Punjab. At any time this would have been unfortunate, but to start such an agitation when the States Reorganisation Commission is meeting does indicate a lack of wit and wisdom which is amazing.

22. We have just had a visit from the Pakistan Prime Minister in Delhi, accompanied by the Minister of the Interior, Major General Iskander Mirza. For five days we had talks on a number of issues and chiefly on Kashmir. We did not solve this complicated issue but I think that we came to grips with this problem more on this occasion than at any time previously. We dare not be too optimistic but it is quite possible that some progress might be made in the future.

23. Goa continues to be a headache.¹⁵ It is natural for people to demand strong action but we must always remember that we should not, in the excitement of the moment or because of anger and resentment, undertake any action without thinking out all the possible consequences. I need not tell you that we are giving continuous and earnest thought to this Goa situation. We do not propose to allow ourselves to be hustled into wrong action.

24. I shall be leaving India on the 5th June for rather a long tour abroad. I propose to visit Czechoslovakia for a day and then go the Soviet Union for a fortnight. Later, a brief stay in Poland and Vienna and a longer one in Yugoslavia. I might also go to Rome for two days. On my way back, I have been asked to break journey for a day in Cairo for talks with the Prime Minister there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. The Portuguese administration in Goa had rejected the Indian note of 12 April 1955 criticising the strong action taken against the Goan satyagrahis arrested on 26 January, 17 February and at the session of the Goa National Congress on 6 April 1955.

MISCELLANEOUS

(i) General

1. To Albert Schweitzer¹

London

February 4, 1955

My dear Dr Schweitzer,²

Sometime ago I met in Delhi Dr Rothlin. He spoke to me about you and I was greatly interested to have news of you. Today I have received from him, forwarded from Delhi, a letter which you were good enough to write to me introducing Dr Rothlin.

I am happy to receive this letter from you and I thank you for it. I need not tell you how much I have admired your great work.

I am in London for a few days³ and clouds of approaching war are darkening the horizon. I can hardly believe that any country or people will be foolish enough to indulge in this madness. And, yet, there is enough folly about, and no one can be sure. As you have pointed out many times, people seem to have lost their moral values and standards. They have apparently lost the capacity for true judgment even from the point of view of expediency. Since there is no anchorage, humanity drifts to all kinds of possible disasters.

It is good, however, in these days of difficulty to think of a person like you labouring for the good of humanity.

I shall be returning to India in about ten days' time.

With all good wishes to you.

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1875-1965): A missionary surgeon who was awarded Nobel Peace Prize for 1952.

3. Nehru was in London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held from 31 January to 8 February 1955.

2. Responsibilities of the Police¹

I am glad to notice that the relations of our police force with our people have undergone a marked change for the better. It is essential that the police and the people should function together and in cooperation, that the police should realise that they are to serve the people, and that the public should realise that the police are there to help them and not to harass. On both sides there is this responsibility.

The police have an essential duty to perform. It is a public service of great importance. They should realise their responsibility.

I was very sorry to learn of the hunger strike of policemen recently in Bengal.² Whatever the merits of their case might be, this was an improper way to adopt which could only do injury to both the police and the state. I am glad that this strike was given up. I can very well understand that there might be difficulties or grievances or complaints. These should be considered calmly and not under pressure or threat from either side. All of us should realise that we have to function cooperatively in the big tasks ahead.

1. Message to the Police Forces on the occasion of the fifth All India Police Athletics and Sports Meet which opened at Ranchi on 4 February 1955. From *National Herald* and *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 4 February 1955. The Meet was inaugurated by the Bihar Chief Minister, Srikrishna Sinha.
2. On 10 December 1954, the men of the armed and other branches of the Calcutta Police, numbering 5,000, went on a hunger strike for rectification of their grievances mainly relating to their wages, house rent allowance and food concessions. The strike was called off after 24 hours following an assurance by the West Bengal Government that the grievances would be looked into within four months.

3. Sevagram Ashram¹

A colleague of Gandhiji's mentioned to me today that it would be desirable if some of our foreign visitors who came here were also taken to Sevagram where Gandhiji spent many years of his life. This place is undoubtedly of historical

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 7 March 1955. JN Collection.

importance. It is something more. It would indicate to these foreign visitors the simple background of Gandhiji's life and our movement.

I think there is something in this suggestion. Obviously we cannot and should not bring any pressure on anyone to go there. Also some of these foreign visitors would not fit in there at all. It is desirable, however, to bear this in mind and suggest it to some of those who come here who might be considered suitable for this purpose. In drawing up their programmes, we might remember this.

4. The Mumbai Residence of M.A. Jinnah¹

Mr M.A. Jinnah possessed a house on Malabar Hill in Bombay, in which he lived for many years. This house was apparently taken over by the Rehabilitation Ministry as evacuee property. I do not quite know under what conditions it was taken over. Recently there was a proposal to auction it together with other evacuee property. The Rehabilitation Ministry, however, agreed to postpone this auction.

2. This matter has attracted considerable attention in Pakistan and much pleasure has been expressed at the postponement of the auction of this house. With this is expressed a hope that the house will be used in future as some kind of a memorial of Mr M.A. Jinnah.

3. I think that we should decide first of all that this house must not be sold or auctioned. I think that we should further be prepared to make a gift of it to the Pakistan Government, should they desire to use it as a memorial.

4. I should like the Cabinet to consider this matter and decide on the principle. After that, we can give further consideration as to what should be done about it.

1. Note to the Cabinet, 7 March 1955. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 134/CF/48, Cabinet Secretariat, Rashtrapati Bhavan.

5. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Camp: Nangal
March 19, 1955

Nan dear,

I am writing this letter to you from Nangal. I came today to Chandigarh to open the new High Court building. Tomorrow I go to Bhakra and then return to Delhi.

Chandigarh and the Bhakra-Nangal project are, in their different ways, probably the most impressive of our many undertakings in India today. You saw Chandigarh some years ago. It has made considerable progress since then and hundreds of buildings have been put up there. The biggest is the High Court building which I opened today. There is still a fair amount of criticism, chiefly by the official class here, because they do not like change or innovation and they were used to spacious bungalows and the like. But I like these innovations. It may be that some of them may not prove satisfactory. We can change them. At present Chandigarh is a place which is full of vitality and ideas. I am sure that this will powerfully affect our building styles in India. The site of the town is almost ideal, just at the foot of the hills. I can well imagine, after another ten years or so, this town becoming one of the most attractive in India. It has already drawn much attention because of its novel architectural features, in Europe and America.

Bhakra-Nangal is also progressing well and is rather ahead of schedule. It is a tremendous task. Indeed, as an American engineer said, it is the biggest and toughest job of the kind in the world today. The mere fact of our having undertaken it showed a good deal of courage and vision. This whole work has been done departmentally by Government without employing any contractors. We have a number of American and European engineers as advisers, more especially the top adviser Slocum. But altogether the American engineers here now are about 35 out of probably a total number of 2,500 engineers working in this project.

We have now arrived at a rather critical stage of laying foundations of the big dam. This is the most difficult part of all. It is rather exciting to see all this being done.²

I sent you a fairly detailed telegram about the Nagpur incident. So far as I know, there was no conspiracy about it or the association of any group. But I have little doubt that the man intended to use his knife on me. The knife was

1. JN Collection.

2. In his note of 20 March to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Nehru wrote that an imaginatively conceived new film of Bhakra-Nangal should be made so as to show the progress of the scheme.

a fairly big one and sharp as a razor. The chief result of this incident has been for many people shouting more and more about stricter security. Pantji, in his capacity as Home Minister, has told me that in this matter my wishes will not be consulted. All this is rather silly. I am not against security. But this kind of panicky outlook does not help. Nor is security assured by crowds of intelligence men and policemen. In regard to security, as in other matters, the Maginot line outlook is bad and dangerous. It is intelligence that is wanted, not numbers. There is of course always a slight element of risk. One has to face that unless one lives in purdah or in glass cage.

The major result of this Nagpur incident has been to cast a heavy burden on me in replying to the very large number of telegrams and letters.

My meeting with Mohammad Ali, the Pakistan Prime Minister, has been postponed to mid-May. There was unfortunately some misunderstanding about this.

I shall be going to Djakarta for the Asian-African Conference on the 15th April and returning about the 26th. I have now practically decided to go to Russia early in June and to spend a fortnight there. I might go to Yugoslavia also about that time.

We have had a visit from the ex-King of Cambodia,³ a bright young man with vague ideas about doing good to his people. Unfortunately he has no good advisers and the few people, men and women, who surround him, rather lead him astray. Then there is the continuing pressure of the United States. I think his visit to Delhi has had good effect on him.

I hope you are keeping well.

With love from
Jawahar

3. Norodom Sihanouk arrived at New Delhi on 17 March 1955.

6. A Tagore Museum at Santiniketan¹

I am sending you a letter from Mr Leonard K. Elmhirst² and a note which was

1. Note to Humayun Kabir, Secretary, Ministry of Education, 25 March 1955. File No. 40(8)/56-PMS.
2. (1893-1974); founder-director, Rural Reconstruction Institute, Sriniketan, Visva-Bharati.

handed to me by Pratima Devi Tagore.³ Professor Mahalanobis has also spoken to me about this matter. When I visited Santiniketan last,⁴ there was also some talk about it.

2. It is certainly desirable for us, or for Visva-Bharati, to acquire this house, Uttarayan, which is so closely associated with Rabindranath Tagore, and to convert it into a museum. The house apparently belongs to Rathindranath Tagore.⁵ He is prepared to hand it over fully if he is assured a monthly income.

3. Meanwhile, Visva-Bharati is paying some monthly rent to him for this house. I do not know how much this is.

4. There used to be some kind of a committee unconnected with Visva-Bharati. What has happened to it I do not know. It would be desirable to have a committee in charge of this house and museum and it would be eminently fitting to have Pratima Devi in that committee.

5. Pratima Devi has made all kinds of suggestions in her note. I do not know how far we can give effect to them. But the first thing to do is to get the ownership of Uttarayan transferred and to fix some monthly allowance for Rathindranath Tagore.

6. We should do something about it and settle this matter as soon as possible. You can discuss it with other persons concerned like Professor Mahalanobis. You will, of course, consult Maulana Sahib about it.

3. Wife of Rathindranath Tagore.

4. Nehru was in Santiniketan from 23 to 25 December 1954.

5. (1888-1961); only son of Rabindranath Tagore: retired as Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati.

7. To Tenzing Norgay¹

New Delhi
March 31, 1955

My dear Tenzing,²

Thank you for your letter of March 25th.³ I am always happy to hear from you and to have news of you.

1. File No. 2(707)/53-PMS.

2. (1914-1986): Director of Field Training, Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Darjeeling, 1954-76.

3. Tenzing wrote that James R. Ullman who was writing an autobiography for him, had offered to assist him by inviting him to the USA to give illustrated talks which would be in the nature of dialogues. Tenzing sought Nehru's advice whether to accept the invitation.

People in America have a habit of exploiting well known personalities. I do not like this very much. They are interested in a man for a short time. Then, they forget him and take up someone else. I do not like this. In the long run, it is not profitable and it comes in the way of solid work. My own reaction, therefore, to the proposal made to you would be that you should not undertake any touring in America. At a later time, you might go there for a brief visit.

I do not know how the Himalayan Institute⁴ is getting on. That is something solid that we have got to build up, and, in this, we rely upon you.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Himalayan Mountaineering Institute was set up at Darjeeling in 1954 with Major Narendra D. Jayal as its first Principal.

8. Security Arrangements for the Prime Minister¹

I have rather hurriedly looked through these papers concerning my security. I know the importance of security and do not wish to come in the way of any arrangements that are necessary. But it should be realised that I can only function as I am and I cannot change completely my habits or my nature. It may well happen that rigid application of some security rules might irritate me beyond measure and then I simply bypass some rule. As I have said, I have every desire to cooperate in this matter. But there are human aspects which I cannot ignore and which affect me deeply.

2. Therefore, the first thing to realise is that any rules framed cannot be applied rigidly whatever the circumstances. Certain flexibility has to be given. Naturally any variation would take place in consultation with the Chief Security Officer² who is with me.

3. The incident at Nagpur need not make us look at things out of perspective. Certainly let us look through the rules and revise them where necessary.

4. I do not propose to discuss all these new rules. I have neither the time

1. Note to the Home Minister, 11 April 1955. JN Collection.

2. K.F. Rustanji was the Chief Security Officer, 1954-58.

nor the patience to read through all these papers. I have, however, looked through the summary attached and have also had a brief talk with the DIB.³

5. I am prepared to travel normally in a closed car, but there can be occasions when this will be undesirable. If there is a risk, that risk has to be taken. It is rightly said that if I stand up in a car, that offers a clear target. I am prepared to remain seated in an open car. The whole point is that it is exceedingly embarrassing and frustrating to go through a place with crowds who have gathered there to see me, sitting in a closed car. The crowds are kept away a good distance from the car. There are plenty of policemen about. I should have thought that if the crowds are kept away properly some distance and I do not stand up in a car, the car moving along all the time, then there is no particular risk involved. There will also be outriders who might well, where necessity arises, be on either side of the car.

6. Therefore, while I agree that generally there should be a closed car, on occasions there should be an open car.

7. The arrangements suggested for roadside halts seem to me completely undesirable. It would be absurd for a tower to be erected for me with a 35-foot gap and all that at odd roadside places. It is better for me not to halt than to go through this ludicrous ceremony.

8. I do not like the idea of an ADC always sitting by me or being with me. Almost always I have somebody with me inside the car. Normally I sit behind the Chief Security Officer. That is quite enough. sometimes in the big cities especially, the local ADC might be with me as he often is. But to carry him about all over the place appears to me undesirable.

9. Also to have an ADC attached to me at my house seems to me undesirable. The fact of calling a man an ADC does not make him more capable of dealing with my programmes, which inevitably will be dealt with by me or one of my normal secretaries. No ADC, as suggested, can correspond on my behalf with state governments. In fact, my correspondence is usually with the Chief Ministers.

10. The suggestion that Security Officers should accompany me or precede me to countries abroad should not be made into a firm rule. Where this is considered necessary, this might be done. Otherwise the Security Officer who goes with me serves little purpose. For instance, when I go to the Soviet Union, a security man is being stationed all the time. A security man is being stationed all the time. I imagine that such an officer would be unnecessary.

11. There is another small matter. A security man is being stationed all the time. I imagine that such an officer would be unnecessary.

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12. I am indicating some of my reactions to these suggested rules. The main thing is that rigidity in this respect is not only bad in itself but actually comes in the way occasionally of more suitable arrangements. As I have said before, a Maginot line mentality is not good. Therefore there should be some flexibility.

9. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
April 13, 1955

My dear Rajendra Babu,
Your letter of 13th April.²

As you know, we had arrived at a vague decision about the desirability of your spending some time in South India every year. It was thought that it would be a good thing if you were in the South somewhere for the 15th August. It would be a pity to break this convention that we wish to build up. If this is so, then it will not be possible for you to go to Karachi on the 14th August.

It would be desirable, however, for you generally to accept the invitation to go to Karachi some time. I would rather that the time was not fixed now. Developments in Pakistan are very peculiar and no one knows what exactly is going to happen.

As regards Pakistan contributing marble to the Gandhi memorial,³ you are quite right in saying that the form of memorial has not been decided yet.⁴ There is strong feeling among some people that this memorial should be as simple as possible. Some even think that no big construction should be put up. Some are entirely opposed to marble being used. Therefore it is difficult for us to give an answer.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Rajendra Prasad wrote that the High Commissioner of Pakistan, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, had met him on 13 April and conveyed his Government's formal invitation to him to visit Pakistan on their Independence Day (14th of August), and participate in the celebrations there.

3. Ghazanfar Ali told Rajendra Prasad that Mahatma Gandhi was looked upon in Pakistan "as a person who had contributed so much to the independence of India and there would have been no Pakistan if India had not become independent", and requested that Pakistan should be permitted to contribute marble for the Gandhi memorial to be constructed in India.

4. Rajendra Prasad reported that he had replied to Ghazanfar Ali Khan that "in the first place the form of the memorial had not yet been finally fixed... and in any case the people here would like to have a memorial at our cost."

I would personally have no objection to Pakistan contributing something if there was need for this. In fact, some small contribution might well be welcomed....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To Chester Bowles¹

New Delhi
May 12, 1955

Dear Chester Bowles,²

Thank you for your letter of May 2nd.

I am afraid there is no chance of my going to the United States this year. As you perhaps know, I am going to the Soviet Union in June. I shall be visiting Poland, Yugoslavia, Vienna and Rome also. After that, it will be difficult for me to leave India again for sometime.

I am interested to read Archie Nye's³ comment on your book⁴ and more especially as to how and why the British regime in India ended. I have not the least doubt in my mind that the British had to withdraw from India because of Gandhi's non-violent movement. Indeed, it would have become impossible for them to carry on much longer. It is true that they were wiser than the French in Indo-China or in North Africa. Anyhow, it is quite wrong for Nye to say that no "well-informed or educated Indian, however nationalistic his view, would ever subscribe to the suggestion that India won its freedom by non-violent methods". If I am supposed to be well-informed or educated, I do not agree with his views at all, and I entirely subscribe to the view that India won her freedom by non-violent methods. So do a large number of people in India.⁵

1. JN Collection.

2. (1901-1986); American diplomat and ambassador to India, 1951-53.

3. Archibald Edward Nye (1895-1967); High Commissioner for UK in Canada, 1952-56.

4. *Ambassador's Report*, was published in New York in 1954.

5. Bowles wrote in his book, "I began to see that Gandhi's revolt had not only overthrown an empire but had laid the foundations, in the minds and habits of the people, for democracy."

It is true, however, that Pakistan and Ceylon gained freedom more or less incidentally and rather as a result of India's independence. Burma was helped much by the Indian struggle and, later, by various happenings during the War and after.

All good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Reflections

1. Communism, India and the World¹

Margaret Chase Smith²: Some people in my country think that you are siding with communist Russia against America, Mr Prime Minister. Isn't it true that you have waged a vigorous campaign against communism in India and been quite successful at it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of siding with any country, Russia or any other. We have supported Russia in some proposals, let us say, in the UN; we have also opposed Russia. That is, we decide questions on the merits in so far as we can judge them. In regard to communism, well, I presume you mean the Communist Party. Communism is a philosophy, at various times interpreted in many ways. Some people find some elements of communism are attractive, some economic elements, I mean. But when you refer to it in India, I suppose you refer to the Communist Party's functions here.

It is true that we have opposed the Communist Party in the elections and

1. Interview with Margaret Chase Smith, New Delhi, 4 March 1955. The interview was telecast over the CBS Television Network, New York, USA, on 15 March 1955. JN Collection.
2. (b. 1897); member, House of Representative, USA, 1940-48; Republican Senator from Maine, 1948-73; Visiting Professor, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 1973-76; Chairman, Freedom House (New York) 1970-77, Northwood Institute National Women's Board, 1978-81, and its Trustee, 1980-88; author of *Gallant Women*, 1968, *Declaration of Conscience*, 1972; wrote numerous papers and articles, syndicated newspaper and magazine columns.

otherwise; partly, because we don't agree with the policy that they chose, partly because we often think that their policy has nothing to do with India; it relates to some other event outside, and maybe even directed from other outside sources. Anyhow, we have opposed the Communist Party in India, opposed it with considerable success, but we have opposed it, in the main, democratically, except when there has been violence, it is a different matter; and only now, only at present, the results of certain elections³ in a part of India are coming out which are rather remarkable; because they were completely democratic, open elections, giving full chance for the Communist Party to function, and they are being very badly beaten. We prefer that way of beating them than any other.

MCS: Do you believe that communism is a world movement?

JN: Yes, the ideas behind communism are certainly, just like, if I may use the word, just like any religious movement. It has a certain element of religion in that aspect, and it is a world movement. But world movements too, regularly, tame down. Their first aggressive outlook in the world tames down; history shows us that, and, then they will adapt themselves to the world as it is, making some changes in it, maybe.

MCS: Do you not think that as a world movement communism is a threat to your country?

JN: No, I don't believe it is at all a threat to my country, I can't speak of every other country, only that I feel reasons—well, frankly, because I think I am quite good enough to prevent that.

MCS: Your experience and results have shown that, certainly.

JN: Yes. But apart from that, I don't see why they should try to do that. It is not worth it. Then, too, it is not an easy matter, and I don't think at any time there is any fear of any external attempt on India. I have never had the slightest fear of that, and much less now. I think the best way to deal with these things is two-fold, one is to strengthen your own country, the other is to have friendly relations with the other country. We pursue both policies.

MCS: In view of your highly successful efforts fighting communism internally in your country, why do you not oppose it as vigorously externally?

3. In the state of Andhra.

JN: I think a great deal of the tension and difficulty and danger in the world today is due to fear—fear even of the big countries, and fear of a bad companion always leads to all kinds of steps which have reactions in the other countries. Therefore, the friendly approach lessens the fear of the other party, and thereby lessens your own fear, acts and reacts, while the other hostile approach increases the fear of the other party, then the other party gets going and increases your fear, so that, it is a vicious circle. I feel that the approach should be rather in extending an area of peace, if you like, rather than saying that if this happens then you stand forth sword in hand. The sword is there, nobody is taking away the sword, but why flash it about all the time and induce the other party to bring out its sword out of the scabbard?

MCS: In my country and in other places of the world there have been unfair attacks on intellectuals and intellectualism. Would you comment on this?

JN: Obviously, nobody, I hope, encourages a lack of intellect, or wants to encourage it, but if intellect means some kind of ivory tower intellect cut off from the world's problems or from human problems, then it is not too good. An integrated human being must have various types of development; now, if he is lopsided then he will cause diminishing returns, he just; he becomes, let us say, a cynic, a cynic just criticising everybody, incapable of doing anything himself. Now, it is a bad development of intellect.

MCS: Does communist materialism take advantage of and exploit weaknesses of intellectualism?

JN: I suppose it exploits the position where there is a vacuum in people's minds, I mean to say, when they have lost their anchor, they are in search of something, and this appears to give them some kind of an anchor, intellectually speaking, in that sense. That is to say, in a period of big transition, when people are moving from one thing to another, there is always a chance of anything which is rather a rigid doctrine to appear to anchor the people that are trying to hold it till they are disabused, then something happens.

MCS: Mr Prime Minister, what are the most difficult problems of India?

JN: Well, primarily, they are economic. You must remember, Senator, that in America, in Western Europe, you had political democracy in a sense, but rather limited, and you made great economic progress for some generations and you had to face political problems after you had established yourselves economically. Now we have to do the reverse which is difficult. We get complete political

freedom, everybody having the vote, and everybody wants to go ahead, and, a backward economy. We have not got that easy way of progress, of building up the economy before the political pressures become too big; we have to face the political pressures all the time, not only in our country but in the world, I mean. And so you have to build up quickly the economy and that is the main problem. We welcome help; but there is always this in our minds that we must never forget that we have to stand on our own feet. No country can go far with external help only. It must make the effort, it is the effort that counts and it makes a chip for the next step. We don't want our people, therefore, to become dependent in their thinking, but, otherwise, we can cooperate and accept help gladly.

MCS: Mr Prime Minister, do you feel that there is any threat of war in the next five, ten or twenty years?

JN: Well, there is certainly a threat of war all the time; I don't personally think that it will materialise or that that is what we will get. Conditions are pretty difficult now, of course. I feel there is greater realisation everywhere, now, about the folly and complete uselessness of war. It would destroy both the parties, and the time when the stronger party could defeat another party and benefit by it, has passed, or is passing; and if the world is in ruins then the objective of the war is not gained, whatever the objective might be. Therefore, war should be really out of the question but one can never be sure of human wisdom.⁴

4. With regard to certain other questions especially regarding United States and Soviet Union, which were sent in advance but finally not asked by Smith. Nehru had written to N.R. Pillai on 2 March 1955: "I do not like judging other countries except when a policy matter is concerned which affects my country. Even then I express my opinion on the principle or policy involved and not on the country.... I do not think it helps to condemn any country or people even though I might disagree with them.

I am concerned with the development of my own own people—making them self-reliant and prosperous. That is the best way I can serve them as well as the world."

2. Progress Through Democracy¹

Umashankar Joshi²: What do you think of the ideal of *sattadan*—decentralisation of power? Do you think that the ultimate goal of democracy also is the withering away of the state? If so, through what process?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to answer your questions briefly or precisely. We are passing through, not only in India but in the world, one of those transitional periods which mark the change from one order to another. The last two wars have produced powerful changes in the world. The political changes are obvious enough. The economic changes are also evident. Behind them, perhaps, is the crisis of industrial civilisation, culminating in the production of the atomic bomb.

Democracy as it was known in the nineteenth century in Europe, has ceased to exist in many countries, and where it does exist it has undergone many changes. In the nineteenth century, democracy was thought of in terms of a political democracy. Even that political democracy was confined to a limited number of people who had the vote. Now, adult suffrage has come, and political democracy itself is no longer thought adequate, as indeed it is not. People begin to think of economic democracy.

Socialism and communism aim, in their respective ways, at economic democracy, but, in attaining a measure of economic well-being and equality, communism sacrifices in some other ways the essence of democracy. Well-being is, thus, obtained at the sacrifice of freedom and individuality. That need not necessarily be so but, in fact, we have seen this happen.

It is clear that no system can ultimately prevail unless it brings well-being to the people. That is one of the essential tests of the success of any system. The question, therefore, is whether this well-being can be obtained by democratic and peaceful processes.

I think it can, and I think India can attain it.

UJ: Do you think the democratic form of government to be the best? How can democracy effectively resist the forces working against it today?

1. Replies to questions of Umashankar Joshi, Editor, *Sanskriti*, a Gujarati monthly of Ahmedabad, 4 April 1955. JN Collection. These replies were published in the May 1955 issue of *Sanskriti*.
2. Umashankar Jethalal Joshi (1911-1988); participated in the freedom movement; taught in Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad, 1939-46 and Gujarat University, 1954-70; Editor, *Sanskriti*, 1947-84; Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat University, 1966-72; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1970-76; President, Sahitya Akademi, 1978-83; Chancellor, Visva-Bharati University, 1979-82; recipient of Bhartiya Jnanpith (1967) and Sahitya Akademi (1973) Awards; author of several books of poems, short stories and literary criticism.

JN: The question as to whether the democratic form of government is the best can only be answered when democracy is fully defined. Today, all kinds of governments are called democratic, which, in fact, they are not. In fact, the word 'democracy' is used in opposition to the communist form. That is totally incorrect. Real democracy must ensure individual freedom and growth as well as social well-being. If either is lacking, it is not democratic.

UJ: What tracts of Indian life do you find conducive to the growth of democracy in India and what inimical? How can we best foster the former and fight the latter?

JN: We cannot defend democracy by making democracy undemocratic, as is often done, i.e., we cannot leave out an essential feature of democracy and yet hope to defend it.

Indians, on the whole, have a democratic sense, I think, and normally are peaceful and cooperative. On the other hand, there are many features in India, which are entirely opposed to the conception of democracy.

UJ: What role do you expect the village panchayat to play in the working of democracy in India?

JN: I think the village panchayat can and should play a very important role in a democratic set-up in India. This will depend, as everything depends, on the quality of the human beings.

UJ: How can the pace of achieving social and economic justice within the framework of democracy be accelerated?

JN: The answer to your question will, I hope, be given in our Second Five Year Plan, to some extent at least. There is no reason why social and economic progress should not be swift in democracy, but this also requires a measure of discipline and cooperation among the people as well as hard work and, sometimes, austerity. For a nation that is underdeveloped to progress fast, a good deal of planning is, I think, necessary.

I cannot say what the distant goal might be. Today, there is a conflict between the desire for decentralisation and the inevitable tendencies of the modern state to centralise. It is true that there is a slight reversal of the centralising tendency now. Electric power helps to decentralise. Atomic energy will decentralise still further when it comes into use. Too much centralisation obviously interferes with individual freedom and, hence, is bad to that extent. If too much decentralisation makes the state weak and not cohesive, then that state will ultimately collapse. Therefore, some middle way has to be found, in which there is a good deal of decentralisation of authority and yet the central authorities have strength enough to function adequately.

GLOSSARY

acharya	a reverential term
ajayabghar	literally a building where curios are stored and exhibited
akhara	a wrestling school
bhai	brother
bhoodan	donation of land; refers to a movement initiated by Vinoba Bhave
jagir	a tract of land and its revenue (given for services rendered)
jagirdari	a system of landholding
Jai Hind	victory to India
jayanti	anniversary
ji / jee	an affix denoting respect
maha nirvana	refers to the final extinction of Buddha's worldly existence beyond the cycle of rebirth
maha Punjab	greater Punjab
morcha	picketing
panchsheel	five basic principles of international conduct
rahu	one of the nine principal planets according to Indian astrology
Ramrajya	equitable and ideal rule; literally kingdom of Ram, worshipped as God by Hindus

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

sampattidan	voluntary donation of property
sanskriti	culture
sarvodaya	movement for people's welfare
satyagrahi	practitioner of soul force or truth force
shramdan	voluntary labour for public cause
suba	province
swaraj	self-rule
taluqdari	a system of landholding
water festival	the new year festival celebrated for three days in April in Myanmar

INDEX

(Biographical footnotes in this volume and in volumes in the First Series are italicised and those in the Second Series are given in block letters. The main entries in the subject index are italicised.)

- Abdullah, S.M. (*Vol. 7, p. 308*), 319, 320, 347 & fn, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353 fn, 355 fn, 356 fn, 534
- Adenauer, K., 570 & *fn*
- Afghanistan, 97 fn, 132, 143 & fn, 158, 229, 278-280
- Agarwal, R.N., 328 fn
- Ahmedabad, 282 fn, 355 fn, 383 fn
- Ahmednagar Fort, 39
- Air India International, 289 & fn, 333 & fn, 334, 576
- Al-Fozan, Yusuf, 517 fn
- Algeria, 101, 102, 104 & fn, 110
- Ali, Chaudhury Mohammad (VOL. 3, P. 316), 235 & fn
- _____, Mohammad (VOL. 22, P. 320), 106, 109 & fn, 110, 113, 134, 161 fn, 176, 232 fn, 234, 236, 237 & fn, 238 & fn, 239, 241 & fn, 242 & fn, 243, 245-253, 255-258, 260-263, 279, 317, 347 & fn, 534 & fn, 597
- _____, Syed Ahmed, 513 fn
- Allahabad, 90, 91, 177, 545
- Allahabad University, 455 & fn
- All India Congress Committee, 5, 284 fn, 432 fn, 461, 463, 467, 486 fn, 510, 544, 548 fn
- All India Institute of Medical Sciences, 556 & fn
- Alvares, P. (VOL. 27, P. 222), 303 & fn
- Ambedkar, B.R. (*Vol. 5, p. 299*), 550 & fn
- Amritsar, 252
- Andhra State, 78, 187, 349, 439, 484 fn, 507, 508 & fn, 509, 510 & fn, 541 & fn, 542, 570, 604 fn
- Ansari, M.A. (*Vol. 1, p. 110*), 39 & fn
- Appadorai, A. (VOL. 7, P. 678), 97 & fn
- Asaf Ali (*Vol. 6, p. 42*), 38 & fn, 39
- Asian-African Conference (Bandung, April 1955), 61, 97 & fn, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104 & fn, 105, 106 fn, 110, 112, 113, 114 & fn, 115 fn, 124, 125 & fn, 128 & fn, 129-133, 136, 137 & fn, 138, 140, 141, 142 & fn, 143 fn, 144, 145, 147, 148, 151-154, 156, 157 & fn, 158, 172, 176 & fn, 179, 185, 186, 191, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 214 & fn, 225, 228, 239, 243, 269, 283, 295, 296, 297, 305, 306, 314, 317, 323, 326, 328, 333 & fn, 368, 515, 569, 575-579, 583, 597; Cultural Committee of, 129, 152; Economic Committee of, 129, 152, Political Committee of, 129, 130, 132, 152, 225, 516
- Assam, 18, 292 fn, 364 & fn, 439, 479 fn, 480 & fn, 481, 482, 487 & fn, 488, 489 & fn, 512, 522, 523
- Australia, 63, 127, 128 & fn, 155, 159 fn, 161 fn, 191 fn, 206, 209, 250 fn, 307 fn, 565
- Austria, 427 fn, 580, 584 & fn
- Ayyangar, M. Ananthasayanam (VOL. 5, P. 81), 267, 268 fn, 468 & fn
- Azad, A.K. (*Vol. 1, p. 353*), 232 fn, 235 & fn, 245 & fn, 246, 252, 253, 257, 260-263, 319, 348, 353, 354, 456, 457, 518, 557 & fn, 558 & fn, 598
- Baghdad Pact (MEDO), 215 & fn, 227, 310 fn, 322 fn, 340 & fn, 567, 579
- Bakhle, M., 390 & fn

- Bakula, Kushak (VOL. 20, P. 181), 451 fn
 Balogh, Thomas, 366 & fn
 Banaras, 26, 282 fn, 452 fn, 476
 Bandung, 61, 78, 98, 114 fn, 125 & fn, 129 & fn, 130, 135 fn, 137, 138 fn, 139, 140, 144, 154, 157, 180, 186, 190, 211 & fn, 212, 214, 217 fn, 226, 229 fn, 239, 243, 251, 269, 305, 323, 335 fn, 490, 515, 569, 575, 576, 583
 Bangalore, 51, 61, 282 fn, 449 fn, 460
 Bangkok, 189, 192, 193, 307 & fn, 309, 321 & fn, 567
 Banihal Tunnel (Jawahar Tunnel), 318
 Bao Dai (VOL. 12, P. 390), 192 & fn, 308 fn, 575 fn
 Baramula, 248
 Bardoloi, G. (*Vol. 8, p. 283*), 489 & fn
 Bastar (Chhattisgarh), 483, 484 fn, 485
 Bazaz, P.N., 350 & fn
 Beg, Mirza Afzal (*Vol. 14, p. 396*), 355 & fn, 356 & fn
 Belgium, 129 fn, 206, 209
 Belgrade, 311 fn
 Berhampur, 70 & fn, 74 & fn, 78, 81, 243
 Bhabha, Homi J. (*Vol. 13, p. 536*), 200 & fn, 202 & fn, 203 fn, 204, 205 & fn, 207 fn, 208 fn, 209 fn, 222 fn, 281, 575; views on nuclear non-proliferation, 203 fn
 Bhakra-Nangal Project, 18, 26, 29, 31, 38, 42, 51, 61, 154, 177, 256, 365 & fn, 366, 386, 435, 438, 439, 596 & fn
 Bharat Sevak Samaj, 15, 16, 20, 21 & fn, 22, 23, 24, 90, 360 fn, 361 fn, 387 fn, 519 fn
 Bhatnagar, S.S. (VOL. 2, P. 605), 557 & fn, 558
 Bhatt, V.R., 282 & fn, 534 & fn, 535
 Bhawe, Vinobha (VOL. 5, P. 74), 21 & fn, 22, 51, 74, 81, 285, 376, 420, 421, 438
 Bhilai steel plant, 424
 Bhonsle, T.B., 550 & fn
 Bhoodan movement, 21 & fn, 74, 438
 Bhutan, 291 & fn, 292 & fn
 Bihar, 22, 91, 360 fn, 361 & fn, 364, 387 fn, 427 fn, 436, 450 fn, 452 fn, 453 fn, 483, 484 fn, 495 fn, 522
 Birla, B.M. (*Vol. 11, p. 326*), 3 & fn
 Blackett, P.M.S. (VOL. 7, P. 271), 202 fn, 526 & fn
 Bodh Gaya, 449 fn, 452 & fn, 453, 454
 Bogor, 100 fn, 128 fn, 229
 Bombay, city of (Mumbai), 14, 26, 56, 298, 299, 449 fn, 470, 574, 595; state of, 298 fn, 299, 303 fn, 439, 552
 Bose, Subhas Chandra (*Vol. 3, p. 46*), 478 fn
 Bowles, C. (VOL. 16, Pt. II, P. 716), 602 & fn
 British Indian Association, 391 & fn
 Bulgaria, 101, 411
 Burma (Myanmar), 62, 71, 97 fn, 125, 127, 131, 132, 134, 137, 142, 143, 150-152, 155, 160, 184, 194, 195, 209, 226, 229, 275 & fn, 276, 292 fn, 293 & fn, 294, 341, 342, 386, 453, 454, 603; Constitution of, 407; Karens of, 225
 Butler, R.A. (VOL. 17, P. 448), 159 & fn, 392
 Cairo, 97, 160, 167, 173, 215, 216 & fn, 218 fn, 222 fn, 228 & fn, 229 fn, 310, 567 & fn, 590
 Calcutta (Kolkata), 25, 26, 49, 185, 285 fn, 366 fn, 391 fn, 441 fn, 449 fn, 456, 459 fn, 470, 574, 594 & fn,
 Cambodia, 97 fn, 122 fn, 123 & fn, 133, 139 fn, 152, 155, 184-187, 188 & fn, 192, 193 & fn, 194-196, 197 & fn, 307 fn, 453, 568, 585, 586
 Canada, 129 fn, 159 fn, 161 fn, 164, 167 & fn, 169, 174, 189, 206, 209, 292 fn, 307 fn, 565, 578, 602 fn
 Casey, R.G. (*Vol. 13, p. 608*), 191 & fn
 Ceylon (Sri Lanka), 71, 97 fn, 101 & fn, 132, 134, 142, 155, 159, 161 fn, 209, 211, 273 & fn, 274 & fn, 275-277, 315, 316, 453, 454, 565, 603
 Chakravarty, B.N. (VOL. 27, P. 389), 274 & fn, 277

- _____, Renu (VOL. 18, P. 335), 400 & fn
- Chambal river, 57
- Chandigarh, 25 & fn, 26, 27, 28 & fn, 29, 31, 177, 596
- Chandiwalla, Brij Krishna, 519 & fn
- Chatterjee, N.C. (VOL. 6, P. 51), 394 & fn, 395-398, 400, 403, 471, 472
- Chaudhuri, Nabakrushna (*Vol. 6, p. 44*), 72 & fn, 440 & fn
- Chenab river, 254, 255, 263
- Chettiar, T.S.A., 410 & fn
- Chiang Kai-shek (*Vol. 10, p. 74*); 134 & fn, 135, 164, 169, 173, 175, 179, 321, 510, 578, 585
- China, People's Republic of, 12, 15, 16, 21, 22, 30, 61, 80, 81, 85, 97 & fn, 107, 115 & fn, 121-123, 131, 132, 134 & fn, 135 & fn, 136, 138, 139 & fn, 140, 142, 149, 151-153, 155, 156, 159 fn, 160 & fn, 161, 162 fn, 163 & fn, 164-167, 168 & fn, 169, 170, 171 & fn, 172-175, 177-179, 180 fn, 182 & fn, 183, 184, 187, 190, 192, 193 fn, 196, 205, 212 fn, 214, 223, 224, 235 fn, 269, 284, 309, 317, 322, 330, 333, 380, 411, 414, 454, 549, 565, 566, 578, 585, 586
- Chittaranjan, 51, 61, 76, 154
- Chittorgarh (Chittor), 53 & fn, 54-56, 59, 60 fn
- Chopra, Inder Sen, 222 & fn
- Chou En-lai (VOL. 15, Pt. I, P. 118), 52, 115 & fn, 124, 131, 132, 134, 135 & fn, 136, 138 & fn, 139 & fn, 140, 141, 144, 151, 152 & fn, 153, 155, 159, 161-163, 166 & fn, 167, 168 & fn, 169, 170, 178 & fn, 179, 180, 181 & fn, 183, 192-196, 214, 283, 284, 330, 335 & fn, 336, 337, 338 & fn, 411, 535, 536, 585
- Churchill, Clementine, 288 & fn
- _____, Winston (*Vol. 4, p. 52*), 105 & fn, 111, 118, 159, 161 fn, 167, 198, 254, 288 & fn, 341, 342, 509 fn
- Clutterbuck, P.A. (VOL. 22, P. 372), 310 fn, 321 & fn, 322 & fn
- Cochin (Kochi), 543
- Colombo, 276, 360 fn
- Colombo Plan, 360 & fn
- Colombo Powers, 100 fn, 104, 106, 163, 172, 180, 229
- Cominform, 121
- Commonwealth of Nations, 218, 227, 229, 360 fn, 494, 495
- Commonwealth PMs' Conference (London, January-February 1955), 158, 160, 161 & fn, 162 & fn, 167, 168 & fn, 171 fn, 172, 174, 176 fn, 205, 231, 341, 565, 593 fn
- Communist Party of India, 165, 400 fn, 405 fn, 507, 508 & fn, 509, 537, 538 fn, 569 fn, 603
- Community Projects Scheme, 23, 31, 41, 89, 90, 154, 359 & fn, 367-370, 372-375, 377, 385, 386, 439, 462, 463 & fn, 488, 548, 569, 581
- Congress, Indian National, 9, 10, 23, 24, 36, 37, 39 & fn, 46, 47, 51, 67, 79, 90, 91 & fn, 100, 187, 224, 286 fn, 349, 376, 432, 440, 448, 476 fn, 482, 489 fn, 499 & fn, 500 & fn, 508 & fn, 509, 537 & fn, 538 & fn, 539 & fn, 540, 541 fn, 542, 546 & fn, 547, 548, 549, 553 fn, 554 & fn, 559, 569; Avadi session of, 6, 9, 67, 90, 539 & fn, 540, 541, 545, 546, 547, 569, 573; Berhampur session of, 74 & fn, 90, 243, 420; Lahore session of, 53 fn; Parliamentary Party of, 144 fn; Working Committee of, 92, 213, 360 & fn, 420, 440, 447 fn, 464, 465 & fn, 466, 467, 510 & fn, 547 fn
- Constituent Assembly (India), 391, 395, 407 fn, 476 fn, 573
- Constitution (Indian), 4, 8, 48 & fn, 49, 92, 93, 218, 233, 253, 274, 285, 315, 327, 384, 390 & fn, 391 & fn, 392-398, 403, 404, 407, 408, 464 & fn, 465 fn, 468 & fn, 505, 512 fn, 524,

- 546, 550 fn, 573; Directive Principles, 390, 391; Fundamental Rights, 396
 Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 48 fn, 49, 390 fn, 392 & fn, 393-395, 403-405, 409 fn, 560, 571, 573, 586
 Cooper, John Sherman, 283 & fn, 284
 Council of Scientific & Industrial Research, 557 & fn, 558
 Cripps, Stafford (*Vol. 7, p. 471*), 499 & fn
 Cuttack, 74, 76, 282 fn
 Czechoslovakia, 101 & fn, 145, 146, 284, 427 fn, 580, 590

 Dacca (Dhaka), 245
 Dalai Lama (VOL. 16, Pt. II, P. 647); 135 & fn
 Damodar Valley Project, 31, 42, 51, 61, 404, 439
 Dandi (Gujarat), 21
 Darjeeling, 282 fn, 598 fn, 599 fn
 Das, Govind (*Vol. 7, p. 660*), 554 & fn, 555 & fn
 Dasappa, H.C. (*Vol. 8, p. 578*), 416 & fn
Das Kapital (Karl Marx), 80
 Delhi, 9, 14, 25, 26, 31, 32, 36, 37 fn, 38 & fn, 39 & fn, 45 fn, 56, 57, 60 fn, 64, 71, 76, 93, 112, 130, 131, 142, 143, 144 fn, 160, 167, 176, 179, 189 fn, 196, 197 fn, 217 fn, 222 fn, 231, 232, 237, 238, 239, 242, 243, 246, 249, 266, 267, 285 fn, 292 & fn, 299, 313 fn, 317, 328 & fn, 347 & fn, 349, 350, 354 & fn, 355 fn, 366 & fn, 373 fn, 393, 405, 412, 427 fn, 436, 438, 449 fn, 450 fn, 452, 456, 458 & fn, 459 & fn, 460, 461, 463, 470, 475, 482-485, 490, 507, 508, 515, 516 & fn, 517 & fn, 518, 519 & fn, 532, 534 & fn, 535, 536 & fn, 547 fn, 553, 576, 577, 579, 590, 593, 596, 597
 Delhi University, 458 fn, 459, 461 & fn, 462, 463
 Desai, C.C. (VOL. 7, P. 628), 234 & fn, 236 fn, 237 fn, 238 & fn, 241 fn, 242 & fn, 243, 244, 245 & fn, 246 fn
 _____, Morarji (*Vol. 13, p. 5*), 298 & fn, 299, 303 fn
 Deshmukh, C.D. (*Vol. 15, p. 635*), 12 & fn, 367, 392, 416
 _____, P.S. (*Vol. 5, p. 368*), 433 & fn
 Deshpande, V.G., 404 & fn, 405, 407, 408, 409
 Dey, S.K. (VOL. 6, P. 96), 463 & fn
 Dhar, D.P. (VOL. 14, Pt. II, P. 153), 356 & fn
 Dhebar, U.N. (VOL. 16, Pt. II, P. 727), 81, 91 & fn, 285, 286, 432, 467, 480, 500, 512, 514, 539, 545 fn, 546
 Dibrugarh, 364 & fn
 Dixon, Owen (VOL. 14, Pt. I, P. 205), 250 & fn
 Djakarta, 97, 99, 100 & fn, 129, 180, 237, 243, 323, 328, 330, 333, 338, 551, 597
 Dogra, P.N. (VOL. 16, Pt. I, P. 374), 350 & fn
 Doulatram, Jairamdas (*Vol. 4, p. 136*), 479 & fn, 487, 490 & fn, 492
 Dulles, John Foster (VOL. 1, P. 572), 98 & fn, 135 fn, 152 fn, 159 fn, 166, 176 & fn, 178, 181, 192 & fn, 194-196, 566, 578
 Durga Das (VOL. 8, P. 311), 533 & fn, 534
 Durgapur, 362 & fn
 Dutt, Subimal (VOL. 7, P. 644), 130 & fn, 152, 188 fn, 242 fn, 321 fn

 East Pakistan, 237 & fn, 255, 256 & fn, 278 fn, 315, 575 fn
 Eden, Anthony (*Vol. 7, p. 105*), 112 & fn, 159, 161, 166, 167, 169, 178 & fn, 180, 182 fn, 188, 189, 193, 195, 287, 335 fn, 340 & fn, 341, 509 & fn, 521
 _____, Clarissa, 509 & fn
 Egypt, 62, 97 & fn, 124, 131, 140-142, 152, 216 & fn-218 & fn, 219, 220, 221, 222 fn, 227, 228, 229 & fn, 238, 311 fn, 427 fn, 567 & fn, 568, 579
 Einstein, Albert (*Vol. 2, p. 280*), 309 & fn

- Eisenhower, Dwight D. (*Vol. 14, p. 28*),
112 & fn, 135 fn, 152 fn, 159 fn, 175,
176 fn, 177, 181, 182, 330, 566
- el-Azem, Khaled, 101 & fn
- El Azhari, Sayed Ismail, 143 & fn, 217
fn, 218, 219, 228
- Elizabeth II (VOL. 4, P. 608), 341 &
fn, 342
- El Khouri, Faris Bey (VOL. 6, P. 171),
215 & fn, 216 fn
- Elmhirst, L.K. (*Vol. 9, p. 324*) 597 & fn
- Elwin, V. (VOL. 21, P. 584), 492 & fn,
493
- Ethiopia, 97 fn, 141, 219
- Europe, 3, 4, 25, 26, 30, 31, 43, 48, 52,
55, 60, 62, 67, 69, 80, 115, 126-128,
133, 157, 158, 209, 213, 229, 254, 264,
305, 315, 323, 340, 371, 400, 421 fn,
422, 462, 474, 570, 579, 584, 596, 607
- Evacuee Property Law, 561 & fn
- Fawzi, Mahmoud, 216 & fn
- FICCI, 3 fn
- Five Year Plan (First), 9, 13, 31, 38, 45,
56, 57, 59, 67, 86, 87, 90, 366 fn, 369,
372, 379, 381, 382, 384, 386, 387, 438,
572, 580, 587, 588
- Five Year Plan (Second), 12, 24, 31-33;
38, 45, 59, 67, 75-77, 79, 88, 89, 251,
284, 285 & fn, 359, 364, 367-374, 376-
380, 382, 388, 416, 423, 427, 436, 438,
548, 549 fn, 572, 580, 581, 587, 588,
589, 608
- France, 63, 102, 104, 122 fn, 163, 192,
206, 209, 250 fn, 307 fn, 407, 571 &
fn, 575, 579, 584 fn, 585 fn
- Franklin, Benjamin, 84 & fn
- Gadgil, D.R. (*Vol. 15, p. 248*), 285 & fn,
382, 588
- Gadulia Lohars, 53 & fn, 59, 60 fn
- Gandhi, Devadas (*Vol. 1, p. 260*), 534 fn
_____, Indira (*Vol. 1, p. 232*), 158 fn, 193
fn, 291, 510 & fn
_____, Mahatma, 9, 10, 12, 13, 19, 21, 43,
54 & fn, 56, 57, 70, 107, 187, 224,
225, 280, 283, 313, 326, 327, 402, 410
fn, 420 fn, 438, 478 fn, 506 fn, 516,
519 fn, 541, 548, 594, 595, 601 & fn,
602 & fn
- Gautama Buddha (Siddharth), 270, 450
& fn, 451, 452 & fn, 453 fn, 476, 478
fn
- Geneva, 118, 122 & fn, 123, 153, 161,
163, 202 fn, 203, 205 fn, 207, 307 &
fn, 574, 584 fn
- Geneva Agreement (1954), 122 & fn, 123,
133, 136, 139, 180, 185, 189 & fn,
190, 191, 193, 194, 307, 308, 321 fn,
575, 578, 585, 586
- Geneva conference (August 1955), 205
& fn, 207 & fn, 208 & fn, 283, 307 &
fn, 330
- Germany (West), 41, 63, 283 fn, 311, 322
& fn, 340, 378, 570 & fn, 579, 583 &
fn, 584 & fn
- Ghana (Gold Coast), 97 fn, 141, 143 & fn
- Ghosh, J.C. (VOL. 3, P. 418), 285 & fn,
383 & fn
- Goa, 101, 110, 298 & fn, 299-302 & fn,
303 & fn, 304, 315-317, 496, 501, 502,
590 & fn
- Goalpara district, 512, 513 & fn, 514 &
fn
- Gonds, 484 & fn
- Goonetilleke, O., 273 fn, 276
- Gorakhpur, 509
- Gracias, V. (VOL. 21, P. 380), 495 & fn,
496
- Graham, F. P. (VOL. 16, Pt. I, P. 376),
250 & fn
- Guatemala, 102 & fn, 104
- Gujarat, 419 fn, 427 fn, 484 fn
- Hammarckjoeld, Dag (VOL. 23, P. 511),
160 fn, 162 & fn
- Hanoi, 139, 191
- Hardwar, 79 fn, 559
- Himachal Pradesh, 264 fn, 520 & fn, 522,
523

- Himalayan Mountaineering Institute (Darjeeling), 598 fn, 599 fn
Himalayas, the, 439
Hindu Code Bill, 476 & fn
Hindu Mahasabha, All India, 64, 93, 355 fn, 394 fn, 404 fn, 504
Hindu Marriage Bill, 93 & fn, 144 & fn, 469 & fn, 470, 473, 474, 477, 478, 571, 574, 586 & fn
Hindu Succession Bill, 93, 144, 574
Hindustan Times, *The*, 366, 386 fn, 421 fn, 533 & fn, 534 fn
Hindu, *The*, 193 fn, 465 fn
Hirakud Project, 31, 51
Ho Chi Minh City, 308 fn
Holland, S.G., 161 fn
Hong Kong, 333, 334, 335 & fn, 336, 337, 585
Hussain, Zakir (*Vol. 3, p. 167*), 38 fn, 518 & fn
Hutheesing, K. (*Vol. I, p. 95*), 535 & fn
Hyderabad, city of, 282 fn; state of, 439, 511 & fn
Ibn Abdel Aziz, Malik Faisal, 143 & fn, 154, 222 & fn, 223 & fn, 224, 225, 227, 228, 517 & fn, 518
Ibn Saud, Abdul Aziz (VOL. 18, P. 207) 143 fn, 222 & fn, 223 & fn
Imkongmeren Ao, 479 & fn
Imperial Bank of India, 49, 68, 366 fn, 400
Indekue, J.J., 496 & fn
India, Government of, 7, 74, 90, 129 fn, 165, 170, 186, 196, 200 & fn, 201, 202 fn, 204, 223, 270, 273, 274, 287, 301, 319, 337, 347 fn, 348, 361 fn, 370, 378, 389 fn, 392 fn, 393, 396, 398, 402, 407, 417, 423, 427 & fn, 431, 443, 445, 446, 448, 451, 465 fn, 467, 491, 493, 499, 500, 505, 507, 518, 519 fn, 521 fn, 529, 532, 536, 547, 548, 550, 554, 561 fn, 569, 582, 586, 587, 596; Cabinet of, 89 fn, 200, 204, 205, 282, 367, 419, 420 fn, 422, 425, 426, 428 fn, 430, 447, 448 fn, 450, 451, 531, 532, 556, 557, 560, 595; Republic of, 110
India Office Library & Records (London), 263 & fn
Indian Air Force, 227, 521 fn, 523-525, 527
Indian Army, 227, 523, 524, 525, 527, 529 fn
Indian Cattle Preservation Bill, 553 fn, 554 & fn, 555 & fn
Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 460
Indian Navy, 227, 521 fn, 523, 524, 525 & fn, 527, 530
Indo-China, 15, 58, 122 fn, 123, 133, 136, 140, 153, 155, 172, 176 fn, 180, 185, 188-191, 193, 194, 283, 307 & fn, 308, 321, 509, 510, 568, 575 & fn, 578, 585, 602; International Supervisory Commission for, 102, 193 & fn, 575 fn
Indonesia, 25, 61, 62, 71, 78, 97 & fn, 99 fn, 100 & fn, 104 fn, 116, 128 fn, 130, 131, 134, 137, 138 & fn, 142, 148, 150, 151, 155, 160, 184, 193 fn, 209, 238, 239, 295 & fn, 297, 305, 324, 336, 347, 352, 386, 410, 569, 575, 585
Industrial Revolution, 4, 11, 30, 63, 65, 80, 84, 115
International Atomic Energy Agency, 206 & fn, 207, 209
International Monetary Fund, 360
Iran, 101, 97 fn, 103, 322 fn, 567
Iraq, 97 fn, 103 & fn, 114, 115, 118, 120, 121, 132, 141, 215 & fn, 216, 217 fn, 579
Israel, 214-216, 217 & fn, 221, 226, 227, 229, 579
Jagdalpur (Chhattisgarh), 483
Jain, A.P. (VOL. 10, P. 200), 293 & fn, 319, 348, 354, 491, 560 fn
Jaipur, 57, 282 fn

- Jalalabad, 278 & fn
 Jallianwala Bagh, 322 fn, 325
 Jama Maskie!)Eemii)-!517!'!gn-!518
 Jamali, Mohammad Fadhil, 103 & fn, 114, 115, 118, 120, 121
 Jammu city, 240 fn, 529
 Jammu and Kashmir, 158, 231-236, 239 fn, 240 & fn, 241 & fn, 243 fn, 244, 248, 249, 251-253, 255, 258-261, 262 & fn, 318-320, 331 fn, 347 fn, 348-351, 353 & fn, 354 & fn, 356 & fn, 522, 590; Government of, 320, 348-350, 353, 354; Legislative Assembly of, 347 fn
 Jamshedpur steel plant, 88
 Jan Sangh, 93, 350, 355 fn, 535
 Japan, 16, 61, 129 fn, 209, 210, 295, 296, 435, 453
 Jeddah, 223
 Jenkins, Evan M. (VOL. 2, P. 138), 249 & fn
 Jha, C.S., 129 & fn, 130, 229 & fn, 292
 Jinnah, M.A. (*Vol. I, p. 168*), 278 & fn, 599
 Jordan, 97 fn, 132, 217 fn, 340, 567 fn, 579
 Joshi, Umashankar, 607 & fn, 608
 Jullundur (Jalandhar), 230, 252, 282 fn
 Jung, A.Y. (VOL. I, P. 588), 228 & fn, 229 fn
 —, Z.Y. (VOL. 15, Pt. II, P. 146), 511 & fn
 Kabul, 143, 278 & fn
 Kalelkar, D.B. (*Vol. 4, p. 384*), 461 & fn
 Kamath, H.V. (*Vol. 9, p. 397*), 478 & fn
 Kanpur, 431 fn, 509
 Kanungo, Nityanand, 427 & fn, 429 & fn
 Kanyakumari, 439
 Kao, R.N., 336, 337 & fn, 338 & fn
 Karachi, 176, 238, 239, 243, 278, 535, 601
 Kargil, 258, 522
 "Kashmir Princess" (Air India Constellation), 130, 333 & fn, 334, 335 & fn, 338, 576, 585
 Kathju, P.N. (*Vol. II, p. 308*), 557 & fn, 558 & fn
 Kathmandu, 264, 265, 267, 269, 271, 272
 Katju, K.N. (*Vol. I, p. 154*), 205 & fn, 521 & fn, 549
 Kaul, Prakash Narain, 170 & fn
 —, T.N. (VOL. 18, P. 550), 272 & fn
 Kaur, Amrit (*Vol. II, p. 274*), 497 & fn, 506 & fn, 516, 519, 556 & fn
 Kennedy, Donald, 298 & fn
 Keskar, B.V. (*Vol. II, p. 15*), 341 & fn, 531 & fn
 Khadi & Village Industries Board, 425
 Khaliquzzaman, C. (*Vol. I, p. 330*), 97 fn
 Khan, Ghazanfar Ali (VOL. I, P. 191), 230 & fn, 241-243, 245, 601 fn
 —, Hakim Ajmal (*Vol. 9, p. 655*); 39 & fn
 —, Khan Abdul Ghaffar (*Vol. 4, p. 293*), 280 & fn, 576
 —, Liaquat Ali (*Vol. 10, p. 356*), 249 & fn
 —, Mir Osman Ali (Nizam), (VOL. I, P. 291), 511 & fn, 512 & fn, 518
 —, Mohammad Naim, 143 & fn, 153, 278, 280 fn, 328 fn
 Khan Sahib (*Vol. 4, p. 467*), 280 & fn
 Khanna, M.C. (*Vol. 14, p. 577*), 256 & fn, 560 & fn, 561
 Khanolkar, V.R. (VOL. 27, P. 422), 204 & fn, 205
 Kidwai, A.J., 129 & fn
 —, R.A. (*Vol. I, p. 270*), 319 & fn, 348, 353, 354
 —, Shafiq-ur-Rahman (VOL. 22, P. 533), 38 & fn, 39
 Kinsey, Alfred C., 472 & fn
 Kishenganga river, 255
 Koirala, M.P. (VOL. 2, P. 476), 265 & fn, 266
 Korea, 122, 132, 165, 193, 307 fn, 578; North, 166
 Kosi Project, 360 & fn, 361 & fn, 364, 386 & fn, 387 & fn
 Kosi river, 22, 387

- Kotelawala, John (*Vol. 10, p. 4*), 101 & fn, 106, 134, 161 fn, 180, 273 & fn, 274 & fn
- Kothari, D.S. (VOL. 27, P. 384), 202 & fn, 204, 205
- Kripalani, J.B. (*Vol. 1, p. 237*), 513 fn, 514 fn, 546 & fn
- _____, Sucheta (*Vol. 9, p. 469*), 486 & fn, 546
- Krishnamachari, T.T. (VOL. 7, P. 447), 396 & fn, 417 & fn, 418 fn, 420 & fn, 422, 425, 428 & fn, 429 fn, 480 fn, 482 fn
- _____, V.T. (*Vol. 10, p. 412*), 362 & fn, 365, 371 fn, 582 fn
- Krishnaswami, A. (VOL. 26, P. 225), 175 & fn
- Kuomintang, 134 fn, 161, 173, 225, 336, 337, 566
- Kushinara (Uttar Pradesh), 452 & fn
- Ladakh, 522
- Ladies Home Journal*, 535 fn
- Lahore, 25, 230, 249, 252, 262, 568
- Lajpat Rai (*Vol. 1, p. 25*), 286 & fn
- Lalbai, Kasturbhai (VOL. 19, P. 480), 419 & fn
- Lall, Arthur S. (VOL. 10, P. 209), 208 fn
- _____, K.B., 129 & fn, 296
- Laos, 97 fn, 122 fn, 133, 139 & fn, 152, 189, 190 fn, 192, 194-196, 307 fn, 308, 453, 575; Government of, 189, 190 & fn, 194, 308 fn
- League of Nations, 118, 120
- Lebanon, 97 fn, 115 & fn, 117, 122, 132, 141, 217 fn, 340, 567 & fn, 579
- Le Corbusier (Charles Edourd Jeanneret), (VOL. 18, P. 115) 28 & fn
- Lhasa, 482
- Limaye, Madhu, 546 fn, 547 fn
- Lisbon, 317
- Lobo, B., 501
- Lohia, Rammanohar (*Vol. 7, p. 430*), 491 & fn, 546
- Lok Sabha, 46 fn, 48 fn, 60 & fn, 64, 68, 75, 89, 93, 142 fn, 144 & fn, 148 & fn, 154, 175 fn, 267, 268 & fn, 290 & fn, 305, 306, 308, 311, 312, 316-319, 321 & fn, 329 fn, 348 fn, 349, 350 & fn, 351, 353 fn, 355 fn, 356 fn, 377 fn, 390 fn, 394 & fn, 395, 397, 399, 400 fn, 401, 403, 404 & fn, 405 fn, 409 fn, 410 fn, 416 fn, 436, 465 fn, 469 fn, 475, 476, 478 fn, 486 fn, 509 fn, 513 fn, 518 fn, 523, 525 fn, 553 fn, 554 fn, 555 fn, 556, 571 fn, 574 fn, 582 fn, 586 & fn,
- London, 158 fn, 160, 183, 231, 249, 263, 311 fn, 341, 457, 494, 526 fn, 528, 565, 570, 571, 593 & fn
- London University, 462
- Lucknow, 282 fn, 449 fn
- Ludhiana, 504
- Lumbini, 270, 271, 449 fn, 452 & fn, 453
- Macdonald, Malcolm, 334 & fn
- Madhya Bharat, 57, 60, 439, 495 fn, 496 fn
- Madhya Pradesh, 17, 439, 452 fn, 483 fn, 484 fn, 495 fn, 496 & fn, 500, 501, 502, 505
- Madras, city of (Chennai), 213 fn, 301, 418, 449 fn, 459 fn, 470; state of, 32, 92, 410 fn, 439, 466 fn, 539 fn
- Maha Bodhi Society of India, 449 & fn, 454
- Mahajani, G.S., 461 & fn, 463
- Mahalanobis, P.C. (*Vol. 11, p. 293*), 89 & fn, 284, 285 fn, 367, 382, 383, 388, 587, 598
- Maharashtra, 15 fn, 484 fn,
- Mahmud, Syed (VOL. 22, P. 419), 129 & fn
- Malaviya, G. (*Vol. 1, p. 263*), 509 & fn
- Malaya, 156, 209
- Malkani, N.R., 386 fn
- Manchuria, 165, 296
- Manila, 44, 122 & fn, 307 & fn
- Manila agreement (SEATO), 122 & fn, 131, 149, 150, 165, 189, 250 fn, 307 & fn, 309, 321, 567

- Manipur, 292 fn, 486 & fn, 491
 Manu, 64, 471, 472, 474
 Masani, M.R. (*Vol. 6, p. 135*), 284 & fn
 Mata Prasad, 557 & fn, 558 & fn
 Mathew, P.C. (VOL. 27, P. 468), 486 & fn
 Matsu island, 98, 169, 309, 317, 321, 510, 566, 577, 578
 Mao Tse-tung (*Vol. 10, p. 75*), 411
 Martin, Kingsley (VOL. 16, Pt. II, P. 338), 507 & fn, 508, 509
 Marx, Karl (*Vol. 1, p. 140*), 4, 46, 80, 81, 413
 Masoodi, M.S. (VOL. 18, P. 397), 356 & fn
 Mathai, M.O. (*Vol. 15, p. 385*), 282 & fn, 341, 534 & fn
 Mavalankar, G.V. (VOL. 2, P. 614), 290 & fn
 Mecca, 142
 Medhi, Bisnuram (*Vol. 8, p. 483*), 364 & fn, 479, 487-490, 513 fn
 Meerut district, 497, 505
 Mehrotra, O.P., 455 & fn
 Mehta, Asoka, 546 fn
 —, G.L. (*Vol. 13, p. 548*), 176 fn, 342 & fn
 —, V.L. (VOL. 26, P. 267), 421 & fn
 Mendes-France, P. (VOL. 26, P. 355), 571 & fn
 Menon, K.P.S. (*Vol. 15, p. 326*), 290 & fn
 —, P. Govinda (VOL. 2, P. 225), 432 & fn
 —, V.K. Krishna (*Vol. 7, p. 15*), 130 & fn, 136, 139, 144, 152 & fn, 153, 175, 176 fn, 177-179, 180 & fn, 181 & fn, 182, 183 fn, 190, 195, 283, 297, 313 fn, 330, 343, 585
 Menshikov, M.A., 290 & fn, 291
 Menzies, Robert A. (VOL. 15, Pt. II, P. 276), 159 & fn, 161 fn
 Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 129 fn, 396 fn, 417 fn, 425, 427, 428, 460, 506, 582; Communications, 289 & fn, 424, 506; Defence, 129 fn, 423, 424, 523, 530; Education, 449, 451, 454, 461, 463, 464, 518; External Affairs, 239, 304, 342, 348, 351, 449, 451, 454, 461, 463, 487, 506 fn, 532 & fn, 533, 536 fn, 551; Finance, 89, 382, 580, 588; Food & Agriculture, 247, 554, 555; Health, 506, 517; Home Affairs, 337 fn, 447, 448 fn, 465, 467, 497, 496, 515, 519, 535, 536 & fn; Information & Broadcasting, 449, 451, 531, 536, 596 fn; Iron & Steel, 396 & fn, 424, 425, 428 & fn; Irrigation & Power, 239, 240, 347; Law, 281, 536 fn; Natural Resources & Scientific Research, 430; Production, 362 fn, 363, 417 fn, 419 & fn, 424 & fn, 425, 427, 428; Railways, 423, 424; Rehabilitation, 514, 517 fn, 595; Transport, 451, 454, 523 & fn; Works, Housing & Supply, 421 & fn, 516, 517, 550 fn;
 Mirpur, 260, 261
 Mirza, Iskander (VOL. 23, P. 453), 236 fn, 246 & fn, 247, 248, 252, 253, 255, 256 & fn, 257-262, 590
 Mohammad, Bakshi Ghulam (*Vol. 9, p. 440*), 239 & fn, 240, 319, 347 & fn, 348, 351-353, 355 fn, 356 & fn, 534
 Mohammed, Ghulam (VOL. 5, P. 80), 231 & fn, 232 fn, 234, 235, 236 & fn, 237 & fn, 238, 241, 242 fn, 243 fn, 244 fn, 245 & fn, 246 & fn, 254, 256, 258-262, 278 fn, 317, 575 fn
 Molotov, V.M. (VOL. 1, P. 134), 163 & fn, 164, 169-172, 174
 Morocco, 101, 102, 104 & fn, 105, 106, 110, 146, 238
 Moscow, 170 fn, 290, 291, 532 fn
 Mountbatten, Lady (Edwina Ashley), (VOL. 3, P. 43), 141 & fn
 —, Louis (*Vol. 13, p. 276*), 248 & fn, 280 fn, 521 & fn, 526, 528 & fn
 Mukherjee, H.N. (VOL. 18, P. 335), 335 & fn, 408

- _____, Subroto (VOL. 12, P. 471), 521 & fn, 528 & fn
- Mullik, B.N. (VOL. 26, P. 480), 600 & fn
- Mulraj, 245 fn, 246, 254, 258, 259
- Munich, 457
- Munshi, K.M. (*Vol. 5, p. 292*), 455 fn
- Muslim League, 499
- Muzaffarabad, 248
- Mysore, 439, 484 fn
- Nadar, K. Kamaraj (VOL. 17, P. 327), 466 & fn
- Naga National Council, 479 fn, 488 fn
- Nagpur, 14, 175, 238 fn, 282 fn, 351 & fn, 352, 501, 596, 597, 599
- Nair, K.P. Madhavan (VOL. 27, P. 303), 432 & fn
- Nanda, Gulzarilal (*Vol. 9, p. 309*), 21 & fn, 361, 387 fn
- Narayan, J.P. (*Vol. 4, p. 305*), 284 & fn, 285
- Narendra Deva (*Vol. 4, p. 367*), 24 & fn
- Narendra, K., 534 & fn
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel (VOL. 23, P. 50), 97 & fn, 132, 142, 143, 152, 153, 217 fn, 219-221, 222 fn, 228 fn, 229, 328 fn, 567
- National Conference, 248, 350, 353, 354, 356 fn
- National Development Council, 367, 368, 371, 373, 378, 383, 580 & fn, 587, 588
- National Extension Service Scheme, 23, 31, 41, 370, 372, 374 & fn, 375, 385, 386, 488, 548, 581
- National Museum (New Delhi), 456, 458
- National Plan Loan, 389 & fn
- Neguib, Mohammed (VOL. 21, P. 462), 218 & fn
- Nehru, Braj Kumar (*Vol. 1, p. 283*), 129 & fn, 207 fn, 209 fn, 296
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 37 fn, 48 fn, 53 fn, 70 fn, 91, 93 fn, 100 fn, 128 fn, 129 fn, 148 fn, 157 fn, 158 fn, 160 fn, 161 fn, 162 fn, 163 fn, 165, 166, 171 fn, 178 fn, 184-187, 188 & fn, 189, 198, 199, 200 fn, 207 fn, 208 fn, 209 fn, 212 fn, 216 fn, 217, 218 fn, 222 fn, 228 & fn, 229 fn, 232, 236 fn, 237 fn, 238 fn, 239, 240 fn, 241 fn, 245 fn, 246 fn, 260-262, 267, 274 fn, 282 fn, 285, 286 fn, 293 fn, 295 fn, 300, 303, 304, 307 fn, 310 fn, 311 fn, 313 fn, 322 fn, 328 & fn, 331 & fn, 335 fn, 338 fn, 340, 347 fn, 351, 353 fn, 359, 362 fn, 363, 365 fn, 368-370, 371 & fn, 372, 373 & fn, 380, 386, 388, 392 fn, 393, 396, 400, 403, 407, 417 fn, 418 fn, 421 fn, 427 fn, 428 fn, 429 fn, 444, 450 fn, 455 fn, 459 fn, 461 fn, 465 fn, 468, 472, 476, 478 & fn, 479 fn, 480 fn, 482 fn, 490 fn, 495 fn, 497 fn, 499, 500 & fn, 502 fn, 503 & fn, 505, 506 fn, 513 fn, 514 fn, 517 fn, 520 fn, 521 fn, 523 & fn, 525 fn, 528 fn, 532 fn, 533, 534 & fn, 538 fn, 544 fn, 545 fn, 547, 548 & fn, 549, 550 fn, 551 fn, 553 fn, 555 fn, 558 fn, 560 fn, 574 fn, 580 fn, 582 fn, 593 fn, 596 fn, 598 fn, 603-605, 606 & fn, 607, 608
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, answers. questionnaire of Louis Gibarti, 157-58, questions of Umashankar Joshi, 607-609
- converses, in Bandung with, Chou En-lai and U Nu, 124, 192-94, 195-96, Chou En-lai, 179, 335-337, in New Delhi with, Norodom Sihanouk, 184-187, Pham Van Dong, 188-190, Gamal Abdel Nasser, 216-217, 219-222, Sayed Ismail el-Azhari, 217-219, Amir Faisal, 222-227, Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza, 246-263, John Sherman Cooper, 283-284
- drafts note on, the banning of production and use of nuclear weapons, Bandung, 210
- gives interview to, Margaret Chase Smith, New Delhi, 603-606
- inaugurates, in New Delhi, twenty-eighth

- annual session of FICCI, 3-13, first National Convention of Farmers, 433-440, a film seminar, 441-447, in Chandigarh, a new building of the Punjab High Court, 25-38
- meets the press in New Delhi, 300-304, 328-332, 380-389, 431, 503-505
- sends messages to, Anthony Eden, 138-140, 196-197, 338, U Nu, 159-160, 171-173, 197, John Foster Dulles, 181-182, fourth conference of Development Commissioners of Community Projects Administration, 373-375, on the occasion of Prohibition Week in Bombay, 552-553, on the occasion of the fifth All India Police Athletics and Sports Meet in Ranchi, 594;
- speaks at, the third convention of the All India Bharat Sevak Samaj, Nagpur, 14-25, a gathering of Congress Party workers of Uttar Pradesh, Hardwar, 79-93, the closed sessions of the Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 100-124, and the concluding session, 125-128, meetings of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 144-156, 410-416, 525-526, Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, second meeting, 340, third meeting, 198-199, fourth meeting, 359-360, eighth meeting, 165-166, a banquet in honour of Anthony Eden, New Delhi, 286-287, a reception in honour of Gamal Abdel Nasser and Mohammad Naim Khan, New Delhi, 348-351, the fourth meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 368-373, the AICC meeting, Berhampur, 375-377, while laying the foundation stone of a new building for the National Museum, New Delhi, 456-458, the third All India Tribal Welfare Conference, Jagdalpur, 483-485, a meeting of the Congress Zonal organisers, New Delhi, 547-549
- speaks at public meetings in, Chandigarh, 28-38, New Delhi, 38-52, 60-70, Chittorgarh, 53-60, Berhampur, 70-79
- speaks in Lok Sabha on, death of King of Nepal, 267-268, India and World Affairs, 304-320, the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 393-409, the Hindu Marriage Bill, 468-478, and new designations of the Commanders-in-Chief, 523-525
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, on
- Adult suffrage*, 4, 607
- Afghanistan*, relations between Pakistan and, 158, 229, 278-280
- Africa*, problems of, 11, 51, 62, 128, 314-315, 375, racial injustices inflicted on the people of, 128, alleged designs of India in, 226, awakening in, 323, problems faced in India by students from, 459-463
- African studies*, setting up of a school of, 459, 461-463
- Agriculture*, 433-434
- Air India aircraft disaster*, 179, 333-339, 576, 585, talks with Chou En-lai on, 335-337, effect on release of US airmen in China, 284, 585
- Akali agitation*, 498, 500, 502-503, 590
- Akharas*, misuse of, 82
- Allahabad*, state of Congress Party affairs in, 545
- Allahabad University*, indiscipline in, 455
- All-India Institute of Medical Sciences*, proposed advisory council for, 556-557
- Ambar charkha*, 77, 84, 420-421
- Andhra*, irresponsible statement of Kingsley Martin on Congress rule in, 507-509, land reforms in, 508, Congress victory in elections in, 187, 508, 541-542, formation of ministry in, 510-511
- Anthony Eden*, visit to India by, 509
- Anthropology*, need for a training institute for, 493
- Arab states*, attitude of great powers to,

- 215, corruption in, 220, 222, pact for self-defence of, 221, India's alleged opposition to, 224, relations with, 226, effect of Baghdad Pact on, 310, 340, conflict with Israel, 215, 217, 226-227, 579
- Armament*, dangers of, 107-108, 311, 332
- Asaf Ali*, death of, 38-39
- Asia*, problems of, 11, 41, 62, 375, emergence of a new consciousness in, 71, 154, 305, 323, 326, 565, position of women in, 143, alleged aspiration of India for the leadership of, 224, 226
- Asian-African Conference*, Joint Secretariat of, 98, 124, arrangements for, 99-100, 130-131, 142, 515-516, Indian delegation to, 129-130, foreign delegations at, 130-131, 144, assembly of representatives of diverse cultures at, 61, 143, representation of the press at, 130, 144, 157, pro-US countries at, 141, participation of Australia and New Zealand at, 128, participation of Israel at, 214, stand taken by participants at, 131-133, discussion on problems of dependent peoples at, 100-106, 146, issues on nuclear policy taken up at, 205-212, absence of racial or anti-Western feelings at, 140, Pakistani propaganda against India's policies at, 229, apprehensions of Eleanor Roosevelt about decisions on nuclear policy and other matters reached at, 212, 214, joint communique issued by, 130, 133, 136, 142, 145, 158, his own role at, 132, 145, 147, his losing temper at, 142, role played by India at, 136, inherent limitations of, 98, 101, 103, 146, 148, 305, comments in foreign press on, 154, 228, 583, holding of the next session of, 124, achievements of, 61, 124-128, 133, 136, 140, 144-145, 151, 154, 157-158, 305, 324
- Assam*, demand for a separate hill state in, 480-481, 487, 489, development of hill areas in, 488, policy towards the minorities in, 482, 513, proposed institute of tribal dancing in, 488-489, agitation against Bengalis in, 512-514, attitude of Muslims to the Government of, 513
- Astrological predictions*, 57-58
- Atomic energy*, peaceful uses of, 5, 11, 69, 85, 207, 312, 575, see also headings under 'nuclear'
- Austria*, independence of, 584
- Baghdad Pact*, Pakistan's membership of, 238, 250, 258, 322, 331, adherence by UK to, 238, 310, 322, breaking up of Arab League due to, 310
- Bandung*, accepting hospitality of a British firm at, 100, cleanliness at, 137, conference facilities at, 130-131, 515-516
- Berhampur*, original name of, 70
- Bertrand Russell*, enquiry into the effects of nuclear warfare proposed by, 199-200, 574
- Bhakra-Nangal*, controversy about change in chief engineers at, 365, production of electric power at, 365-366, 438, services of foreign engineers at, 435, 596
- Bhoodan movement*, 74, 438
- Bhutan*, relations with, 291-292
- Bilateral relations*, realistic basis of, 294, 297
- Books*, influence and readership of, 444-445
- Bribery and corruption*, spoiling of Indian society by foreign powers through, 91
- Buddha Jayanti celebrations*, programmes for, 270-271, 449-454, participation of representatives from Buddhist countries in the organisation of, 453-454
- Cambodia*, training of the army in, 185, 586, freedom movement in, 187, referendum on monarchy in, 568, US military agreement with, 585-586, US pressure on, 597

- Casteism*, 17, 33, 45, 58-59, 79, 542
- C.C. Desai*, visit to a shrine by, 245, criticism of treatment of Sikh visitors in Pakistan, 230, comments on fate of Muslims in India in event of reopening of Kashmir question, 241
- Chandigarh*, new city of, 26-27, 29, 596, High Court building at, 27
- Children*, welfare of, 14, kidnapping and misuse of, 82, cultivation of virtues in, 446
- China*, absence of caste system in, 21, people's participation in large scale projects in, 22, US nationals in, 177, US airmen under detention in, 140, 177, 179, 182, 284, 330, 585, acceptance of UN Charter by, 149, recognition of, 223, relations between Soviet Union and, 223-224, private sector economy in, 411, cooperatives in, 549, revolution in, 165, 565, see also Taiwan
- Chou En-lai*, conduct at Bandung of, 131-132, 134, 141-142, 214, his talks with, 134-135, 155, 192-195, 335-337, N. Raghavan's interview with, 166-167, V.K. Krishna Menon's, talks with, 136, 139, 180-181, 183, 283, 330, 585
- Christian missionaries*, 482, 490, 494-496, 505
- Christians*, treatment of, 495-497, 500, 505
- Coexistence*, 109, 119, 121, 123-124, 286-287, cold war as an alternative to, 109, co-destruction as an alternative to, 314
- Collective security*, 148-149, 254
- Colonialism*, 101-102, 104, 110-111, 127, 145
- Commonwealth of Nations*, India's association with, 218, 227, effect of military alliance between UK and Pakistan on another member of, 322, rules regarding missionaries from countries of, 494-495
- Commonwealth PMs' Conference* (London, 1955), 159-163, 167-168, 174, 565-566, impressions about participants at, 159
- Communalism*, 17, 24, 34, 44-45, 78-79, 542
- Communist countries*, methods of development adopted by, 3, 32, 67, 371, UK attempt to preclude direct communications between India and, 289
- Communists*, methods of working of, 37, 48, 607, meeting the challenge of, 165, 223, 604, alleged dominance in India of, 285, defeat in the Andhra elections, 187, 508-509, 604
- Community Projects scheme*, 23, 41, 62, 89, 90, 359, 367, 372, 373-375, 377, 385, 438-439, 548, 569, 581, implementation of Second Five Year Plan through, 369
- Congress Party*, strengthening of, 90, 541, 545, 548 fn, need for healthy opposition to, 24, 51, alleged induction of members from other parties to, 24, 538, 570, proposed merger of PSP with, 546-547, return of former Congressmen to, 542, attitude of the Muslims of Assam to, 482, participation in a violent agitation in Assam by members of, 513-514, search by US for agents in, 286 fn, inclusion of women in the committees of, 93, organisation of the women's department of AICC, 510, resolutions passed at the Avadi session of AICC, 6, 9, 46, 540-541, 573
- Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill*, 390-416, and apprehension among foreign investors, 392-393, 399-400, 408-409, 573
- Cooperatives*, 385, industrial cooperatives, 549
- Cow-slaughter*, demand for banning of, 553-556, 569, 574, his readiness to resign on the issue of, 555 fn

- C. Rajagopalachari*, statement on US aid and nuclear non-proliferation, 211-212, on Sri Lanka becoming a part of India, 276, medium for all-India examinations, 466-468
- Creative activities*, encouragement to, 444, governmental interference in, 445
- Crude oil*, question of reduction of prices of, 421-422, prospecting for, 430
- Cottage and village industries*, development of, 31, 51, 77, 88, 369, 372, 376-377, 379, 385, 402, 423-424, 427, 429, 548-549, 581, 589
- Decentralisation*, 608-609, role of technological developments in, 608,
- Defence*, role of sea power in, 525-526, self-reliance in production of equipment for, 527, 530
- Defence industries*, surplus of technical manpower in, 426
- Defence Services*, replacement of British officers in, 227, abolition of the title of Commander-in-Chief in, 521, 523-525
- Delhi*, compensation to dispossessed land holders in, 405, lack of conference facilities at, 130, 142, 515-516, felling of trees in, 516-517, putting up of a market in front of Red Fort in, 517, uncleanness in, 519, refugees in, 519, civic reception to foreign dignitaries at, 328 fn, 577, maintenance of Jama Masjid in, 517-518
- Democracy*, 4, 45, 66, 187, 384, 607-608, bypassing of considerations of caste, religion and politics in, 581
- Disarmament*, 118-121, 214, 311, 332
- Disintegrating tendencies*, 17, 24, 33-34, 44-45, 58-59, 78-79, 542, 590
- District officers*, charge of misbehaviour against, 559
- Durgapur project*, delay in the setting up of, 362-363
- East European countries*, sovereign and independent status of, 101-102, 145-146, formation of one joint command for, 332, 584
- East Pakistan*, migrations to India from, 237, 255-256, 576, situation in, 315
- Economy*, state of, 359-360, 366-367, 388, Thomas Balogh's critique of, 366, projected rate of growth of, 370, 377, 382-383, 388, 589, need for accelerated pace of development, 4-5, 16, 30, 32, 41, 62, 66, role of FICCI, 7
- Education system*, need for reform in, 19, 21, 343, 366-367, 372, 433-434, 581
- Egypt*, relations with, 216-217, 219, 221-222, 567-568, Western pressure on, 217, relations between Sudan and, 217-218, 222 & fn, 228-229, defence requirements of, 217, holding of elections in, 220, corruption in, 220, internal reforms in, 220-221, his visit to, 567, acts of aggression by Israel on, 579
- Elections*, role of caste and religion in, 34
- Electric power*, demand for, 365, 385, and process of decentralisation, 608
- Europe*, fading of cold war in, 158, 584
- Films*, censorship of, 442-443, 448, influence in India of, 444-445, for children, 446, crime films, 447-448
- Film industry*, 441-449
- First Five Year Plan*, achievements of, 9, 31, 87, 359, 369, 377, 387, 587
- Flood protection*, in Dibrugarh, 364
- Foreign aid*, criteria for acceptance of, 186, 211-213
- Foreign capital*, demand for seizure of, 49-50
- Foreign exchange*, saving of, 530
- Foreign money*, infiltration in Indian society, 91, fall of governments in West Asia due to, 91
- Foreign policy*, 10, 30, 184, 213, 224, 227, 238, 285, 304-332, 603, 605, 606 fn
- Foreign print media*, entry into India of, 531

- Freedom movement*, 54, 147, 224, 276, 325, 602, and achievement of independence by neighbouring countries, 603
- Frontier roads and communications*, development of, 522-523
- Gadulia Lohars*, return from self-exile, 53, scholarships to bright young men among, 60
- Gamal Abdel Nasser*, excitement at maiden foreign tour, 142, role played at Bandung by, 132, 152, relations with, 222, civic reception accorded in Delhi to, 328, estimation of, 567
- garlanding of leaders*, 14,
- Geneva Agreement* (1954), achievements of, 123, 185, 307, India's role in the success of, 330
- Germany (West)*, rearmament of, 311, 322, 340, 570, 579, 584, reconstruction of, 378, relations with, 424, reunification of, 570, talks with the Opposition leader of, 570, and membership of NATO, 583
- Goa*, appointment of a US Consul in, 298, attitude of Catholics to freedom movement in, 301, 496, future status in the Indian Union, 301, satyagraha in, 316, entry of non-Goan Indian nationals into, 302, policy towards, 298-304, 496, 501, and the NATO alliance, 304, 317, repercussion of anti-Christian movement on India's case in, 496, 501-502,
- Gonds*, 484
- Gur industry*, reorganisation of, 418
- Heavy industry*, development of, 77, 88, 369, 376, 379, 384-385, 422-423, 425, 427, 548, 589
- Himachal Pradesh*, functioning of government machinery in, 520
- Himself*, attempted attack on, 14-15, 175, 352, 596-597, 599, security arrangements for, 176, 597, 599-601
- Hindi*, development of, 92, 463-468, holding of all-India examinations in, 92, 464-468
- Hindu marriage reforms*, 468-478, 586
- Hindustan Times*, irresponsible reporting by correspondent of, 533-534
- Holi*, spirit behind the festival of, 543
- Horror comics*, 443, 447-448
- Housing*, 372, 377-378, 419, 434, precedence to industrial development over, 378, for workers, 419, for refugees, 514-515
- Human relationships*, maladjustments in, 471
- Hyderabad*, harassment of Muslims in, 511, search of the Nizam's house in, 512
- Hydrogen bomb*, development of, 176, 313
- Imperial Bank*, compensation to shareholders of, 68, 412, 415, nationalisation of, 49, 400, 410-416
- Independence*, role of non-violent methods in the achievement of, 602
- Indian Air Force*, selection of a fighter for, 526-528
- Indian Army*, reduction in numbers of, 251
- Indian Foreign Service*, suitability of technical persons for, 343
- Indian Missions abroad*, lack of enterprise about external publicity in, 342, need for awareness about five years plans in, 380, purchase and sale of luxury cars by staff in, 551-552
- Indian Museum*, Kolkata, 456
- Indian Navy*, replacement of ships in, 530
- Indian society*, activising the base of, 402-403, 548
- Indira Gandhi*, Congress Working Committee membership of, 510
- Indo-China*, discussions at Bandung on, 133-134, 138-139, 151-152, US-French tussle in, 185, US influence in, 185, undertaking of military and financial commitments by India in, 188,

- 191-193, 195-197, implementation of the Geneva Agreement in, 189-191, 308, 579, 585, foreign pressures on, 189, 308
- Indonesia*, position of women in, 137, 151, Chinese nationals in, 138, proposal to present an aircraft trainer to, 295, relations with, 297, proposal for execution of policy towards East Asia in consultation with, 297
- Industrial Revolution*, significance of, 30, 65
- Intellectualism*, 605
- International Atomic Energy Agency*, setting up of, 206-207, undesirable features of, 209
- International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy*, (Geneva, 1955) inclusion of Asian and African countries in, 205-206, 208
- Isms*, irrelevance of, 8, 40
- Israel*, relations between Myanmar and, 229, Western support to, 579, question of extending invitation for Bandung Conference to, 214
- Jallianwala Bagh*, anniversary of, 322, 325
- Jammu & Kashmir*, events of 1953 in, 319-320, 350, 354-356, autonomy of, 348, economic progress in, 251, 318, 349, political situation in, 349, propaganda against the government of, 350, PSP branch in, 350-351, visit of World Bank engineers to, 239-240, see also Kashmir
- Japan*, US pressure in trade matters on, 137, offer of technical help from, 296-297, US objections to relations between China and, 296
- John Kotelawala*, estimation of, 273
- Justice*, need for cheap and speedy, 28, delay in, 561, irresponsible judgment by a judge in Madhya Pradesh, 502
- Kandla port*, residential quarters for workers at, 419
- Kashmir*, the 1947 invasion of, 249, attitude of British officers in Pakistan to a settlement in, 249, UN efforts for a settlement in, 250, Pakistan Governor General's proposal for settlement of line of control in, 231-235, 254, 259-260, 262-263, secret meetings of representatives of India and Pakistan regarding, 239, 246, 258, 259, effect on Indian Muslims of any settlement in, 244, talks with Pakistan leaders on, 246-263, 590, proposed transfer of territories in, 254-255, 258, settlement on the basis of status quo in, 235-236, 252-253, 257, 260, divergence in the approaches of India and Pakistan over, 261-262, US bases in Azad Kashmir, 235, see also Jammu & Kashmir
- K.N.B. Wan Waithayakon*, estimation of, 137, 142
- Korean war*, China's expenditure in, 193
- Kosi project*, public cooperation experiment in, 22, 360-362, 386-387, PSP's criticism of the experiment, 361
- Labour*, relationship between capital and, 65, propriety of right to strike by, 65, housing for, 419, strike in textile mills of Kanpur, 431
- Land problem*, 50, 74, 270, 327, 432, 436, 438, 440, 508, 587
- Language policy*, 36, 92-93, 463-468, 498, 504-505, 514
- Laos*, situation in, 188-189, US interference in, 189
- Livestock*, preservation of, 555, 581
- Machine tool industry*, 422-423
- Madhya Pradesh*, treatment of Christians and Christian missionaries in, 496, 500-502, 505
- Mahavir Jayanti*, demand for a public holiday on, 551
- Mahatma Gandhi*, teachings and leadership of, 12, 43, 54, 57, 145-146, 224-225, 283, Sevagram ashram of, 594, 595

- Manipur*, people of, 486, satyagraha in, 486, 491, export of rice from, 491
- Manual labour*, dignity of, 20-21
- Marxist ideology*, irrelevance in the twentieth century of, 4, 46, 64, 80-81, 116, 413
- Mass destruction*, banning of methods of, 199-201, 210
- Masses*, his relationship with, 444, 556, 559
- May Day*, celebration of, 69, in Moscow, 291
- MEA*, encouragement of the use of Hindi in, 463-454, leakages of official secrets from, 532
- Means of production*, public ownership of, 37, 47-49, 80, 390-416, compensation for acquisition of, 47-49, 390, 393, 396, 404
- Metric system*, adoption of, 582
- Military pacts*, 7, 43-44, 110, 117, 121-122, 150, 165, 185, 216, 221, 225, 238, 254, 307, 310-311, 321-322, 331fn-332, 567, 579
- Minerals*, policy regarding, 393, 416, 430
- Ministry of Iron & Steel*, constitution of, 424-425, 428
- Mohammed Naim Khan*, civic reception accorded in Delhi to, 328
- Monkeys*, export of, 506
- Moral values and standards*, decline of, 593
- M.P. Koirala*, estimation of, 265
- Mridula Sarabhai*, estimation of, 356
- Multi-party system*, 23-24, 51
- Museums*, purpose and planning of, 456-458
- Muslims*, possible effect of settlement in Kashmir on, 244, harassment suffered in Hyderabad by, 511, effect of pending evacuee property cases on, 561
- Myanmar*, water festival in, 137, 143, 150-151, position of women in, 137, 143, difficulties faced by the government of, 225-226, issue of purchase of rice from, 292-294, relations with, 294
- Nagas*, attitude of, 479-480, 490-491
- National Extension Service scheme*, 23, 41, 372, 374-375, 385, 548, 581
- NATO*, protectors of colonialism, 110
- NEFA*, Christian proselytisation in, 493
- Nepal*, position of Crown Prince during illness of King of, 264, death of King Tribhuvan of, 267-268, 576, situation in, 265, 266, 270, diplomatic relations between China and, 269, relations with, 270, improvement of Gautam Buddha's place of birth in, 270-271, 452, return of K.I. Singh from China to, 271-273
- Newspapers*, distribution of foreign money to, 91, 349, help received from US by, 285-286, 534-536, influence and readership of, 444-445
- New York Times*, publication of an Indian edition of, 531
- Non-alignment*, 106-109, 121-123, 189, 306, 603
- Nuclear age*, destructive aspect of, 5, 10-11, 15-16, 30, 42-44, 112, 116-118, 198, 312, 332, 567, 574, challenges of, 11-12, 36, 51, 225, 287, 306, 326, 331-332, 399, 401, change in the concept of war in, 111, 254, 340, 530
- Nuclear bombs*, genesis of, 287, Soviet achievements in the development of, 198, non-proliferation of, 198-199, 210-213, 313, 443, policy regarding production of, 40, 51, 79, combating with moral force, humanism and wisdom the threat of, 43, 51, 79, 107, 109, 147, 313
- Nuclear research*, for peaceful uses, 199, cooperation among Asian and African countries in, 208
- Nuclear warfare*, scientific investigation into the consequences of, 199-204, 574
- NWFP*, Khan Saheb's stand in 1947 on future of, 280

- Official secrets*, leakages of, 531-534
- Orissa*, land reform in, 440
- Pakhtoons*, question of autonomy for, 280
- Pakistan*, relations with, 158, 230, 568, canal waters dispute with, 232, 239-240, 256, 318, evacuee property question, 256, 318, visa system for travel between India and, 256, financial settlement with, 260, division of India Office Library, government records and coins between India and, 263, places of religious worship in India and, 256-257, firing incident near border with, 246-247, 529, proposed mutual withdrawal of forces from border with, 248, proposal for common defence with, 254, gifting the Mumbai residence of Jinnah to, 595, contribution for Gandhi memorial offered by, 601-602, difficulties created at Bandung Conference by Turkey and, 133-134, preferential treatment of Sikh visitors in, 230, cricket test match with, 568, US aid to, 238, 250, 331 dependence on US of, 185, 206, proposed meeting with Prime Minister of, 237-239, 241-243, 245, 317, see also Kashmir
- Palestine*, discussion at Bandung on, 229
- Panchsheel*, 10, 52, 112, 121, 136, 184, 313-314, 324
- Parliament*, sharing of all important information with, 281, system of informal committees of, 556
- Partition of India*, 39-40, responsibility of some Sikh leaders for, 499
- Personal liberty*, 40-41
- Planning*, objectives of, 8-9, 12-13, 16, 31, 45, 83, 86-87, 364, 368, 379, 381-382, 572, 587, participation of States in, 364, 366, 370-371, 373, consciousness among Indians for, 369, 379-381
- Police*, behaviour of, 559, responsibility of, 594
- Population problem*, 64, 437
- Portugal*, diplomatic relations with, 299
- Prague*, proposed air service to, 289
- Pratap*, publication of objectional materials by, 534-536
- Prime Minister's House*, alleged leakages from, 533
- Princely states*, peaceful solution of the problem of, 47, 69, 72, 327; concessional mineral rights given by, 393, suitable assignments to former rulers of, 549
- Private property*, concept of, 396-397, 399
- Private sector*, status of, 12-13, 49, 51, 414, 423
- Prohibition*, 552-553
- Public cooperation*, for constructive work, 20-23, 360-362, 364, 370, 375-376, 380, 386, 547, 581, 588
- Public health*, 581
- Public sector*, growth of, 12-13, 51, 401-402, 413-414, 423-425, acquisition of mines, insurance companies and banks for, 416
- Public undertakings*, departmental control in, 556
- Publishing industry*, 445
- Punjab*, new symbols of, 29, communalism in, 35, language problem in, 35-36, 93, 498, 504-505
- Refugee rehabilitation*, 514-515, 560
- Religion*, 37, 473-474
- Republic Day Parade*, external publicity of colour film on, 341-342
- Revolution*, meaning of, 64, 72
- River valley schemes*, 18-19, 21, 29, 31, 38, 42, 51, 61, 154, 177, 256, 365-366, 386, 404, 435, 438-439, 596
- Sadhus*, proliferation of, 82-83
- Sahitya Akademi*, his presidentship of, 444
- Salt Research Institute*, conflict between senior officers at, 557-558
- Santiniketan*, converting Tagore's house into a museum at, 597-598
- Sarvodaya*, significance of, 81-82, 376

- Saudi Arabia*, relations with, 222-227, 517-518
- Saurashtra*, suicides among women in, 471
- Scheduled Castes*, opportunities of service and advancement for, 550
- Scientific development*, 31, 76, 85
- Scientific temper*, 86
- SEATO*, dangerous implication of, 321
- Second Five Year Plan*, drafting of, 75-76, 88-89, 285, 368-373, 427, 580, 587-589, resources for, 370, 374, 379, 388-389, note of dissent to draft plan, 89, 383, criticism of, 284-285, 383-384, 589
- Shaikh Abdullah*, publication of correspondence, etc., regarding, 319, 347-348, 353, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's accusations against, 347, proposed release of, 349, 353, his feelings for, 351, 353
- Sikhs*, grievances of, 497-500, 505, visit to Pakistan by, 230
- Sikkim*, role of Congress Party in, 544-545
- Social justice*, Directive Principle of the Constitution on, 8, 390-391
- Social structure*, effect of technological revolution on, 399, 401, 470, 608
- Social welfare legislation*, 390-416, 573
- Socialism*, 47, 80-82, 376, 607
- Socialist pattern of society*, 6, 9, 11-12, 37, 46-47, 80, 90, 327, 375, 411, 540, 569, 573
- Socialists*, opposition to Community Projects and five year plans by, 90
- South Africa*, apartheid in, 51, 128, 315, 322, and silence of Western countries, 52, 322, problem of Indian settlers in, 51-52
- South-East Asia*, spread of Indian culture in, 156
- South India*, apprehensions about Hindi in, 464-466, desirability of the President's attending Independence Day celebrations in, 601
- South Vietnam*, situation in, 191, 575, 585
- Soviet Union*, relations with, 158, 424, 430, visit of a parliamentary delegation to, 290-291, his forthcoming visit to, 328-329, offer of general disarmament by, 584, alleged subjugation of people of Central Asian territories in, 103,
- Spinning mills*, question of establishment of, 420
- Sri Lanka*, relations with, 155, 275-276, people of Indian origin in, 273-277, 315-316, C. Rajagopalachari's statement about, 211
- States' reorganisation*, 17, 78, 372, 490, 512, 514, 590
- Steel*, production of, 419-420, 424
- Sudan*, relations with, 217-219, holding of elections in, 218-219
- Sugar refineries*, establishment of, 418
- T.T. Krishnamachari*, proposed resignation of, 417-418
- TTNC*, criminal cases against members of, 538
- Taiwan*, China's claim over, 135, 160, 162, 165, 170, 172, 565, plebiscite as a solution to decide the future of, 175, Chiang Kai-shek's regime in, 510, China's policy towards, 139, 176, US policy on problem over, 98, 175, 178, 509, 566, 577-578, attitude of Commonwealth PMs to, 159-163, 167, 169, 174, 565-566, Soviet initiative for solution of, 163-164, 566, differences between US and UK on, 174, differences between UK and India on, 178, India's proposal for solution of, 169, 171-173, propriety of joint action by Colombo powers on, 159, 180, problem of offshore islands, 169, 174, 309, 321, 510, 566, 577-578
- Tara Singh*, policies of, 499
- Technical manpower*, need for, 16, 18-19, 343, 366-367, 372, 572, 581
- Textile industry*, rationalisation in, 431
- Tibet*, Chou En-lai's views on the

- possibility of establishing a communist regime in, 135, problems between Nepal and China over, 269, China's policies in, 482
- Trade unionism*, development of, 63, 65
- Travancore-Cochin*, land reforms in, 432, fall of PSP ministry in, 432, 537, 570, communist pressures on government in, 537, his alleged role in the fall of ministry in, 543-544
- Tribal affairs*, 404, 479-494, 513, conduct of officers in tribal areas, 493-494
- Turko-Iraqi Pact*, Western pressures on Syria to join, 215, 579, his role in preventing Syria from joining, 216, 310
- U.N. Dhebar*, Congress presidency of, 91, 539
- Unemployment*, 20-21, 30, 32, 49, 75-77, 82-83, 363, 369-370, 376-377, 379, 365, 431, 548, 589
- Union Council of Ministers*, reorganisation of, 417-418, 423-430
- United Kingdom*, relations with, 286-289, 424, 494, 509, pro-US attitude of, 167, resentment at his criticism of Western policies by, 321-322
- United Nations*, pressure tactics adopted by great powers in, 105, China's attitude to, 161, special (tenth anniversary) session of, 342-343
- United States*, relations with, 212-213, 281-284, 509, acceptance of aid from, 212-213, propaganda against India and himself carried on in, 212, 228, help given to various organisations in India by, 285-286, import of comics and films from, 447, secrecy in trade agreements desired by, 281, inclination of Indian socialists towards, 284-285, effect of Andhra elections on, 509, invitation to Tenzing to visit, 598-599, opening of USIS offices in India by, 282, subsidising of undesirable newspapers by, 536, Chinese nationals in, 177, 182, relations between China and, 158
- Universities*, operation of cliques in, 556
- U Nu*, evaluation of Bandung Conference by, 124, conduct at Bandung of, 132, talks with, 192-195, attitude to Israel, 229, suggestion for Buddha Jayanti celebration made by, 453
- Urdu*, development of, 92
- Vatican*, diplomatic relations with, 496
- Vijayalakshmi Pandit*, publication of a tendentious article on his relationship with, 535
- Village development*, 23, 31, 41-42, 89, 370, 386, 439
- Village panchayats*, role of, 608
- Violence in public life*, 23-24, 61, 65-66
- Visa system*, need for simplification of, 340-341
- V.K. Krishna Menon*, role played at Geneva Conference (1954) by, 153, 283, role played at Bandung by, 144, 152-153, talks between Eisenhower and, 176-177, 181-182, talks between Chou En-lai and, 136, 139, 180-181, 183, 283, 330, 585
- Wars*, futility of, 108, 166, 254, 606, abolition of, 198, 225, 606, destructive scenario of world war III, 107, 111, 254, 310
- West Asia*, growth of US influence in, 568
- Western countries*, economic advancement of, 3-5, 32, 41, 62, 66
- West Pakistan*, compensation to displaced persons from, 560
- Winston S. Churchill*, peace-through-strength approach of, 118, senescence of, 159, 167, retirement from office of, 288, relations with, 288
- Women*, position of, 59-60, 64, 93, 150, 468-478, legislation regarding, 64, 93, 144, 468-478, incidence of suicides among, 471, behaviour of officers in tribal areas towards, 493, qualities of Indian womanhood, 477-478

- Yeti*, expedition for investigation of, 507
Yugoslavia, neutralising of, 584
Zamindari system, abolition of, 69, 72, 74, 587
- Nehru, R.K. (*Vol. I, p. 336*), 290 & fn, 298 fn
 —, Sheorajwati (Shana), (*Vol. I, p. 233*), 509 & fn
 Nekowal (Jammu district), 246 & fn, 247 & fn, 529 & fn
 Neogy, K.C. (*Vol. 13, p. 219*), 419 & fn
 Nepal, 22, 97 fn, 192, 264 & fn, 265 & fn, 266, 267, 268 & fn, 269, 270, 271 & fn, 272, 273, 283 fn, 360 fn, 452 fn, 453, 522, 576
 Netherlands, the (Holland), 159
New Statesman and Nation, 507 fn
 New York, 161, 181, 207 fn, 343, 349, 602 fn
New York Times, The, 481, 531, 532
 New Zealand, 127, 128 & fn, 160 fn, 161 fn, 163 & fn, 209, 250 fn, 307 fn, 565
 Ngo Dinh Diem, 308 fn, 575 fn, 585 fn
 Nguyen Van Thoai, 152 & fn
 Nice, 264
 Nichols-Roy, J.J.M. (*VOL. 2, P. 194*), 487 & fn
 Nile river, 218 & fn, 221
 Nkruma, K. (*VOL. 16, PT. I, P. 540*), 143 & fn
 Norgay, Tenzing (*VOL. 22, P. 578*), 598 & fn
 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 110, 117, 131, 221, 304, 317, 583, 584
 North-East Frontier Agency, 487, 488, 492 fn, 493, 522, 523
 North-West Frontier Province, 280 & fn
 Norway, 360,
 Nu, U (*VOL. 4, P. 452*), 52, 109 & fn, 112, 113, 124, 125, 127, 132-134, 136, 139, 143, 160 fn, 171 fn, 192-197, 225, 229 & fn, 242, 243, 294, 342, 453, 576
 Nye, A.E. (*VOL. 3, P. 5*), 602 & fn
 Oliphant, M.L.E., 202 fn, 203 & fn, 313 fn
 Ollenhaver, E.P., 570 & fn
 Ootacamund (Udagamandalam), 373 & fn
 Orissa, 38, 72 fn, 74, 77, 78, 129 fn, 243, 246, 427 fn, 439, 440, 484 fn
- Pai, A.V. (*Vol. 10, p. 44*), 519 & fn
 Pakhtoonistan, 280 & fn
 Pakistan, 25, 34, 35, 40, 93, 97 fn, 109 fn, 113, 122 & fn, 132-134, 141, 142, 146, 158, 159, 161 fn, 172, 185, 193 fn, 206, 229, 230 & fn, 231 & fn, 232 & fn, 233, 234 & fn, 235 & fn, 238, 239, 240 & fn, 241 & fn, 242, 244 & fn, 246 & fn, 248, 249 & fn, 250 & fn, 251-262, 263 & fn, 275, 276, 278 & fn, 279, 280, 307 fn, 315, 318, 322 & fn, 331 & fn, 349, 499, 529 fn, 534, 560 & fn, 565, 567, 568, 575 & fn, 576, 595, 601 & fn, 602, 603
 Palar, L.N. (*VOL. 10, P. 382*), 179 & fn, 297
 Palestine, 140, 216, 227, 229 & fn
 Pandit, A.D. (*VOL. 18, P. 83*), 518 & fn
 —, Vijayalakshmi (*Vol. I, p. 1*), 328 fn, 392 & fn, 494 & fn, 507, 527, 528 fn, 535 & fn, 596
 Pant, A.B. (*VOL. 8, P. 412*), 291 & fn
 —, G.B. (*Vol. 3, p. 106*), 236 & fn, 246-248, 252, 253, 257, 260, 261, 428-430, 464, 465 fn, 486, 487, 497 fn, 514, 519, 549 & fn, 597
 Paris, 26, 160, 249
 Parliament (Indian), 5, 48, 67, 71, 253, 281, 304, 326, 327, 347, 352, 353, 360 fn, 370, 373, 376, 390 fn, 391 fn, 392 fn, 393, 394, 397, 398, 401-403, 405, 420, 470, 475, 491, 533 fn, 545, 552, 554, 571-574, 586
 Parmar, Y.S. (*VOL. II, P. 259*), 520 & fn, 523 fn
 Parthasarathi, G., 193 & fn, 194, 337 fn
 Pataskar, H.V., 471 & fn
 Pathet Lao, 139 fn, 188 fn, 190, 194, 308 fn, 575 fn,

- Pearson, L.B. (VOL. 10, P. 170), 167 & fn, 182 fn
- Peking (Beijing), 136, 139, 144, 152 fn, 153, 155, 166, 169, 179, 180 & fn, 181, 182 fn, 183, 269, 283, 297, 330, 338, 585
- People, The*, 285
- Pepsu, 256, 498 fn, 586 fn
- Peshawar, 278, 279
- Pethick-Lawrence (*Vol. 14, p. 83*), 499 & fn
- Petter, W.E.W., 526 & fn, 528
- Pham Van Dong (VOL. 26, P. 408), 139 & fn, 190, 191 & fn, 194, 242, 577 & fn, 579
- Philippines, the, 44, 97 fn, 115 & fn, 116, 122 & fn, 132, 138, 141, 250 fn, 307 fn
- Phizo, Z.A. (VOL. 15, Pt. II, P. 181), 479 fn, 488 fn
- Phnom Penh, 188, 191, 197 fn, 568 fn
- Pilibhit, 559
- Pillai, N.R. (VOL. 1, P. 598), 176 & fn, 310 fn, 426, 506 fn
- _____, Pattom A. Thanu (*Vol. 12, p. 539*), 537 & fn, 538 & fn, 543, 544 fn
- Pizey, C.T., 227 & fn, 521 & fn
- Planning Commission, 8, 12, 76, 88, 89 & fn, 285 & fn, 362 fn, 363, 366-368, 370, 371, 376-378, 382, 383 & fn, 384, 388, 389, 419 & fn, 429, 430, 440, 487, 580, 582 fn, 587, 588
- Plebiscite Front (J&K), 355 fn
- Poland, 101 & fn, 102, 145, 146, 284, 307 fn, 411, 427 fn, 576, 580, 590, 602
- Pondicherry, 300, 301
- Poonch, 255, 258, 259, 260, 261
- Portugal, 102, 110, 206, 209, 301-304, 317
- Potsdam, 111, 173
- Prague, 289, 290
- Praja Parishad, 350, 355 fn
- Praja Socialist Party, 23, 24 & fn, 284 fn, 285, 302 fn, 350, 351, 361 & fn, 413, 432 & fn, 478 fn, 486 & fn, 491 & fn, 508, 509, 513 fn, 537 fn, 538 & fn, 543, 544 fn, 545, 546 & fn, 547 & fn
- Prasad, Rajendra (*Vol. 3, p. 4*), 18 & fn, 71, 273, 338, 360 & fn, 449, 476 fn, 483, 551 & fn, 601 & fn
- Pratap*, 534 & fn, 535, 536 & fn
- Pravaham*, 543, 544 & fn
- Pune, 285 fn, 459 fn
- Punjab, 17, 18, 26, 28, 29, 33-36, 93, 230 fn, 249, 256, 365 & fn, 433, 436, 498 fn, 499 & fn, 503-505, 522, 568, 590
- Quemoy island, 98, 169, 309, 317, 321, 510, 566, 577, 578
- Radford, A.W., 254 & fn
- Radhakrishnan, S. (*Vol. 4, p. 564*), 200 fn, 202, 342, 343, 418 fn, 449 & fn, 450 & fn, 451
- Radha Raman (VOL. 22, P. 264), 45 & fn
- Raghavan, N. (*Vol. 14, p. 365*), 160 fn, 163 fn, 166 & fn, 167, 168 fn, 178 & fn, 337
- Rahman, H. (VOL. 16, Pt. II, P. 477), 518 & fn
- Raigarh district, 495 fn, 496 & fn
- Rajagopalachari, C. (*Vol. 1, p. 350*), 211 & fn, 213 fn, 276, 465 fn, 466 & fn, 468 & fn
- Rajamannar, P.V. 441 & fn, 444 & fn
- Rajasthan, 53 fn, 54 fn, 55, 56, 57, 60 & fn, 85, 251, 256, 438, 439, 549 fn, 558 fn
- Rajendrasinhji (VOL. 21, P. 583), 529 & fn
- Rajgir, 453 & fn
- Rajya Sabha, 290 & fn, 409 fn, 410 fn, 416 fn, 442 fn, 461 fn, 469 fn, 586 fn, 607 fn
- Ram, Jagjivan (*Vol. 15, p. 208*), 289 & fn
- Ramban, 261
- Rangoon (Yangon), 192 & fn, 226, 328, 576

- Rao, B.R. (VOL. 26, P. 153), 511 & fn
 —, V.K.R.V. (*Vol. 11, p. 306*), 285 & fn
 Raschid, M.A. (VOL. 25, P. 471), 293 & fn, 294
 Rau, B.N. (*Vol. 14, p. 559*), 407 & fn, 470 & fn, 478
 Reddi, B.G. (VOL. 8, P. 395), 510 & fn, 511 fn, 542 fn,
 Reddy, K.C. (*Vol. 8, p. 566*), 419 & fn, 420 fn, 429
 Red Fort (Delhi), 328, 517 & fn
 Refugee Housing Society (Delhi), 514, 515
 Rhodesia, 159, 161 fn
 Riyasi, 258, 261, 262
 Roerich, Devika Rani (*Vol. 13, p. 665*), 441 & fn, 442
 Romania, 101, 145, 411
 Rome, 26, 496, 590, 602
 Romulo, Carlos P. (VOL. 12, P. 7), 115 & fn, 116, 122, 134
 Roosevelt, Eleanor (*Vol. 13, p. 275*), 212 & fn, 214
 —, F.D. (*Vol. 6, p. 10*), 111 & fn, 212 fn
 Rothlin, 593
 Rourkela steel plant, 77, 420, 424
 Roy, B.C. (*Vol. 4, p. 230*), 237 & fn, 362 & fn, 363, 506
 —, M.N. (VOL. 19, P. 612), 350 & fn
 Russell, Bertrand (*Vol. 1, p. 141*), 199 & fn, 200 & fn, 202 fn
 Rustamji, K.F., 599 & fn, 600
 Rustomji, N.K., 292 & fn
 Sachar, B. (VOL. 2, P. 304), 365 & fn, 502
 Sadat, M. Anwar, 279 & fn
 Sahay, Bhagwan, 264 & fn, 265, 266 fn, 269, 270, 272
 —, Vishnu (VOL. 11, P. 142), 354 & fn
 Sahitya Akademi, 444, 607 fn
 Saigon, 191, 575, 577
 Saksena, Mohanlal (*Vol. 1, p. 233*), 377 & fn, 410
 —, R.R. (VOL. 2, P. 490), 292 & fn, 293 fn,
 —, Shibbanlal (*Vol. 10, p. 172*), 509 & fn
 Salt Research Institute (Bhavnagar), 557 & fn, 558
 Sampurnanand (*Vol. 2, p. 143*), 451 & fn, 455 & fn, 497 & fn, 559
 Sanchi, 449 fn, 452 & fn, 453
 San Francisco, 342, 343
 Sangeet Natak Akademi, 441 fn, 488, 489
 Santiniketan, 598 & fn
 Sarabhai, Mridula (*Vol. 5, p. 316*), 255 & fn, 356 & fn
 Sarnath, 449 fn, 452 & fn, 453, 476
 Sasorith, Katay Don, 139 & fn, 189, 190, 194
 Sastroamidjojo, Ali (VOL. 25, P. 235), 97 & fn, 99, 100 fn, 106, 114, 128 fn, 134, 160 fn, 179, 297
 Saudi Arabia, 97 fn, 132, 143 & fn, 216, 217 fn, 221, 222 fn, 227, 311, 340, 517 & fn, 567, 579
 Saurashtra, 418, 471, 478
 Schweitzer, A. (VOL. 22, P. 5), 593 & fn
 Sen, D.K., 291 & fn
 Setalvad, M.C. (*Vol. 15, p. 86*), 554 & fn
 Sevagram, 594
 Shah, Mahendra Bir Bikram, 264 & fn, 265, 266 & fn, 267, 268 & fn, 271, 272, 576
 —, Mahendra Vikram, 265 & fn, 266, 269, 271
 —, Tribhuvan Bir Bikram (VOL. 2, P. 478), 264 & fn, 266-268 & fn, 576
 Sharma, Shankar Dayal (VOL. 20, P. 281), 451 & fn
 Shenoy, B.R., 383 fn
 Shriman Narayan (VOL. 19, P. 485), 284 & fn, 286 fn, 547 fn
 Shrinagesh, J.M. (VOL. 16, Pt. II, P. 546), 295 fn
 Shukla, R.S. (*Vol. II, p. 273*), 483 & fn, 500 & fn, 501, 502 fn
 Sihanouk, Norodom (VOL. 23, P. 563),

- 123 & fn, 139, 184-187, 189 fn, 191
& fn, 193, 197, 203, 568 fn, 577 & fn,
597 & fn
- Sikkim, 291 fn, 544, 545
- Simla (Shimla), 373, 529
- Sindri, 51, 61, 76, 154, 439
- Singapore, 156, 333, 338
- Singh, Bhopal (VOL. 6, P. 140), 54 & fn
____, C.P.N. (VOL. 11, P. 279), 230 &
fn, 365 & fn
____, G.N., 519 & fn
____, K.I. (VOL. 15, Pt. II, P. 402), 271
& fn, 272
____, T.P., 361 & fn, 362 fn
____, Hari (*Vol. 5, p. 467*), 248 & fn
____, Jaipal (VOL. 10, P. 345), 404 & fn
____, Karan (VOL. 10, P. 237), 522 & fn
____, Kartar (*Vol. 10, p. 391*), 499 & fn
____, Savai Man (VOL. 8, P. 358), 549
& fn
____, Swaran (*Vol. 4, p. 41*), 420 fn, 421
& fn, 515, 516, 550 fn
____, Tara (*Vol. 4, p. 572*), 499 & fn,
503 & fn
____, Teja (VOL. 8, P. 197), 498 & fn,
500, 503 & fn
- Singh Roy, P.N., 391 & fn
- Sinha, S.N. (VOL. 2, P. 17), 554 & fn
____, Sarat Chandra, 513 & fn
____, Srikrishna (*Vol. 3, p. 420*), 360 &
fn, 362 fn, 451 & fn, 453
- Sitaramayya, B.P. (*Vol. 3, p. 265*), 483 &
fn
- Skardu, 258, 259
- Slocum, H. (VOL. 24, P. 145), 365 & fn,
596
- Smith, Margaret C., 603 & fn, 604, 605,
606 & fn
- Solh, Sami, 115 & fn
- Sonemarg, 353
- South Africa, Union of, 51, 52, 159, 161
fn, 206, 209, 315, 322
- Special Marriage Bill, 469 & fn
- Srinagar, 235, 240 fn, 248, 353, 354, 355
fn
- Sri Prakasa (*Vol. 2, p. 203*), 273 & fn
- State Bank of India, 68
- State Bank of India Bill, 410, 412, 416 &
fn, 586
- States Reorganisation Commission, 372,
373, 481, 482, 487, 489, 490, 504, 514
& fn, 572, 590
- St Laurent, Louis S. (VOL. 12, P. 413),
159 & fn, 161 fn, 182 fn
- Sudan, 97 fn, 141, 143 & fn, 217-219,
221, 222
- Sukarno, Ahmed (*Vol. 14, p. 452*), 52, 99
& fn, 100 fn, 125, 148
- Sundaram, Lanka (VOL. 2, P. 485), 355
& fn
- Sun News Pictorial* (Australia), 128 fn
- Supreme Court of India, 390 fn, 395, 398
- Suramrit, Norodom, 568 & fn
- Sutlej river, 18, 435
- Switzerland, 38 fn, 150, 231, 234, 267,
576
- Syria, 97 fn, 101 & fn, 102, 132, 215, 216,
217 fn, 221, 310, 311 & fn, 567 fn, 579
- Tachen islands, 166 & fn, 170
- Tagore, Pratima Devi, 598 & fn
____, Rabindranath, 598 & fn
____, Rathindranath, 598 & fn
- Taiwan (Formosa), 15, 30, 97, 99, 112,
132, 134 & fn, 135 & fn, 136, 139,
140, 152, 159 fn, 160, 162, 164, 165,
166 fn, 168, 169, 171 fn, 172, 175,
176, 180, 181, 205, 206, 223, 235 fn,
283, 297, 309, 321, 509, 510, 565-567,
569, 575, 578, 585
- Takasaki, Tatsunosuke, 295 & fn, 296
- Tandon, Purushottam Das (*Vol. 1, p. 127*),
553 & fn
- Tata, J.R.D. (*Vol. 11, p. 393*), 289 & fn
- Thailand, 97 fn, 122 fn, 132, 134, 137,
138, 141, 142, 144, 151, 152, 155, 185,
194, 250 fn, 307 fn, 453
- Tibet, 18, 132, 134, 135 & fn, 269, 291
fn, 411, 453, 482, 523 fn
- Times* (London), 235, 432 & fn

- Tipu Sultan, 526
- Tito, J. B. (VOL. 22, P. 414), 52 & fn
- Travancore-Cochin, 432 & fn, 439, 537 & fn, 538 & fn, 543, 570
- Travancore Tamil Nad Congress, 537 fn, 538 & fn, 543, 544 & fn
- Tripitaka*, 450 & fn
- Tukdoji Maharaj (VOL. 25, P. 540), 15 & fn
- Tunisia, 101, 102, 104 & fn, 105, 110, 146, 238
- Turkey, 97 fn, 106 & fn, 107, 110, 111, 132-134, 141, 185, 215 & fn, 216, 217 fn
- Turner, W.T., 298 & fn
- Tyabji, B.H.F.B. (VOL. 8, P. 35), 97 fn, 99 & fn, 130, 297
- Tyagi, Mahavir (*Vol. 5, p. 211*), 295 & fn
- Udhampur, 258
- UK, 4, 23, 32, 41, 63, 72, 80, 84, 97, 102, 104, 108, 112 & fn, 122 fn, 136, 143 fn, 155, 195 fn, 161, 163, 166-172, 174, 178 & fn, 185, 189, 195, 196, 199, 206, 209, 215-217, 226, 238, 250 fn, 287-289, 307 fn, 321 & fn, 322, 330, 331, 333, 335 fn, 338, 340 fn, 342, 354, 366 fn, 385, 397, 407, 414, 424, 435, 436, 441, 446-448, 472, 494, 499 & fn, 524, 526 & fn, 530-532, 538, 565-568, 570, 578, 579, 584 fn, 585 fn, 602 fn
- Union Public Service Commission, 467
- United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP), 250
- United Nations Organisation, 51, 101, 102, 105, 130 fn, 141, 146, 149, 150, 161, 162 & fn, 166-168, 173, 181, 193 fn, 200, 205, 206, 211 fn, 214 & fn, 223, 226, 229, 247, 250 fn, 260, 322, 342, 343, 578, 603; Charter of, 109, 113, 137 fn, 140, 149, 150; General Assembly of, 206 fn; Security Council of, 149, 160 & fn, 161, 162 & fn, 163, 164, 169-172, 257, 578
- United States Information Service (USIS), 282 & fn, 535, 536
- Untouchability Offences Bill, 586
- Upadhyaya, Munishwar Dutt, 89 & fn, 545
- Uri, 249
- USA, 3-5, 12, 16, 20, 21, 23, 30-32, 41, 43, 46, 52, 62, 65-67, 72, 75, 80, 84, 102 fn, 108, 109, 111, 112 & fn, 115 fn, 122 fn, 131, 135-137, 139, 141, 142, 143 fn, 163, 164, 167, 169-175, 177-179, 182 & fn, 185, 186, 189, 192-197, 206, 209, 211 & fn, 212 & fn, 213, 215-217, 226, 227, 235 fn, 250 fn, 262, 269, 283, 286 & fn, 290 & fn, 296, 307 fn, 309, 321, 330 & fn, 331 & fn, 335, 340 fn, 360, 386, 397, 407, 433-435, 438, 446, 447, 458 fn, 460, 462, 472, 506 & fn, 509, 535, 566, 567, 577-579, 585 & fn, 586, 598 fn, 599, 602, 603 & fn, 606 fn; Congress of, 159 fn
- USSR, 16, 20, 21, 23, 32, 41, 50, 66, 67, 80, 81, 85, 103, 108, 109, 112, 115, 123, 124, 135, 145, 158, 161, 163 & fn, 164-166, 169-174, 185, 193, 196, 198, 211 fn, 212, 223, 224, 238, 254, 284-286, 309, 322, 328, 329, 331, 371, 386, 400, 407, 427 fn, 430, 435, 472, 531, 532 & fn, 566, 570, 576, 580 & fn, 584 & fn, 590, 602, 603, 606 fn
- Uttar Pradesh, 17, 79 & fn, 91, 93, 436, 450 fn, 452 fn, 455 fn, 509, 522, 523, 545
- Vaidyanathan, P., 129
- Vasan, S.S., 442 & fn, 447 & fn
- Vatican, 496
- Vellodi, M.K. (VOL. 2, P. 55), 521 & fn
- Verma, Manikyalal (VOL. 6, P. 139), 60 & fn
- Vienna, 590, 602
- Vientiane (Laos), 139, 191
- Vietnam, 122 fn, 134, 189, 190, 193 & fn, 283, 307 fn
- Vietnam (North), 97 fn, 131, 133, 134,

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- 139 fn, 151, 152, 189, 190, 192 fn,
579, 585
- Vietnam (South), 97 fn, 133, 134, 139,
152, 189-191, 193, 308, 575 & fn, 585;
Government of, 189, 191
- Vishakhapatnam, 76
- Visva-Bharati (Santiniketan), 597 fn, 598
& fn, 607 fn
- Waithayakon, K.N.B. Wan (VOL. 26, P.
532), 134 & fn, 137, 139, 142
- Wajid Ali, 254
- Wangchuk, A.K., 292 & fn
- ____, J.D. (VOL. 24, P. 592), 292 & fn
- Washington, 177, 181-183, 240, 298 fn
- West Bengal, 17, 32, 49, 92, 237, 362 fn,
363, 405, 439, 484 fn, 506, 512, 576,
587, 594 & fn
- West Irian, 101, 104 & fn, 105, 106, 128
fn
- Wijeyeratne, Edwin, 275 & fn
- World Bank (IBRD), 232, 239, 240, 256,
318, 360
- World War II, 87, 566
- Wright, Peter, 458 & fn, 460-462
- Yagnavalkya, 64, 471, 472, 474
- Yalta, 111
- Yemen, 97 fn, 311
- Yuan Chung-hsien, 269, 271
- Yugoslavia, 52 & fn, 145, 184, 284, 311
& fn, 328, 427 fn, 576, 580, 584, 590,
602
- Yunus, Mohammad (*Vol. 10, p. 643*), 97
& fn, 99
- Zarrong, Sayed Mubarak, 217 fn, 218
- Zoji La, 522
- Zorlu, Fatin Rustu, 106 & fn, 107, 110
- Zurich, 267

The current volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* covers the period from 1 February to 31 May 1955. ... This is a period marked by some seminal developments within India as well as within the world community...

At the Avadi session of the Indian National Congress... Nehru (had) set in motion a novel programme... with the objective of creating... a "socialistic pattern of society"... (One of the) concrete initiatives (taken up) at this juncture... was the adoption of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill... (It) highlighted the limits of what Nehru was prepared to do... in pursuit of his design of transforming India from an agricultural into an industrial society. The Second Five Year Plan... was (also) built around (similar) clear-cut objectives and a coherent strategy...

The Nehruvian revolution... was anti-feudal rather than anti-capitalist in its conceptualisation as well as in its execution. Nehru clearly realised that history had placed upon his shoulders the heavy responsibility of dismantling an outdated, oppressive and inefficient feudal order, which... stood in the way of transforming India into a caring industrial society, that was... concerned with ensuring social equity and material dignity for the lowly placed citizens of the Republic...

No less significant was the initiative taken by Jawaharlal Nehru... in organising (at Bandung) an international conference of nations from Asia and Africa... (His) unstated objective was to carve out, without the organisation of a distinctive bloc, such liberal space for the non-aligned nations, as would enable them to assert their freedom of action within a vastly extended 'Area of Peace'...

While the renewed conversations between the leaders of India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue proved abortive, an interesting clue to what Pakistan sought to secure for itself in Kashmir came to light in the proposals... voiced by Ghulam Mohammed through some informal channels. (He) had suggested that "a large area of the Jammu province... should be transferred to Pakistan, that Skardu might be transferred to India, and that the Kargil area should be attached to Kashmir... Some kind of a plebiscite of the Kashmir area... was envisaged." Needless to say, Jawaharlal Nehru dismissed these proposals offhand, thus bringing the dialogue to an abrupt end...

